

Selected Writings of Hans G. Güterbock

Hans Güterbock, a major investigator of the Hittites, published these 35 articles in a variety of journals between the years 1953 and 1997. His life and works are described in a Wikipedia entry, [Hans Gustav Güterbock](#).

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"New Excavations at" Boghazköy, Capital of the Hittites

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New Excavations at
Boghazköy, Capital of the Hittites

By Hans G. Güterbock

THE FIRST WESTERNER TO SEE THE RUINS OF Boghazköy, about one hundred miles east of Ankara, was the French archaeologist CHARLES TEXIER, in 1834. What he saw above ground were the city ramparts, the layout of the Great Temple, and the rock sanctuary of Yazilikaya. At that time no one could even suspect that these monuments were Hittite. In 1893-94, another Frenchman, ERNEST CHANTRE, found there clay tablets written in cuneiform characters but in a hitherto unknown language. It was mainly because of these texts that the German

Assyriologist HUGO WINCKLER visited Boghazköy in 1905, and in the following years (1906, 1907, 1911 and 1912) he excavated there with THEODORE MAKRIDY BEY of the Istanbul Museum. The great contribution of these men was their discovery of about ten thousand fragments of tablets. From texts written in Akkadian (the language formerly known as Babylonian) WINCKLER saw at once that he had found the archives of the kings of the Hittites. The Hittite language, in which the bulk of the texts is written, was deciphered in 1915 by the Czech scholar BEDRICH

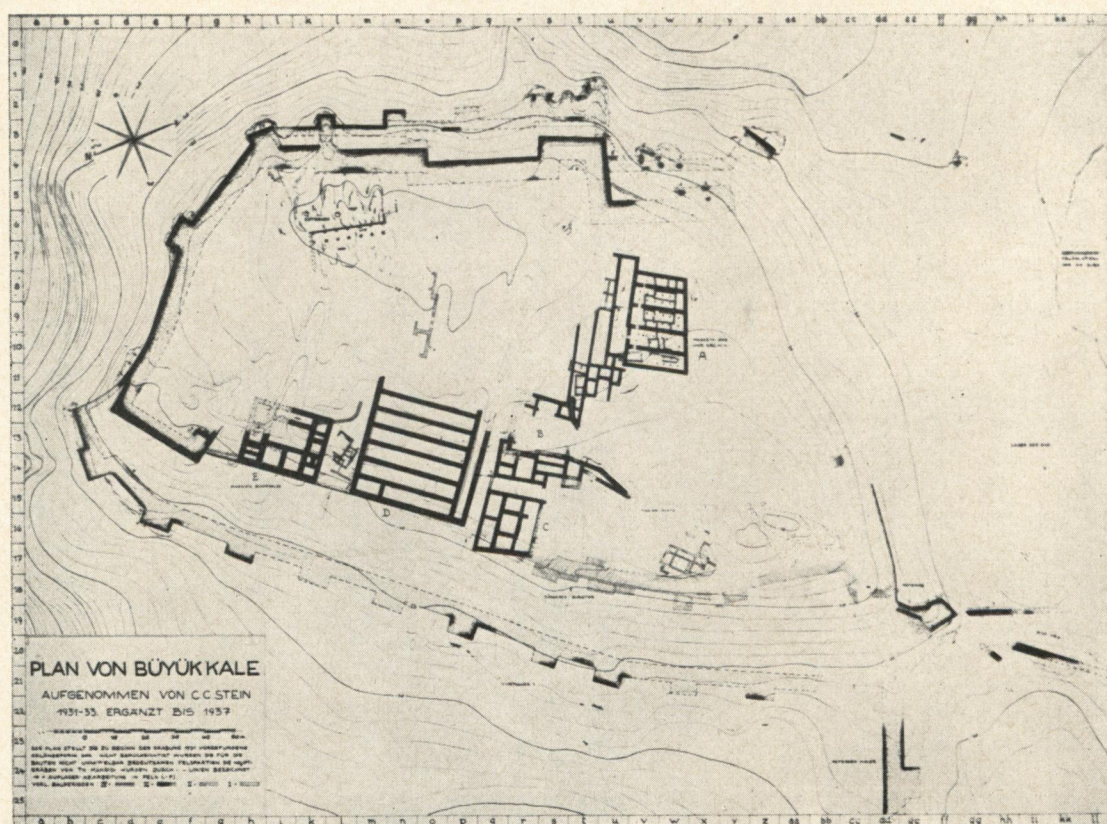


Fig. 1. Plan of Büyükkale as excavated through 1937, showing the Hittite Empire buildings in black. (After K. Bittel and R. Naumann, *Bogazköy II*, plate 1)

The author's association with Boghazköy goes back to 1933-35, when he was epigraphist on the staff of the expedition headed by Dr. Kurt Bittel. He was sent by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, which sponsored the excavations together with the German Archaeological Institute. In 1952, Dr. Güterbock, now Associate Professor of Hittitology at the University of Chicago, returned to Boghazköy, where work was once again resumed under the direction of Dr. Bittel. The campaign was sponsored by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, with funds furnished by private donors in Western Germany and by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft. Dr. Güterbock's participation was made possible by a grant from the American Philosophical Society. The official preliminary report on the 1952 campaign, by Kurt Bittel, Rudolf Naumann, Heinrich Otten and Hans Güterbock, has appeared in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* No. 86.

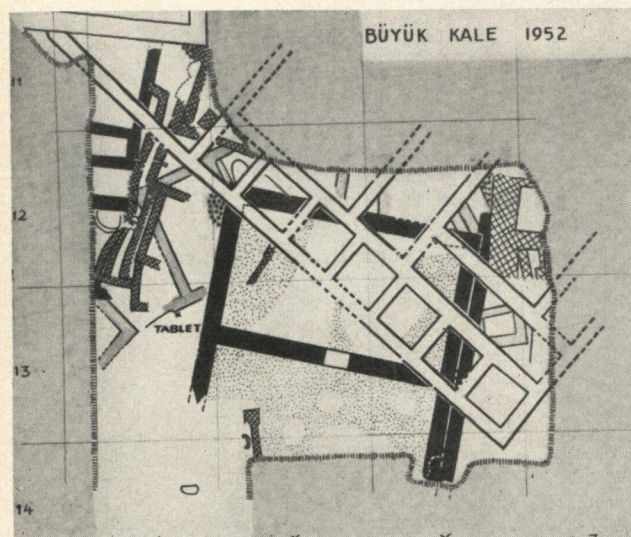


Fig. 2. Schematic plan of area excavated on Büyükkale in 1952 (for location see squares 11-14/w-z in Fig. 1).

Legend:

- Walls in outline = Empire (Level III); corner of Building A in upper left.
- Walls in narrow cross-hatching = Level IVa
- Walls in full black = Level IVb
- Walls shaded = Level IVc
- Walls in wide cross-hatching = Level IVd
- Dots = Level V

rected by OTTO PUCHSTEIN. The results were published in a comprehensive volume (OTTO PUCHSTEIN et al., *Boghazköi. Die Bauwerke*. Leipzig 1912).

HROZNY and it proved to be of Indo-European affiliation. The understanding of Hittite has made steady progress ever since; a good presentation of the information gathered from the Hittite archives can be found in O. R. GURNEY's book, *The Hittites* (reviewed in this issue, pages 249-250).

In 1907 the most outstanding buildings of Boghazköy were investigated by another expedition, sponsored by the German Archaeological Institute and di-

AFTER THE FIRST World War, when archaeological methods had been more developed and the stratigraphy of Central Anatolia was being established by the Anatolian Expedition of the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute, it was felt necessary to re-investigate Boghazköy. A joint expedition of the German Archaeological Institute and the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft was led by Dr. KURT BITTEL. Work began in 1931 and continued every summer until 1939 when it was interrupted by the Second World War. Some of the results of these excavations are now available in the first volume of the final publication (KURT

Fig. 3. Relief found re-used in Level IVa. Limestone, 0.46 m. x 0.23 m. (Border preserved on top and right side; left and lower edges broken.) From the right, a man followed by another figure thrusts a spear against some strange being who is also attacked from the left by a man with raised dagger. The personage being attacked seems to be a god with pointed cap, hanging upside down from the upper border. (After a drawing by R. Naumann)





Fig. 4. Large building of Level IVb, Büyükkale, seen from east.

BITTEL and RUDOLF NAUMANN, *Boğazköy-Hattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen . . . 1931-1939 I.* (Stuttgart 1952). They may be summarized as follows:

(1) Most, although not all, of the royal acropolis, Büyükkale, was excavated and mapped.

(2) Büyükkale yielded the following stratification:

Levels I and II: Post-Hittite, so-called Phrygian.

Level III: The Hittite Empire (ca. 1400-1200 B.C.) with large buildings (FIGURE 1).

Level IV: "Old Hittite," mostly dwellings, wheel-made pottery distinct from that of the Empire. Several building levels could be distinguished within this period.

Level V: Transition from hand-made to wheel-made pottery (roughly 2000 B.C.), reached in spots only.

(3) Among the Empire buildings on Büyükkale (Level III) a new archive was excavated (building A in FIGURE 1) which yielded some four thousand fragments of tablets. The circumstances under which tablets were found here and elsewhere were recorded.

(4) A deposit of seal impressions on clay "bullae" was found (southwest corner of building D). Among them were bilingual royal seals (cuneiform and Hittite hieroglyphs) through which the hieroglyphic names of almost all kings of the Empire could be identified. This provided a new chronological framework for the study of Hittite art (H. G. GUETERBOCK, *Siegel aus Boğazköy I and II*. Berlin 1940 and 1942).

(5) Outside Büyükkale, the excavation of two buildings left unfinished by PUCHSTEIN was completed: Temple V in the upper city, formerly called a

Fig. 5. Interior of corbeled passage on Büyük Kaya. Inner height ca. 1.60 m.





Fig. 6. The tomb rocks seen from Büyük Kaya. At the left, foreground, is Makridi's rock; the next rock to the right (with the small excavation dump on its left side) is the one where burials were found in 1952. A short way beyond it is a small tumulus.

"palace" (KARL KRAUSE, *Boğazköy. Tempel V.* Berlin 1940), and a building above Temple I, the so-called "House on the Slope" (BITTEL and NAUMANN, *Boğazköy II. Neue Untersuchungen hethitischer Architektur.* Berlin 1938, 20-30).

(6) A section of the living quarters in the lower city north of Temple I was excavated. It had two main levels, one of the Empire period, the other of an older age including documents of an Assyrian merchant colony of the nineteenth century B.C.

(7) In front of the rock sanctuary of Yazilikaya a temple was excavated. The rock reliefs and their hieroglyphic inscriptions were studied (BITTEL, NAUMANN and OTTO, *Yazilikaya. Architektur, Felsbilder, Inschriften und Kleinfunde.* Leipzig 1941).

IN 1952 BITTEL was able to resume his work. One of the main tasks was, of course, an attempt to bring the excavation of Büyükkale, the royal acropolis, nearer to completion. Since the bedrock of the hill slopes down from northeast to southwest, the accumulation of debris is thickest and the possibilities for stratigraphical observation are best in the southwestern part. A trench in this region which, in 1939, had reached only the top level (I) was now deepened and widened and the following levels were established (FIGURE 2):

Level III: Hittite Empire. A large building, linked to the Archive (A in FIGURE 1) was partly excavated. Since only foundations were found and the greater part of the building is still underground, nothing can

be said about its plan. The row of seven small "rooms" along its front may be nothing but the substructure of an open portico; boulders which may have been the pillar bases were found re-used in Level II above it. To the north and west of this front there was an open square or large court, bordered on the opposite side by the protruding part of building B and extending westward to the Phrygian citadel wall which still covers whatever entrance to the court there may have been.

Level IV could now be subdivided into four building levels, numbered IVa-d (a, at the top, is the latest).

In IVa, narrow walls of insignificant buildings were found. Built into one of these walls was a fragmentary limestone relief (FIGURE 3) which, therefore, must be older than IVa and is the first example found of large-size Hittite sculpture older than the Empire. Executed in flat relief, it showed traces of red paint on the raised surfaces. It depicts a struggle, probably between gods, in other words, a mythological scene; the



Fig. 7. The tomb rock investigated in 1952, from west. The deep shadow marks the overhang under which the burials were found, with excavation dump in front.

execution of the one figure which is better preserved is close to representations on pre-Empire seals.

In Level IVb, a large building was found (FIGURE 4). The main room is 14 x 8 meters with a door in the center of one of the long sides. Whether the protruding parts of the side walls ended like antae, or whether they were connected by another cross wall, could not be determined.

Next is Level IVc, with medium-size houses. In the clay floor immediately outside one of the rooms of IVc was found a fragment of a cuneiform tablet. It is a historical text written in the Old Hittite language and describing, in a literary style, the struggles of a king with the rulers of Halap (Aleppo) and Hassu (another town in North Syria). Judging from where it was found this seems to be the first example of an Old Kingdom text come down to us in the original, not in an imperial copy. From the type of writing and orthography, it cannot be older than the time shortly before the Hittite raid on Babylon (ca. 1600 according to SIDNEY SMITH's chronology).

Level IVd was reached only at the southern edge of the excavated area. It can be dated by its pottery to the time of the Assyrian merchant colonies. A tablet of the colony type, found in 1931 on Büyükkale above the rock but not really stratified, can now, on the evidence of the pottery, be ascribed to Level IVd.

Level V was reached in a few small spots which did not yield architectural remains. Its pottery is a mixture of hand-made (Alishar Copper Age) and wheel-made (Hittite) wares.

A PART FROM THE one old tablet just mentioned, cuneiform texts were found in various spots. In the area just described they appeared only in the debris above the Empire level. Obviously they had come there after the destruction of the imperial buildings, probably from the nearby Archive (building A). The west side of Büyükkale building D, which had been left unfinished in 1939, was investigated a little farther toward its eastern (inner, higher) side. Although it could not be completed, this excavation also yielded some tablets in the easternmost storeroom where some had been found in 1939. Here the circumstances indicated that the tablets had been stored in this room in Hittite times, so that apparently we are dealing with a small deposit of texts apart from the known archives of Büyükkale (buildings A and E in FIGURE 1, E being MAKRIDİ's find of 1906).

A small test excavation was also made in some of the eastern storerooms of Temple I where MAKRIDİ

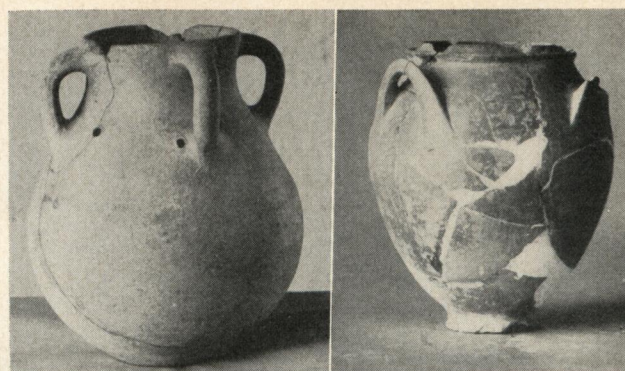


Fig. 8. Two cremation vessels. Left, urn of the Empire period with holes around neck and on bottom. Right, Old Hittite jar of a rather common type, burnished.

had found an archive in 1907. It only showed that MAKRIDİ had filled the greater part of these rooms with his excavation dump, and in the dump, both inside and outside the rooms, were found some fifty small and rather insignificant fragments of tablets.

There was a rumor that villagers had found tablets on Büyük Kaya, a large rock outside the city, on the other side of the eastern stream. The top of Büyük Kaya consists of two flat terraces, and on the larger and lower of these a trench was made. Four small fragments of texts were picked up on the surface, but in the trench there were neither tablets nor a building which could have housed them. After long digging we finally came upon bits of sloping pavement, covered with broken pottery and animal bones, and a corbeled passage the meaning of which we are not able to determine (FIGURE 5). This structure was most tantalizing, and it is foremost on the program of the 1953 campaign. It seems advisable to refrain, for the time being, from theorizing about this passage.

THE SPOT WHICH gave the most spectacular results in 1952 was found by chance. It was known that MAKRIDİ had found cremation burials on a rock outside the city, near the road to Yazilikaya. Although MAKRIDİ never published his find, BITTEL had identified the spot with the help of MAKRIDİ's old workmen. When we visited this place we saw potsherds with ashes under an overhanging part of another rock nearby (FIGURES 6 and 7). Excavation was started here immediately and carried down to a depth of 3.50 m., where bedrock was reached. In this small area—about 20 m. long and 3 m. wide, that is, just as far as the overhang of the rock reaches—fifty cremation and twenty inhumation burials were found (FIGURES 8 to 11). Originally, the number of burials must have

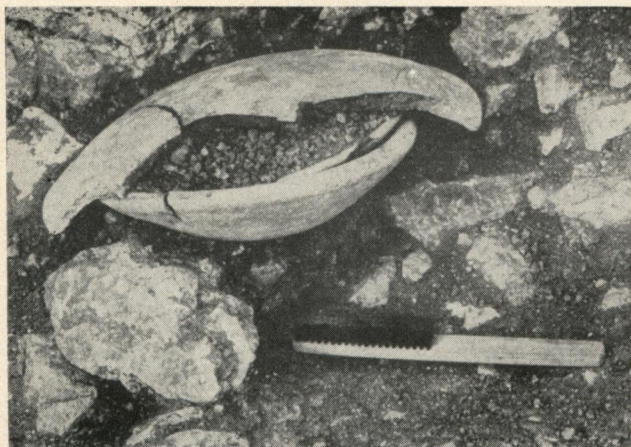


Fig. 9. Cremation burial with two bowls, one inside the other, both covered with a plate. Empire period.

been larger, since the frequent re-use of the place had caused many older burials to be pushed aside and destroyed. The length of time during which this burying place was used can be determined by the types of pottery. The oldest correspond to Kültepe *karum* I and Büyükkale IVc, which is the period after the Assyrian colonies; but BITTEL also mentions correspondence with Büyükkale IVd which would raise the beginning into the colony age itself (ca. nineteenth century). The latest vessels are of Empire type.

During all this time, cremation was practised along with inhumation, for both types of burials were present in all the layers. This shows, on the one hand, that cremation came into use in Anatolia much earlier than we had thought. On the other hand, the very fact that during the same period some people were burned and others were buried, and that both kinds of burials were deposited in the same place, presents problems for which we have no solution.

THE CREMATION BURIALS always consisted of ashes, mostly containing pieces of calcined bone, stored in clay vessels. Some of these were specially made as urns (FIGURE 8 left, Empire); others were vessels of everyday type which had been used for this purpose (FIGURE 9, Empire; FIGURE 8 right, Old Hittite). In the latter case, the lack of some minor parts (handle, spout, etc.) of otherwise complete vessels seemed to indicate that damaged pots had been intentionally chosen, if intact ones were not purposely mutilated.

Offerings were rare. Only two finds were made inside the urns: a stamp seal with "knob" handle and a small shell pendant. Both of these were in urns of the

Empire period. A few small vessels which contained no ashes seem to have been offerings too. Most noteworthy, however, were animal bones found with the burials. Although most burials were disturbed by the frequent re-use of the place, so that it was hard to ascribe any animal bones with certainty to an individual burial—cremation or inhumation—it seemed as though the animal deposits were connected with both types. In the meantime the bones have been studied, both those of animals and of humans. In order not to anticipate the specialists' report, we mention only that among the animal remains there are a few dogs, cattle and sheep or goats; but the majority are horses, that is, almost always severed heads of horses (FIGURE 10). Only one nearly complete horse was found in the deepest layer. Horse heads were present at all levels. The custom of killing a horse and burying its head together with a man lasted as long as the burial place was in use.

THE PAUCITY of other offerings cannot be taken as an indication of poverty but must rather be explained by the beliefs of the people. In the Hittite ritual text describing the cremation rites for a king or queen of the Empire, mention is made of a place where heads of oxen and heads of horses had been burned at some stage of the ritual (the description of the performance itself is lost). In the accompanying prayer these animal heads are connected with the animals which were supposed to graze on the eternal pastures of the deceased ruler. This is, so far, the only hint at the possible meaning of our find. Other explanations, such as linking both cremation and horse burials to the feudal structure of the Hittite state or even to the Indo-European language of the people—first recognizable in proper names of the Assyrian colony age—are easily suggested but are hard to prove.

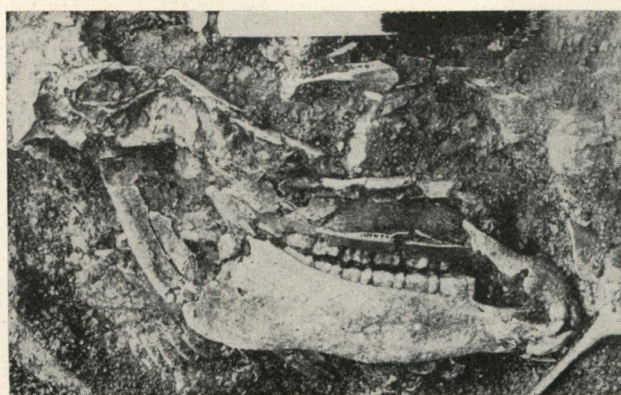


Fig. 10. A severed horse head found with burials.

Notes on Some Hittite Monuments

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NOTES ON SOME HITTITE MONUMENTS

By HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

AMONG THE WORKS of Professor John Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites* (1910), with its new version *The Hittite Empire* (1929), will remain a classic. What makes this book most valuable is the emphasis laid upon the setting of the Hittite monuments. It therefore seems appropriate to devote these pages, which are meant as a small token of gratitude to the master, to problems of this kind.

I. MT. SIPYLOS : A SPRING SANCTUARY

The colossal statue of a goddess on the north slope of Mt. Sipylos is, of course, well known.¹ One may ask why on the long and uniform north slope of the mountain this particular spot was chosen by the ancients for such an image. The answer became clear to me when I visited the place in 1952.² On the road which runs along the foot of the mountain, exactly below the monument, there is now a pleasant little "casino" with a garden and a concrete-lined pond. This pond is filled with clear, cold water by a strong spring which now enters it underneath the concrete wall on the south side, i.e. on the side nearest the slope (Pl. III). The modern features left aside, there remains the existence of a spring of great volume situated at the foot of the mountain exactly below the monument. The sketch map published in Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, Vol. V, p. 59, Fig. 28 (reproduced here as Fig. 1), shows a lake where the concrete pond is now. In Vol. IV of the

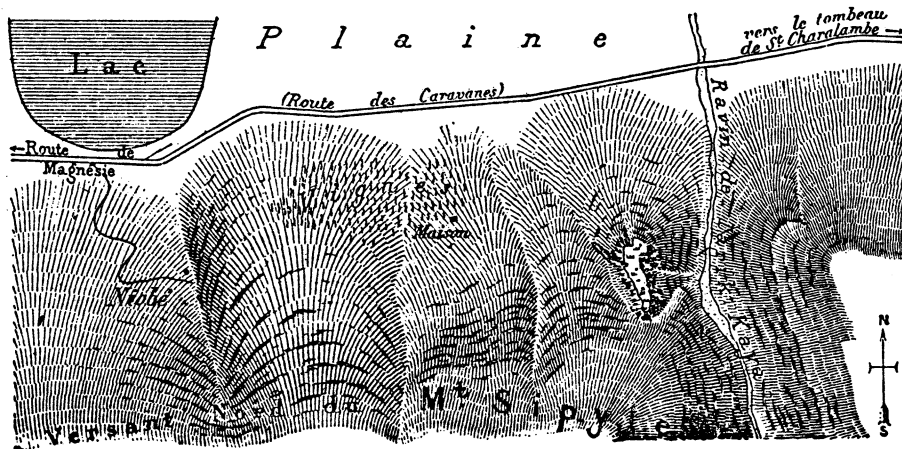


FIG. 1. Sketch plan of Mt. Sipylos (after Perrot-Chipiez).

same work, however, where the monument is described in detail (pp. 752-9), the lake is not mentioned; there is even a negative statement

¹ *The Hittite Empire*, pp. 174 ff. and Pl. XXXVI.

² Cf. my report in *The American Philosophical Society, Year Book 1953* (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 273.

(p. 756) : “ Enfin point de source ni de torrent dans le voisinage.” It thus seems that the spring was not noticed by earlier visitors ; probably it was always below the surface of the water.

In view of the existence of other Hittite spring sanctuaries there can be no doubt that this monument belongs into the same category. The presence of the spring was decisive for the choice of this particular spot ; the nearest rock surface suited for carving is that which was actually used for it, half-way up the steep slope.

The other well-known imperial Hittite spring sanctuary is, of course, Eflâtun Pınar³ ; at İvriz⁴ there is one of the Late Hittite period.⁵ Another spring of this type, with one mutilated line of a Hittite hieroglyphic inscription, is near the village of Taçın, east of Bünyan, to the north-east of Kayseri, which was shown to me in 1954 by Mr. Halid Doral, Director of the Kayseri Museum. Since it was first seen by Bossert,⁶ we have to await his publication.

2. THE SPHINX GATE OF HÜYÜK, NEAR ALACA

When Theodore Makridi published the results of his excavation of 1907,⁷ he assumed that the two blocks with hunting scenes, discovered by him at the foot of the left-hand façade of the gate, originally stood on top of the row of reliefs representing an offering. Professor Garstang, who had visited Makridi's excavation, hesitated to accept this theory without clear proof.⁸ Owing to circumstances it took a long time before this problem could be taken up again.

Makridi planned to transport all reliefs to Istanbul ; to this end he had the thick building blocks chiselled down to the shape of thin slabs. But circumstances forced him to leave them behind. In the late 1920s the slabs were brought to Ankara, upon the initiative and with the help of the Anatolian Expedition of the Oriental Institute.⁹ For some years they were stored in the Temple of Augustus. In 1934, however, they were set into the retaining wall of the terrace which supports the statue of Atatürk in front of the Ethnographic Museum of Ankara. Here, the hunting scenes were actually put on top of the offering scenes, but since all joints were thickly filled with mortar it was impossible to inspect the edges in order to find clues for or against such an arrangement. The reliefs remained in the retaining wall until 1947, when they were finally

³ *Hitt. Emp.*, p. 152 and Pl. XXXII, a ; Güterbock, *Halil Edhem Hâtıra Kitabı* (In *Memoriam Halil Edhem*), Vol. I (Ankara, 1947), pp. 59–62 ; Bittel, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, X (1953), pp. 2–5.

⁴ *Hitt. Emp.*, pp. 164 ff. and Pl. XXXIV.

⁵ I have the feeling that R. D. Barnett went too far when he tried to explain all Hittite monuments as related to springs or streams (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, X (1953), p. 81).

⁶ Mentioned by U. B. Alkim, *Belleten*, XX (1956), p. 79.

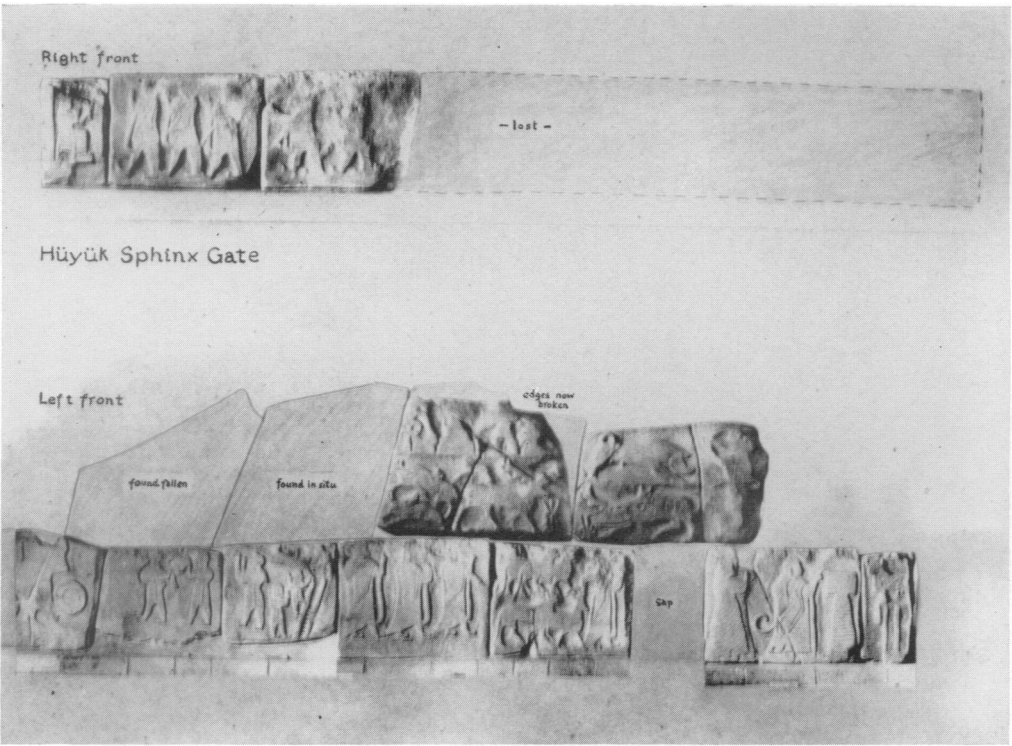
⁷ Th. Macridy-Bey, *La porte des sphinx à Euyuk* (*Mitt. d. Vorderas. Ges.*, 13 (1908), 3), pp. 11 and 18.

⁸ *Hitt. Emp.*, pp. 130 f.

⁹ *Oriental Institute Communications*, 2 (1927), pp. 35 f. and Fig. 34 ; *Or. Inst. Publications*, V (1929), p. 98 and Figs. 158–162.



North slope of Mt. Sipylus with monument (upper centre) and concrete pond.



(a) Façades of Sphinx Gate of Hüyük.



(b) Professor and Mrs. Garstang with Dr. Koşay at the gate of Sakçagözü in the Bedesten.

brought to the Bedesten Museum and set up in their present location.¹⁰ The mortar came off easily and without damage to the edges of the reliefs. A close inspection of the upper edges of blocks 4 and 5 of Makridi (i.e., *d* and *c* of Professor Garstang) and of the lower edge of the deer-hunt relief (Makridi 15, Garstang *y*) showed the situation rendered in the sketch Fig. 2: the dent in the upper edge fits exactly into that of

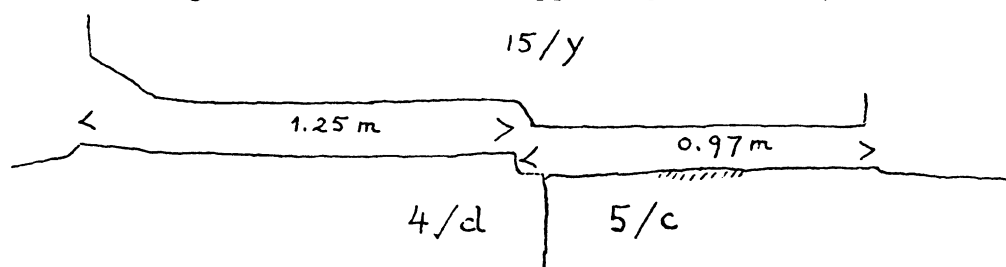


FIG. 2. Sketch of edges of upper and lower reliefs, Hüyük Sphinx Gate.

the lower, and in length the hunting relief corresponds exactly to the even stretches on the top of blocks 4 and 5. Concerning the block to the right (Makridi 14, Garstang *x*), the situation is less clear because of the gap between blocks 5 and 6 (*c* and *b*); it seems to me, however, that

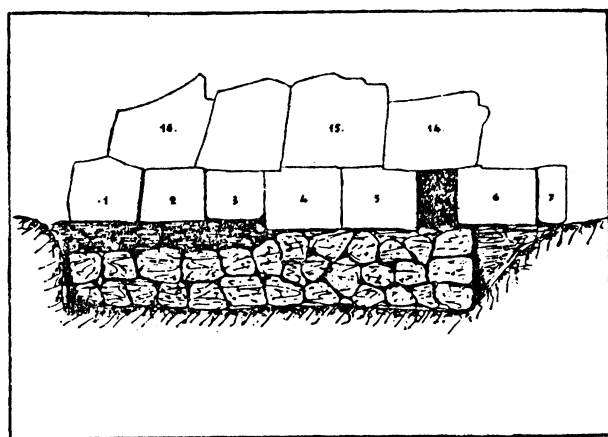


FIG. 3. Makridi's reconstruction of the left-hand façade, Hüyük Sphinx Gate.

the clear case of the left blocks is sufficient proof for the correctness of Makridi's reconstruction (his Fig. 15, reproduced here as Fig. 3).

Strange as the arrangement may seem (Pl. IVa),¹¹ the combination of hunting and offering scenes is in itself nothing extraordinary. I shall deal with this subject in another context. For the moment it may suffice to recall a seal impression from Boğazköy¹² (Fig. 4) which shows the same combination in the outer circle.

The two blocks which Makridi's sketch shows to the left of the hunting slabs are without sculpture. One (without number) was found

¹⁰ *Guide to the Hittite Museum in the Bedesten at Ankara* (Istanbul, 1946), pp. 55 ff.; cf. there Fig. 1 with Fig. 3 (reproduced from *Hitt. Emp.*, p. 127) and with our Pl. IVa.

¹¹ Mounting of photographs taken for me by the museum photographer in 1954 with the kind permission of Dr. Cahit Kınay, then Director of Antiquities.

¹² *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, II (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiheft 7, Berlin, 1942), Nr. 220.

in situ ¹³; the other (Makridi 16) had fallen to the ground but fitted the place exactly. That these two blocks are empty might be taken as

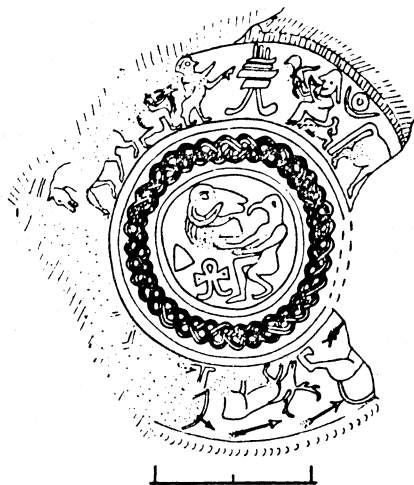


FIG. 4. Seal impression from Boğazköy.

evidence against putting the two hunting reliefs to their right. It should be noted, however, that the left half of the façade seems to have undergone changes. Not only do the three reliefs on the left side bear representations of a different kind (a circus scene according to Frankfort) ¹⁴ and face in the opposite direction, they also are less high than their neighbours to the right, so that they had to be brought to a higher level by means of a rubble fill (Fig. 3 and Pl. IVa); finally, two of them are unfinished. If the three left blocks of the lower row were put there later than the right ones, the two blocks on top of them must be late, too, and this may account for their not bearing any relief. Maybe they were intended to be carved at a later date. ¹⁵

The unfinished state of the two blocks at the left has been taken as evidence for dating the whole gate to the very end of the Hittite Empire. If the above observations are correct, this view needs revision. The right part of the façade, with the two hunting scenes above and the offering scene below (and with the same treatment of the muscles of the stags above and the bull below) may very well antedate the end of the Empire considerably.

I would like to close these lines by publishing a picture of a more personal kind (Pl. IVb). It was taken in the Bedesten museum while the latter was under construction, and shows Professor Garstang and the late Mrs. Garstang together with Dr. Hâmit Zübeyir Koşay, then Director of Antiquities, standing in the reconstructed gate of Sakçagözü. It was a great pleasure for me to set this monument up, and a still greater to be able to show it to the successful excavator.

¹³ *Hitt. Emp.*, Pl. XXIX, at left.

¹⁴ *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient (The Pelican History of Art, Z 7, 1955)*, pp. 127 f.

¹⁵ Macridy-Bey, loc. cit., pp. 11 f.



Narration in Anatolian, Syrian, and Assyrian Art

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bolism. With the paradoxical love of opposites which characterizes all phases of Mesopotamian art, both principles seem always to be present in the minds of the Babylonian artists, with the preference usually for the "culmination method."⁴⁰ "Continuous style" in the Wickhoff sense, with repetition of one figure through a series of scenes, occurs in a simple form in the late Early Dynastic age (in prehistoric times if it is permissible to include the stela of fig. 3 with its two figures of the lion-hunter), and is well worked out in the Ur-Nammu stela (fig. 12).

The subjects narrated in Babylonia are generally religious; if secular, they are associated with divine

⁴⁰ See Frankfort, *Art*, 41 on the polarity of Mesopotamian art, "a love of design for its own sake," and "a delight in physical reality." Perhaps we might better contrast the love

help and human dependence on it. Divine and human are seen quite on the same plane, the meeting of man and god being depicted in a manner as matter-of-fact and convincingly real as if the artists had seen it take place. As in the Babylonian literature, so also in its art the gods are conceived in thoroughly human form.

With this the history of narrative art in Babylonia ceases. From this point on the initiative in the field of art as in most others in the Land of the Two Rivers is taken over by Assyria.

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of design and the love of story telling since physical reality can be convincingly expressed in both decorative and narrative monuments.

Narration in Anatolian, Syrian, and Assyrian Art

HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

PLATES 21-26

We are treating the narrative art of Assyria, Syria and Anatolia together for the following reasons: (1) The setting in time: the monuments known from these regions are, generally speaking, younger than the Sumerian and Babylonian works discussed in the preceding paper. (2) The fact that all three areas are peripheral to the center of ancient Oriental civilization: they received cultural and artistic impulses from Babylonia, but transformed them in their own spirit. (3) There were frequent contacts between the three peripheral regions, as we shall try to demonstrate. (4) The fact that in Assyria, Syria, and Anatolia stone for monumental reliefs was available, in contrast to the situation outlined in the preceding paper for southern Iraq.

In order to understand the appearance of narrative art in its own setting, we shall follow a roughly

chronological sequence. Despite the fact that monumental sculpture appears relatively late and that the first works of art are not narrative, we shall start from the beginning.

Anatolia received a strong stimulus from Mesopotamia in the nineteenth century B.C. through the presence of Assyrian merchants; for the same period speakers of Hittite or a related Indo-European language are first attested in that country.¹ The merchants brought their own seals with them, seals both of Babylonian and of Assyrian manufacture (pl. 21 a).² Most of these belong to the stereotype style of the late Third Dynasty of Ur and early Old Babylonian periods briefly described by Miss Perkins (p. 60f). The standard scene depicts the introduction of a worshipper into the presence of a seated god by some minor deity. The

¹ According to the proper names of local people in the Old Assyrian ("Cappadocian") texts. For a linguistic analysis of these names cf. E. Laroche, *Recueil d'onomastique hittite* (Paris 1952) 101ff, 151f; A. Goetze, *Language* 30 (1954) 349ff; the same, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 8 (1954) 74ff; B. Landsberger, *ibid.* 120ff.

² For the different stylistic groups of cylinder impressions on "Cappadocian" tablets see E. Porada, "Seal Impressions of Nuzi," *AASOR* 24 for 1944-45 (1947) 97ff; the same, *Corpus*

of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections I (The Bollingen Series XIV, 1948) 107ff and pls. cxxviii; Nimet Özgüç, *Kultepe Kazısı Raporu 1949-Ausgrabungen in Kültepe . . . 1949* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından V. Seri, No. 12, Ankara 1953), 229ff (in German). Our pl. 21 a (Old Babylonian) is reproduced from H. de Genouillac, *Céramique Cappadocienne*, I (Musée du Louvre 1926) pl. A 6; for Old Assyrian cylinders see Porada, *Corpus*, *loc.cit.*

fact that local sealcutters soon began to produce similar cylinder seals for the local people (pl. 21 b)⁸ justifies our speaking of a stimulus. The scene of worship is still the main theme, but it is modified by Anatolian features such as the altar, the libation with an Anatolian pitcher, etc. More freedom is achieved in the ancillary scene: a rather shapeless agglomeration of animals is frequently found here. Some of the impressions on "Cappadocian" tablets seem to come from seals made in Syria.⁴ In these, it is the headdress and garment of the figures and the rendering of *two* adoration scenes which is typically Syrian.

None of these representations is narrative; the scenes depicted are typical, not specific. Whether we are allowed to see some meaning in the seeming contrast between chaotic wild-life and the orderly relation between man and god, we cannot tell. The very notion of reading such meaning into these seals might seem ill-chosen were it not for some later works which will be discussed presently.

Some time later the so-called Old Hittite Kingdom was founded; it covers the time from the seventeenth century down to about 1400 B.C. From this general period we have mainly stamp seals, which because of their small size do not lend themselves to representational art. But along with them we find painted relief vases⁵ as well as an Old Kingdom limestone relief recently excavated at Boghazköy (pl. 21 c).⁶ The latter showed traces of red paint when found, a fact that connects it with the vases, whose predominant colors are red and white. The vase from Bitik has a procession of offering bearers in its central and (in traces) lower panels, while the upper panel shows a religious scene on a smaller scale inside a building. As a whole, this type is reminiscent of the Uruk vase (p. 55), which is about one and a half millennia older. Although much larger than the adoration scenes on the older seals, this scene still renders a religious ceremony which is typical or, at best, individual only in the

sense of being one distinct festival. The relief (pl. 21 c), however, represents a god who is coming down head first from the sky and is being attacked by another. Although the bad state of preservation does not show the details clearly, there is no doubt about the interpretation, since an identical scene has been reported (not yet published) among the Karatepe reliefs of around 700 B.C. The scene is clearly mythological, and if we are bold we may connect it with the Hittite myth of the Moon God who fell from Heaven.⁷ In this relief a myth, which must have been known to the beholder, is depicted in the method called "monoscenic" by Weitzmann, "culmination scene" by Perkins.

A "stamp-cylinder" of unknown origin in the Louvre (pl. 21 d),⁸ which may be dated about 1400 B.C., around the beginning of the Hittite Empire or shortly before it, depicts another mythological scene in its upper register, and a chariot hunt in the lower. The upper scene is difficult to understand: the two rows of deities and mixed beings who approach the Naked Goddess holding the Flowing Vases may be a representation of one moment, but this is not certain.⁹ The lower register shows, in addition to the hunt, the Storm God standing on his bull. If the four animals arranged horizontally represent the catch deposited in front of the god, one might here speak of "stages": hunt and its result.

Comparable is a stamp impression from Boghazköy with a circle of figures (pl. 21 e).¹⁰ In one preserved part we find an offering scene, close in theme to that of the Colony cylinders, and in the other a kneeling archer shooting wild animals. The two seals are loosely connected by the combining of religious and hunting scenes; this combination is reminiscent both of the wild-life as ancillary scene beside a scene of worship on Colony cylinders and of the much later Phoenician bowls, which will be discussed further on.

In the Empire, large scale sculpture in rock and

⁸ Pl. 21 b is from de Genouillac, *op.cit.* pl. C 3; for other Anatolian seals see the literature quoted in n. 2.

⁴ Porada's Syro-Cappadocian group; see n. 2.

⁵ Most recent discussion by K. Bittel, *Festschrift für Carl Weickert* (Berlin 1955) 23ff. The largest fragment is from Bitik, NW of Ankara, now in the Ankara Museum. A photograph was published by the late Remzi O. Arik in *Belleten* 8 (1944) pl. LIII, and reproduced by Halet Çambel in *Orientalia* N.S. 15 (1946) 353, fig. 4.

⁶ K. Bittel, *MDOG* 86 (1953) 25ff, fig. 9, a and b. Our reproduction is from the drawing by R. Naumann, *loc.cit.* fig. 9 a.

⁷ Translation by A. Goetze in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*,

ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1950) 120.

⁸ A. Parrot, *Syria* 28 (1951) 180ff, pl. XIII. R. D. Barnett has recently argued on the basis of finds made at Karmir-Blur (*Iraq* 14 [1952] 145 and fig. 7) that this type of seal, a combination of cylinder and knob-handled stamp, was at home in Urartu: *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 13 (1956) 39.

⁹ Equally enigmatic are the scenes on the so-called Tyszkiewicz and Aydin stamp-cylinders. Good reproductions are on pl. xiv of Parrot's article (see n. 8) where various attempts at an interpretation are also cited; add P. S. Ronzevalle, *MUSJ* 15 (Beyrouth 1931) 261ff; cf. Barnett, *loc.cit.* (n. 8).

¹⁰ H. G. Güterbock, "Siegel aus Boğazköy II," (*AOF Beiheft* 7, 1942) No. 220.

stone predominates. Its subject matter, consisting of gods and offering scenes, cannot be called narrative. It is worth noting that although the Hittite kings certainly were great warriors, they produced nothing comparable either to the Battle of Qadesh reliefs of their own contemporary Ramses II (p. 50) or to the war reliefs of the later Assyrian kings. One element which first appears in the Hittite Empire, however, is of importance for it may be considered a forerunner of the Assyrian reliefs: the composition of a coherent row of large scale sculptures in rock and on stone slabs. The most impressive composition is the procession of gods carved in the natural walls of Yazılıkaya, the rock sanctuary outside the Hittite capital. The gods represent "the pantheon"; but the fact that the last twelve gods on the left side are running indicates that the pantheon is shown at a certain moment, when the processions of gods and goddesses meet.¹¹ Without being narrative, this row of reliefs is one coherent composition representing one moment, which may have been unique or of seasonal recurrence.

Decoration of a building in form of rows of orthostats is found on the Sphinx Gate of Hüyük near Alaja.¹² Although the edges of each block serve as frame for a single section, the reliefs of the lower row form scenes of worship (one, fragmentary, on the right buttress; another on the left buttress, divided into two groups, one moving right, the other left). The gate had reliefs in two superimposed rows; the upper row of the left buttress shows a hunting scene very similar to the Boghazköy seal mentioned above. Again we may ask whether the association of worship and hunt, here as well as on the seal, has a meaning. In any

case we would have to call these scenes typical, not specific.¹³

At Malatya on the upper Euphrates a gate with relief decoration was found.¹⁴ The date is debated: either shortly before or shortly after the downfall of the Hittite Empire, i.e., before or after 1200 B.C. Each of the slabs shows one single scene of worship: the king of Malatya (in one case a woman) pours a libation to a different deity in each instance; "label" inscriptions in Hittite hieroglyphs are added to identify both the person and the god. There are, however, two significant exceptions: in one (pl. 21 f), a single "label" belongs to two divine figures which are identical in all details, so that we have to take them as two representations of one and the same god. At left the Storm God arrives in his bull cart, at right he receives the offering. The other relief (pl. 21 g) differs even more from the rest of the gate decoration by showing a mythological scene: the fight against a serpent. A god is fighting; behind him there is a second figure, again identical in all details of costume and weapons, only at rest. This figure could, of course, be a second god standing ready to help the first; but in the light of the double representation of the Storm God on the first block I would prefer to see the two figures here, too, as one and the same god in two representations: in one he approaches the serpent and in the other he fights it. Whether this is an illustration of the specific myth known from a Hittite text, of the struggle between the Storm God and the dragon Illuyanka, we cannot tell, since we know of other dragon myths.¹⁵ But it certainly is narration and, if our interpretation is correct, narration that uses

¹¹ The best overall picture is the reproduction of photographs on a folding plate in K. Bittel-R. Naumann-H. Otto, *Yazılıkaya* (WVDOG 61, 1941) pl. 41. As a substitute for this rare publication, K. Bittel, *Die Felsbilder von Yazılıkaya* (Istanbul Forschungen 5, 1934) may be used. Its pl. xxxi is a reproduction of the drawing in J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (London 1929) pl. xxiv, to be used with some caution (cf. Bittel, p. 11). The running position of gods No. 1-12 (Bittel's numbering; Garstang "Left 31-42"), not rendered in the drawing, can be seen in the photograph *Felsbilder*, pl. v, and *Yazılıkaya*, pl. II, 2.

¹² Th. Macridy-Bey, "La porte des sphinx à Euyuk," *MVAG* 13 (1908) 3; Garstang, *Hitt. Emp.*, 124ff, pls. xxviii ff; H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin 1942) Nos. 495ff. Evidence for the arrangement of the reliefs in two rows, first proposed by Macridy, *op.cit.* p. 11, will be presented by the writer in a forthcoming volume of *Anatolian Studies* dedicated to Prof. Garstang. A reproduction of mounted photographs showing the composition as a whole will be found there on pl. IV a.

¹³ Another composition consisting of many blocks is the imperial Hittite spring sanctuary of Eṣlatun Punar. Latest interpretation by K. Bittel, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 10 (1953) 2ff with previous literature. This scene is not narrative either.

¹⁴ Final publication, superseding all previous ones, is L. Delaporte, *Malatya. Arslantepe, I: La porte des lions* (Mém. de l'Institut Français d'Archéol. de Stamboul V, Paris 1940). For the dating cf. H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (*The Pelican History of Art*, Z 7, 1955), 128f, with literature. The two reliefs discussed and reproduced here are Delaporte, K and H.

¹⁵ Illuyanka myth: Goetze, *loc.cit.* (n. 7) 125f; Hedammu myth: Güterbock, *Kumarbi* (*Istanbul Schriften* 16, 1946) 116ff; J. Friedrich, *AO* 17 1 (1949) 230ff. For the continuous style in general and on the Malatya relief in particular, cf. E. Unger, "Kinematographische Erzählungsform in der altorientalischen Relief- und Rundplastik," *Festschr. Max Frh. v. Oppenheim* (AOF Beiband I, 1933) 127ff.

the device of repeating the main figure, that is, "continuous style." It should be noted here that of the two Malatya reliefs in which we found this device, only the second renders a specific mythological scene; the first, worship of the Storm God, is typical. This means that the device of repeating a figure was used both in scenes that, by their content, are narrative and in scenes that are not.

Another example of the use of the same device in a typical scene comes from Assur, and it is perhaps not accidental that it dates from approximately the same period. An altar (pl. 21 h)¹⁶ with an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242-1206 B.C.) shows the king once approaching, and once kneeling down before, an altar of the same shape as the monument itself.

A small carved pyxis lid (pl. 21 i),¹⁷ datable to the same king, is the first example of an Assyrian representation of a battle (upper register). Whether the two similar heads in the lower register can be taken as representing one and the same figure (on a chariot, then seated), is not clear because of the break.

With these last examples we have reached Assyria. It is well known that the first large compositions of hunting and battle scenes are those of Ashurnasirpal II (884-859 B.C.), and that the art of the so-called Late Hittite city states was strongly influenced by Assyrian models. However, this should not lead us to assume that all Late Hittite reliefs are to be dated later than Ashurnasirpal. In fact, the art of Ashurnasirpal II is so mature that it cannot be a beginning. The following examples are evidence that representational art existed in Assyria before his reign: the pyxis just discussed;¹⁸ a war scene on another altar of Tukulti-Ninurta

I;¹⁹ the "Broken Obelisk," and the glazed brick paintings of war chariots,²⁰ which are related to the Kassite wall paintings (p. 61). Also, it is clear from a combination of stylistic and inscriptional criteria that the great relief series of Carchemish are earlier than Ashurnasirpal.²¹ This brings us back for a moment to the Hittites, that is, to the Late Hittites of Carchemish. King Katuwa, at whose command the most impressive relief series of his town were created, reigned around or a little before 900 B.C. His reliefs are the only ones among those of the Late Hittite sites which form coherent compositions; the older reliefs which he left standing do not. One of Katuwa's series, showing a line of men and women carrying offerings,²² links the procession of gods at Yazılıkaya to the processions of courtiers and prisoners in Assyria and Persepolis. Also a work of Katuwa is the so-called Long Wall of Sculpture. Because of its length there exist only partial or oblique views of this wall.²³ Originally its decoration consisted of alternating basalt and limestone blocks. Although most of the basalt slabs are lost (in the published photographs replaced by mud-brick masonry), the one preserved basalt chariot relief (B 42a) shows that they bore representations of the same kind as the adjoining limestone reliefs. The principle observed in Alaja-Hüyük, namely that each block is a unit and yet part of a greater composition, prevails here too; the single units are even accentuated by the change in color. The first reliefs from the left show warriors on foot killing their enemies (B 44-46); following an inscription which tells of a victory (B 43b = A 1a) are representations of war chariots driving over the bodies of enemies (B 41-43a); finally, a row of deities moves on in the same direc-

¹⁶ W. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur* (9. Sendschr. Dtsch.Or.-Ges., 1938) pl. 51 b; Frankfort, *op.cit.* (n. 14), pl. 73 B.

¹⁷ Andrae, *op.cit.* pl. 49 b; D. Opitz, *AOF* 13 (1939-41) 219ff.

¹⁸ Significant because it is a portable object. On the rôle of small objects as transmitters see Frankfort, *op.cit.* p. 179.

¹⁹ Andrae, *op.cit.* pl. 51 a.

²⁰ "Broken Obelisk": Frankfort, *Art and Archit.* (cf. n. 14), pl. 73 A (after 1100 B.C., p. 84); glazed brick paintings: W. Andrae, *Farbige Keramik aus Assur* (Berlin 1923) 11ff, pl. 6 (Tiglathpileser I, before 1100 B.C.); pls. 7-9 (Tukulti-Ninurta II, 888-884 B.C.; correct Frankfort, p. 67, accordingly!).

²¹ The official publication *Carchemish. Report on the Excavations at Ierablus . . .* (London, British Museum) is now complete in three parts (I, 1914; II, 1921; III, 1952); for a synopsis see Güterbock, *JNES* 13 (1954) 102ff. For the date of Katuwa (ca. 900 B.C.) see Barnett, *Carch.* III, 263ff: he is the last of four rulers who must have preceded Sangara (ca. 880-848),

the contemporary of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III. For the stelae of Til Barsib, whose style is identical with Katuwa's, see Barnett, *ibid.*; according to F. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til Barsib*, 134, and B. Landsberger, *Sam'al* (Veröff. der Türk. Hist. Ges., VII. Serie, Nr. 16, Ankara, 1948) 35 and 37, they would even be older than the Aramaean conquest of ca. 950 B.C. For Zinjirli, the stylistic difference between the figure of Kilamuwa (*Ausgr. in Sendschirli* IV [1911] 375, fig. 273) and the great statue (*ibid.* 362ff, figs. 261ff) shows that the statue, in "Katuwa style," must be considerably older than Kilamuwa, who reigned ca. 832-810 (Landsberger, *op.cit.* pp. 50 and 57). In Carchemish, Katuwa incorporated older reliefs into his constructions (the Herald's Wall, B 9-16, and others: *Carch.* III, 203f; *JNES* 13, 106-108). The low dates given to the Zinjirli and Carchemish reliefs by Frankfort, *op.cit.* 180ff, are incompatible with this evidence.

²² *Carch.* II, pl. B 17a; details on pls. B 19-24.

²³ *Carch.* III, pl. 37b; pl. B 37a, b; details on pls. B 38-46.

tion (B 38-40). The whole commemorates the bringing home of the gods after a victory over the enemy who had carried them away; that is, a specific historical event is rendered by means of a coherent series of orthostats, though the event is implied rather than overtly presented.

It is hard to determine whether this Late Hittite use of orthostat series, which is a continuation of an Imperial Hittite feature, gave rise to the similar use of wall slabs in Assyria; such an assumption would rest on an argumentum ex silentio as far as Assyria is concerned. At any rate, the palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Kalakh/Nimrud is the first known example of this kind of decoration in Assyria,²⁴ dating, as said before, one generation after Katuwa. The reliefs of the throne room of this palace are relevant here,²⁵ in particular those arranged in two panels separated by the so-called Standard Inscription. The arrangement of subject matters in the two panels differs in the different sections of the wall. In the first two blocks from the left,²⁶ each scene of hunting in the upper panel corresponds to a libation over the killed animal in the lower one. Note the new interpretation which the old combination of hunt and sacrifice received here! The compositions of the two blocks next toward the right²⁷ cover both blocks in each panel. This is clear in the lower panel where the king receives a row of captives. But in the upper panel, too, the conquest of a fort and the shooting of enemies, who try to reach another fortification by swimming across the moat separating the two, form one scene. In this section of the wall, then, we have representations of "stages"—hunt and libation, conquest and taking prisoners—in separate panels.

²⁴ It is very difficult to give an impression of Assyrian wall decorations, since a single series of reliefs by far exceeds what can normally be shown on one printed plate. In the following footnotes we shall try to enable the reader to get an impression of large compositions as far as possible. Assyrian royal inscriptions can be found in D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago 1926-27).

²⁵ Room B in the North-West Palace at Nimrud, according to the plan in A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, I (London 1853), pl. 100, plan III. For the palace as a whole see E. Porada, in *The Great King, King of Assyria: Assyrian Reliefs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York 1945). Most of the reliefs of that throne room are in the Nimrud Gallery of the British Museum. The official publication, E. A. W. Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum: Reign of Ashur-nasir-pal* (London 1914) does not bring out the original arrangement. Cf. C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria* (London 1936) 132, and especially A. Moortgat, *JKS* 51 (1930) 141-158. Quoted hereafter as B(budge) and M(moortgat).

Separated from this group by a door (with its bull colossi and winged genii) and by some missing slabs, there is, on the same wall, another group of nine slabs.²⁸ Here, each of the two registers is divided into three individual scenes, in such a way, however, that the division of the upper panel does not coincide with that of the lower. Starting from the left in the upper register we have: first (Moortgat 6, a; Budge xiv 1 - xv 2), four panels depicting a battle; second (M. 6, b; B. xvi 1 - xvii 1), three panels showing the return of the victorious army to its camp; third (M. 6, c; B. xvii 2 - xviii 1), the conquest of a fortress in two panels. Again beginning from left in the lower register we find: first (M. 6, d; B. xxi 1 - xxii 1), a scene covering three panels, in which the Assyrian army crosses a river; the next panel, in which the Assyrian chariots pass in front of an enemy town (B. xxii 2), may belong to the river crossing at left or to the scene following to the right (thus M. 6, e), or indeed may connect the two; next we find the king standing in front of his chariot and receiving captives (rest of M. 6, e and first half-block of f; B. xxiii 1, W. with more captives, and half of B. xxiii 2); the last two and one half panels (rest of M. 6, f; B. xxiii 2 right, xxiv 1, and xviii 2) show another siege scene.

In each of these six scenes the king appears once. In most cases the scenes are clearly separated from one another by a change in the direction of the movement. Only in the first and second groups of the lower register (Moortgat 6, d-e) it is possible (but not certain) that crossing the river, passing the town, and receiving the captives are intended to be parts of one episode, in which case the king would be represented twice (B. xxii 1 and xxiii 1),

²⁶ Moortgat, fig. 4, corresponding to the following plates in Budge:

upper: xii 1, xii 2;

lower: xix 1, xix 2.

²⁷ M., fig. 5, corresponding to

upper: B. xiii 1, xiii 2;

lower: B. xx 1, xx 2.

For the upper register see M., p. 148.

²⁸ M., fig. 6. One panel now missing is available in an old drawing in E. F. Weidner, "Die Reliefs der assyrischen Könige I," *AOF Beiheft* 4 (1939) 67, fig. 58 (quoted hereafter as W.). For the division into scenes see the arrangement in Moortgat's fig. 6, but note that in the block at left in 6, f (marked below by an asterisk) the division falls into the middle of the slab, against M. p. 152.

upper: B. xiv 1, xiv 2, xv 1, xv 2; xvi 1, xvi 2, xvii 1; xvii 2, xviii 1;

lower: xxi 1, xxi 2, xxii 1; xxii 2, xxiii 1, W., xxiii 2*, xxiv 1, xviii 2.

so that we would have here continuous style. In this connection one should not forget the enormous size of these wall decorations: since each block measures seven feet in width, the beholder could not take in more than a few of them at one glance; he had to walk along the wall in order to "read" the picture story.

The Standard Inscription, which is repeated on every single block, speaks of Ashurnasirpal's deeds in such general terms that the pictures cannot be taken as "illustrating" the inscription. In a general sense, of course, inscription and reliefs belong together, as both demonstrate to the visitor the irresistible power of the Assyrians.

An obelisk of one Ashurnasirpal (probably also the second) seems to come closer to the idea of illustrating a text, provided that the identifications of incidents depicted on it with those mentioned in the inscription are correct.²⁹ In any case, the sequence of events differs, and the royal hunt is not mentioned in the text. In one panel (A 3 on pl. III) we find a label inscription.

Ashurnasirpal's son, Shalmaneser III (858-824 B.C.),³⁰ has left us the famous bronze decorations of a gate supposedly found at Balawat (pl. 22).³¹ An inscription summarizing his deeds in a brief form runs along the vertical edges of the door leaves, but only a few of the campaigns depicted in the horizontal bands are mentioned in it. So the reliefs, which again bear label inscriptions, tell their own, independent story. Sometimes each of the two registers of one bronze band depicts an individual campaign; sometimes they both belong to the same campaign, in which case there is only one label inscription for the whole band. Usually the king appears but once in each register, and frequently, though not always, at the same point,

facing toward the hinge. Whereas our sketch (pl. 22) is intended only to give an idea of the arrangement as a whole, pl. 23 shows one individual band of the left leaf: the lower part of the plate contains the portion of the band on the flat leaf itself, the upper one the portion of the band which went around the hinge beam.³²

This band forms an exception to the general principle of arrangement. It depicts Shalmaneser's visit to the Tigris source. Since there is a cave high up in the mountains and a rock tunnel lower down through which the water gushes forth, the artist has made use of both registers: the cave is in the upper, the tunnel in the lower. Having thus used the right ends of both panels for this one scene, he had some space left which he used for two other campaigns, each again containing the figure of the king once. Turning back to the visit to the source, we note that the king could use his chariot only part of the way upstream on the near side of the river; he had then to cross it and to proceed on horseback on the far bank. The artist avoided repetition of the king by showing only his empty chariot on the near bank, and the royal person only once on horseback on the other side of the water. The king is not shown participating in the scenes either at the tunnel or at the cave. Although the approach, the ceremony at the tunnel, and that at the cave must have followed one another in time, unity of scene is achieved by representing the king only once, while stone cutters and priests are busy at the two spots. Thus, the element of narration is neglected here in favor of rendering one moment.

In other bands we see the Assyrian army moving from its camp toward the enemy town. The attack on a town and the leading away of its inhabitants are combined in one picture on some of the bands

²⁹ Detailed discussion by E. Unger, *Der Obelisk des Königs Assurnasirpal I. aus Ninive* (Mitt. Alter. Ges. VI, 1932, 1-2) with composite drawing on pl. XVII. The identifications (pp. 30ff) are not always convincing. For attribution to Ashurnasirpal II rather than I, see Landsberger, *Sam'al* (cf. n. 21) 57f, n. 144.

³⁰ The reliefs on his famous obelisk are not narrative but merely processions of tribute bearers in five panels, each running around the four sides of the stone and provided with a label inscription. Note that none of these victories is recorded in the main text of the obelisk, though most of them are known from other inscriptions of the king.

³¹ T. G. Pinches (*The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat*, London 1880-1902) and L. W. King (*Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, London, Brit. Mus., 1915) only illustrate on their plates individual sections of the long bronze strips. Their arrangement of the strips (Pinches, A-M in text; King, I-XIII) follows the chronological order established

by other inscriptions, not the arrangement on the gate itself. Combined pictures of the strips (though not complete or always correct) can be found in A. Billerbeck and F. Delitzsch, *Die Palasttüre Salmanassars II. von Balawat* (Beitr. zur Assyriol. VI, 1, 1908). E. Unger's dissertation *Zum Bronzetor von Balawat* (Leipzig 1912) reconstructs the bands not in the British Museum (N-P). In the sketch (pl. 22), for which the writer is indebted to Miss Margaret Bell of the Oriental Institute, the strips are arranged according to the measurements given by Unger (p. 14, n. 1, and p. 15, n. 1) for the parts going around the hinge beams: it is assumed that the beams were tapered toward the top. Note that the sequence thus obtained is not chronological. (To save space, the distance between strips has been reduced here). "K" here and in pl. 25 stands for "King."

³² Pinches, band J (in text); King, band X; right part Unger, pl. III, and Billerbeck-Delitzsch, pl. IV; Frankfort, *Art and Archit.*, pl. 91, gives only the right end.

(e.g., A-D = I-IV): this is continuous style and contrasts with the scene at the Tigris source.

The war reliefs of Tiglathpileser III (745-727 B.C.) found at Nimrud are too fragmentary to allow for any conclusions concerning the arrangement as a whole.⁸³

From Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) we have the palace at Khorsabad.⁸⁴ The plan (pl. 24)⁸⁵ shows the part of the palace in which the first reliefs and inscriptions were found.⁸⁶ Of the fourteen rooms, four (numbers II, V, XIII, and XIV) were decorated with slabs divided into panels like those of Ashurnasirpal and depicting war scenes, with the text of the Annals inscribed between the two panels. Other rooms had decorations and inscriptions of a different kind or uninscribed reliefs (cf. pl. 24 with n. 35).

The chart in pl. 25⁸⁷ shows the arrangement of scenes in Room II. The Annals tell of many more campaigns than could possibly be depicted, even by using the walls of the four rooms inscribed with their text. Therefore the war scenes in the four "Annals" rooms are necessarily a selection only. The pictures of conquered towns bear label inscriptions telling their names; many of these are found in the text, but not all. This *may* be due to the fact that parts of the text are lost; but in view of what has been observed for the earlier kings, it is also possible that some conquests were recorded only in the reliefs. However that may be,

⁸³ C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria* (1936) 151-159; partial reconstructions on pls. 9-12. The reliefs in the British Museum were later published by Sidney Smith, *Assyrian Sculptures in the Br. M.: From Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib* (1938) pls. v-xxiv.

⁸⁴ Old excavations: P. E. Botta (and) E. Flandin, *Monument de Ninive* (Paris 1849ff). The Oriental Institute expedition re-excavated Room VII and found new reliefs in other parts of the palace area (G. Loud, "Khorsabad" I, *OIP* 38, 1936).

⁸⁵ Cf. Botta-Flandin, *op.cit.* (n. 34) I, pl. 6; F. H. Weissbach, *ZDMG* 72 (1918) plate facing p. 161. Legend (added in our pl. 24): "Ann." = text of the Annals; "Display" = so-called Display Inscription; "Big" indicates large size figures covering the entire height of the blocks, whereas in the rooms not so designated the reliefs are in two panels separated by the inscription. Room XIV is unique insofar as it combines large size reliefs at one end with war scenes in panels at other walls; the text in this room is a special version of the Annals. "Aud." = audience scene showing courtiers in front of the king; "Capt(ives)" and "Trib." = processions of captives and of tribute bearers, respectively.

⁸⁶ Cf. Mahmud El Amin, "Die Reliefs mit Beischriften von Sargon II. in Dūr Sharrukīn," *Sumer* 9 (1953) 35-59; 10 (1954) 23-42 (parts of a Berlin dissertation sponsored by E. Unger).

⁸⁷ Botta-Flandin, *op.cit.* pl. 52, re-arranged according to the actual sequence. Detail drawings of the reliefs of Room II, *ibid.* pls. 53-77.

the pictures of identified campaigns do not follow exactly the chronological sequence of the text. As a result of the difference in space taken by the pictorial and the written account of a campaign, the picture of a town never falls on the block where its conquest is mentioned in the text.⁸⁸

In two of the relief sequences of Room II, the king appears twice: in one composition (C 1 - 12) he is seen once attacking Ḫarḫar (10), once receiving captives (2); in the other series (15, right part, to H 1) the king is seen in the midst of his army (18) moving from the burning Bit Bagaya (H 1) to the attack of Tikrakkā (17), and accepting the surrender of the latter (16).⁸⁹

The upper registers of the slabs have suffered most; many of them are completely lost. As far as one can judge from the remains, it seems that on one side of the long Room II the upper register had more battle scenes (H 2 - 29), whereas on the opposite wall it showed scenes of banquets and offerings (6 - H 1). The combination of victory and feast in the wall decoration of one hall is, in a way, reminiscent of the Standard from Ur (p. 56).

The wall reliefs of Sargon's son Sennacherib⁴⁰ show a great advance in comparison to those of his predecessors. The scenes are more lively, they show a great number of figures, and landscape is indicated in detail. The composition is often broken up into several registers. Continuous style, for example, the combination in one picture of the

⁸⁸ This may be illustrated by a few examples (text of the Annals according to A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II*, part I: *The Annals* [Paris 1929]):

Ḫarḫar:	relief	bl. 7,	text line	96	on	bl. 9;
Kindau:	"	" 14,	" " 113	"	" 10;	
Bit Bagaya:	"	" H 1,	" " 113	"	" 10;	
Kishesim:	"	" 22,	" " 93	"	" 9;	

[T]ikrakkā (bl. 17) and Gaṅguḫtu (bl. 28) do not occur in the preserved part of the Annals; on relief block 26 both picture and name of a town are lost.

El Amin assumes that the reliefs of Room II depict the sixth campaign (716 B.C.), starting at right. But even in that case the sequence would be different from the text; cf. his own comparative lists, *Sumer* IX, 49. Besides, of the towns in his first list, most are mentioned in the seventh not the sixth campaign; in the second list, the number 1 given to Ḫarḫar does not agree with the assumption that the reliefs run from Door C toward the left.

⁸⁹ El Emin, *Sumer* 9, 50f, 56f.

⁴⁰ The best publication is A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures: Palace of Sennacherib* (The Hague 1915). It is impossible to reproduce any of the coherent compositions covering many slabs. Good examples are:

pl. 39 top	=	Room XII,	slabs	12-15;
" 68-76	=	" XXXVI,	"	5-13, siege of Lakhish;
" 83-84	=	" XLVIII,	"	11-13.

attack on a town and the carrying off of captives and booty, is found in the first two relief series listed in the footnote, among others. But the third shows that this was not the only way of rendering: in this picture the fight is clearly over when the town is sacked.

Of Ashurbanipal, the last of the great Assyrian kings, we have similar battle scenes.⁴¹ Here I want to dwell only on one of his continuous representations of a hunt.⁴² The plan of the palace (Meissner-Opitz, *op.cit.* pl. 1) shows the arrangement of slabs in the different halls. Beginning with the narrow passage A (*ibid.* pl. v), we first see the hunting party setting out; in the next passage R (*ibid.* pl. 11), another part of the same party is on its way. Then, in the entrance hall S (*ibid.* pl. 111) we find the hunt proper in three registers. Each register is independent of the others. The lowest contains two scenes: hunting of gazelles from a pit, and of onagers on horseback; the king appears once in each.

The central register is divided into two parts; both depict a lion hunt in several stages. On the left, the king is represented once on horseback, spearing a lion, and once dismounted, inspecting the dead beasts. On the right, he seizes a lion by the tail, kills a lion (the same?) with his spear, and finally looks at what must have been attendants carrying the catch.

The clearest example of a picture story in stages is in the left part of the upper register: one lion comes out of its cage, is hit by the king's arrow, then attacks him and has to be killed at close quarters. It so happens that another, almost identical scene (*loc.cit.* pl. xv) has a label inscription which makes it clear that these were indeed different stages in the killing of one lion.⁴³ From another text we learn that following the lion hunt, Ashurbanipal had a shooting contest with the Elamite princes who were his captives, an episode depicted in the right part of the upper register.⁴⁴

⁴¹ For instance, the Elamite war in Sennacherib's palace: Paterson, *op.cit.* pls. 62-66 = Room XXXIII, slabs 1-3 and 4-6.

⁴² From the North Palace in Nineveh. Most detailed discussion and reconstruction (drawings on folding plates): B. Meissner und D. Opitz, "Studien zum Bît Hilâni im Nordpalast Assurbanipal zu Ninive" (*Abh.Preuss.* 1939, Nr. 18), esp. pp. 12-42. For a similar scene on slabs fallen from the upper story, see *ibid.* 50ff, pl. xv. The famous hunting scenes of the "Lion Room" (p. 43; C in plan) have not been published as a whole (Gadd, *Stones of Assyria*, 181); a sequence of five slabs (23-27) is in H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the Brit. Mus.* (Paris and Brussels 1928) pls. XLVII-XLIX.

⁴³ Meissner-Opitz, *op.cit.* p. 51 with n. 1.

⁴⁴ *ibid.* p. 30f.

⁴⁵ Latest treatment of the bowls as a group, with references

Thus, there are six individual hunting adventures depicted on this wall. Among them, those three which show the highest degree of the king's prowess are subdivided into stages, in which the main figures, the king and the lion, are repeated in a fully continuous style. Yet all these adventures, together with those depicted on the other walls of the same hall, are part of one "story," which began with the departure (above, halls A and R) and ended, on the opposite walls of the same hallways, with the carrying home of the catch (*loc.cit.* pl. iv).

With Ashurbanipal we have reached the second half of the seventh century. To the same century can be dated the so-called Phoenician bowls which have a wide distribution: from Assyria through Cyprus to Italy.⁴⁵ Only very few of them have narrative representations, but these are very fine examples indeed. First, we mention two bowls with almost identical scenes, one found in Palastina, ancient Praeneste, in Italy (pl. 26 a),⁴⁶ the other in Kourion in Cyprus.⁴⁷ In the mixture of styles which is characteristic of this late art, both have the heraldic representation of Pharaoh killing his enemies (above p. 45) as centerpiece. The middle registers of the two bowls differ and do not interest us here. Most important is the outer ring which is identical in both bowls. Clermont-Ganneau, who was the first to interpret it correctly in 1878, formulated its contents as title of a stage play:⁴⁸

"Une journée de chasse

ou

La piété récompensée

Pièce orientale en deux actes et neuf tableaux ou scènes."

What we see is: I, a prince leaves his town in a chariot; II, he dismounts and shoots a stag; III, he pursues the bleeding animal; IV, while his charioteer attends to the horses, the prince flays

to literature, in Frankfort, *Art and Archit.*, 195-201. The few "narrative" examples are only mentioned in passing (p. 201).

⁴⁶ Bibliography in Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex (Studies in Manuscript Illumination 2)*, Princeton 1947) 36, n. 8. Our reproduction is from *Monumenti Inediti* (German Archaeol. Inst., Rome), vol. 10 (1874-78), pl. xxxi, 1.

⁴⁷ In the Metropolitan Museum: A. Marquand, *AJA* 3 (1887) 322ff and pl. III; E. Gjerstad, "Decorated Metal Bowls from Cyprus" *OpusArch 4 (Skr Svenska Institutet i Rom 12)*, 1946) 1-18, pl. VIII.

⁴⁸ Quoted from *JA* 7^e série, 11 (1878) 247. The separate (?) publication "La coupe phénicienne de Palastina," quoted in the literature, is not available to me, unless it is identical with the article in *JA* 232-270, 444-544.

the stag; V, he makes offerings to a winged deity, while an ape snatches a bone from the sacrifice; VI, the ape attacks the prince, but the winged goddess lifts him up, chariot and all, and so saves him; VII, put down again, the prince, in turn, attacks the ape; VIII, he kills him and, IX, returns to his city. What Clermont-Ganneau called "piety rewarded" is the most surprising re-interpretation of the old combination of hunt and sacrifice!

Another bowl, from Amathus in Cyprus (pl. 26 b),⁴⁹ has an almost Assyrian-looking siege scene. Sir John Myres pointed out that the symmetry of the arrangement is so great that one expects, on the lost side exactly opposite the besieged town, another town or a camp from which the victorious army sets out, exactly like the ones in the Assyrian reliefs discussed above. He then compared this with the "story of two cities" in the description of the shield of Achilles.⁵⁰ In view of the wide distribution of the bowls of this kind, it indeed seems quite possible that the poet took the theme for his free elaboration from one of them.

The evidence presented here may be summarized as follows:

1. Around 1200 B.C. we find the first examples of a figure repeated in two moments of one continuous action: two reliefs from Malatya and the altar of Tukulti-Ninurta I.
2. Simultaneous representation of storming a town and of leading its inhabitants into captivity first appears in the works of Shalmaneser III in the ninth century.
3. Fully developed continuous style is only found in the lion hunts of Ashurbanipal and the Phoenician bowls, both of the seventh century.

In view of the emphasis that has been laid on the rôle of book illustrations in the development of the narrative style, we have in passing touched upon the question as to whether the combination

of reliefs and inscriptions in Assyria can be regarded as "text illustration" in some sense. The answer is that, although the inscription and the relief serve the same general purpose of inspiring fear, the reliefs cannot be called text illustrations in the proper sense. Often the incidents depicted are different from those mentioned in the text; even when the same events are treated in both media, the pictures are separated from the relevant passage of the text. But most important is the fact that a palace wall is not a book; in other words, that the idea was not to illustrate a given text, but to decorate a wall with scenes that lent themselves to representation in relief and with a text that, though also dealing with the king's exploits, was conceived as an independent unit. In the "label" inscriptions⁵¹ writing serves to explain a picture; this is the opposite of illustrating a text by pictures.

In this connection it may be useful to add a few words about drawings on clay tablets, although none of these is narrative. In many cases the drawings have nothing to do with the text.⁵² Occasionally one may find a more or less loose connection between the drawing and the contents of the tablet. Of the three such tablets known from Boghazköy (14th to 13th century), one is a description of cult images and has a drawing of two human heads;⁵³ the second is one copy of the myth of the Moon Who Fell From Heaven and shows the drawing of a lion, the sacred animal of the Moon God;⁵⁴ the third is a description of "The Great Festival of the town of Arinna" and has the picture of a great god with horned tiara, who may be the Storm God of that town.⁵⁵

Whereas none of the drawings mentioned so far is a text illustration, real illustrations actually do exist. The oldest examples available to me are drawings accompanying liver omina from the library of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh,⁵⁶ some of

⁴⁹ In the British Museum; Sir John L. Myres, *JHS* 53 (1933) 25-29, pl. 1-III; Gjerstad, *op.cit.* pl. VI.

⁵⁰ *Iliad* XVIII, 490-540.

⁵¹ Apart from those mentioned above cf. those collected in M. Streck, *Assurbanipal* (*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* 7/II, 1916) 304ff, and the drafts for such label inscriptions on tablets, *ibid.* 320ff.

⁵² Examples: drawing of a bird on a Neo-Babylonian business document, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der kgl. Museen zu Berlin* 6 (1908), No. 291; of a palm tree on a Neo-Babylonian document concerning the renting of a garden, *Texte und Materialien der . . . Hilprecht Collection . . . Jena* II-III (1933) No. 135. I am indebted to A. L. Oppenheim for these references and for those in notes 56-59.

⁵³ Bo 2318. Text: C. G. v. Brandenstein, *Heth. Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen* (*Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.* 46, 2, 1943) Text 3; picture: A. Moortgat, *Die bildende Kunst des alten Orients und die Bergvölker* (1932) pl. LXXXVII.

⁵⁴ Bo 446. Text: *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (*KUB*) XXVIII (1935) No. 4 (for translation see n. 7 above); picture: Moortgat, *op.cit.* pl. LXVII.

⁵⁵ Bo 2566. Text: *KUB* XX (1927) No. 76; picture: U. Moortgat-Correns, *MDOG* 84 (1952) 38ff. If the knee really is bent, the god may have been stepping onto his chariot (cf. our pl. 21f) rather than being in "Knielauf," a position not befitting a great god!

⁵⁶ *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum* XXXI (1911) pls. 10ff.

which are referred to by a line "this is the drawing of it" at the end of the paragraph.⁵⁷ More elaborate illustrations are from the Seleucid period: one is a series of pictures of the signs of the zodiac on an astronomical tablet,⁵⁸ the other a ritual text with a sketch showing how to arrange the cult objects.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ e.g., K. 2089 on pl. 14 and K. 1999 on pl. 40.

⁵⁸ F. Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d'Uruk* (Musée du Louvre, *Textes Cunéiformes* VI, 1922) No. 12 with quotation of a Ber-

lin fragment probably belonging to the same tablet.
⁵⁹ *ibid.* no. 47 with literature.

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Narration in Greek Art

GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN

PLATES 27-29

Since all human actions unfold in time and are carried out in space, men, time, and space are the three major challenges which the task of story telling presents to a sculptor or painter. How an artist portrays his actors; how he condenses or extends the time sequence of his story; and what he does about the place of action—these decisions determine the solutions for the task of telling a story in visual or plastic terms.

The narrative representations of Greek art have been treated by many scholars in relation to the literary traditions of story telling in Greece, an approach which emphasizes the value of works of art as supplementary sources and illustrative materials for Greek mythology and Greek literature.¹ We shall forego this fascinating and rewarding field in order to consider briefly some examples from the major periods of Greek art from a different angle—as artistic solutions to the common problems which story telling poses to all visual artists.

¹ This paper was presented in a slightly different form at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in December 1955. I gratefully acknowledge the courtesy of G. Daux, H. Diepolder, E. Kunze, and H. Palmer in helping me to secure illustrations. I have profited from the discussion of various aspects of the subject by the students of my seminars on Narration in Greek and in Roman art.

C. Robert's pioneering work is illustrative of the interest in the relation of literature and art. Cf. "Die Entwicklung des griechischen Mythos in Kunst und Poesie," *Bild und Lied* (1881) 3-51. The origin and development of book illustration generally and narrative illustration specifically have been taken up recently by E. Bethe, *Buch und Bild im Altertum* (1945) and K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (1947). Although concerned with Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Aegean arts, H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort's *Arrest and Movement* (n.d.) contains much that is helpful toward a better com-

The magnificent burial scenes of a group of monumental vases from the Dipylon cemetery of Athens have become justly famous.² In some ways their artists were amazingly ambitious. Thus on the great "Hirschfeld" crater in Athens³ we are shown something like twenty people, presumably assembled in a large crowd, or perhaps in three crowds. We are given a hint of the place and setting, for surely the birds we see cannot be perched under the funerary couch which is being loaded on a chariot; they are envisaged by the artist as being behind the couch in the courtyard. He must have implied either two different locations—if the mourners are in the house and the chariot is on the road leading to the house—or two different moments, if the mourners signify the lament which preceded the *ekphora*, and the chariots in the frieze below form the funerary escort which conducts the dead man to the cemetery.⁴ Could we but be sure that the sea battles, burial scenes, and funerary

prehension of the Greek methods of narration.

² F. Matz, *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* 1 (1950) 60ff figs. 1f, 10, 13. E. Kunze, *Neue Beiträge zur klass. Altertumswissenschaft, Festschrift B. Schweitzer* (1954) 48ff and *Ephemeris* 1953 (1955) 162ff, with earlier literature.

³ Bibliography: Kunze, *loc.cit.* n. 2. The burial scene best in Chr. Zervos, *L'art en Grèce* (1946) fig. 45.

⁴ For the ritual and the setting of *prothesis* and *ekphora* cf. W. Zschietzschmann, *AM* 53 (1928) 19, and M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (1941) 676f. Zschietzschmann thought that the dead person was lying in state in a room within the house; the law of Solon quoted by Demosthenes, XLIII:62, says that the dead must "*protithesthai endon*." There is however much to be said for the notion that the display was in the inner courtyard of the house which would surely be regarded as being "*endon*," within the house.



a. Kültepe. Impression of Old Babylonian seal



b. Kültepe. Impression of Anatolian seal



c. Boghazköy. Old Hittite relief



e. Boghazköy. Impression of stamp seal



d. Stamp-cylinder. Louvre



h. Assur. Altar



f. Malatya. Relief K



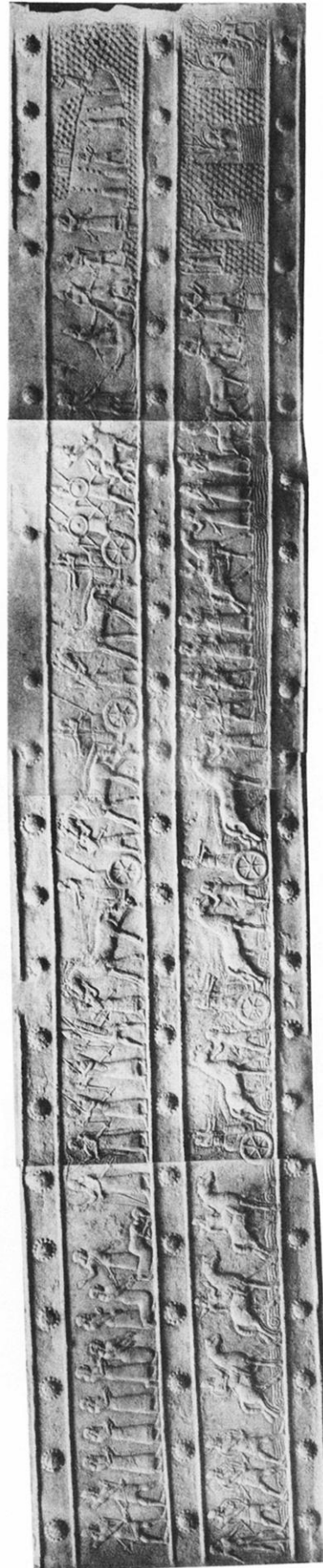
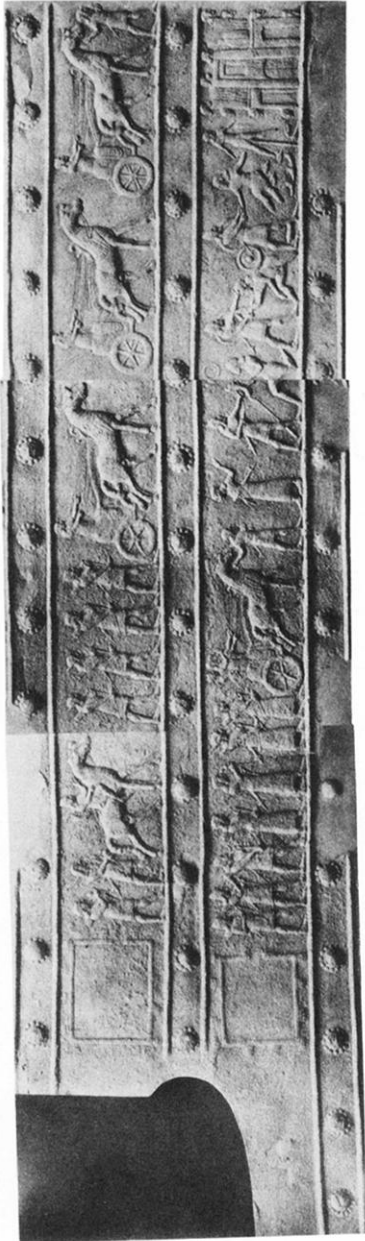
g. Malatya. Relief H



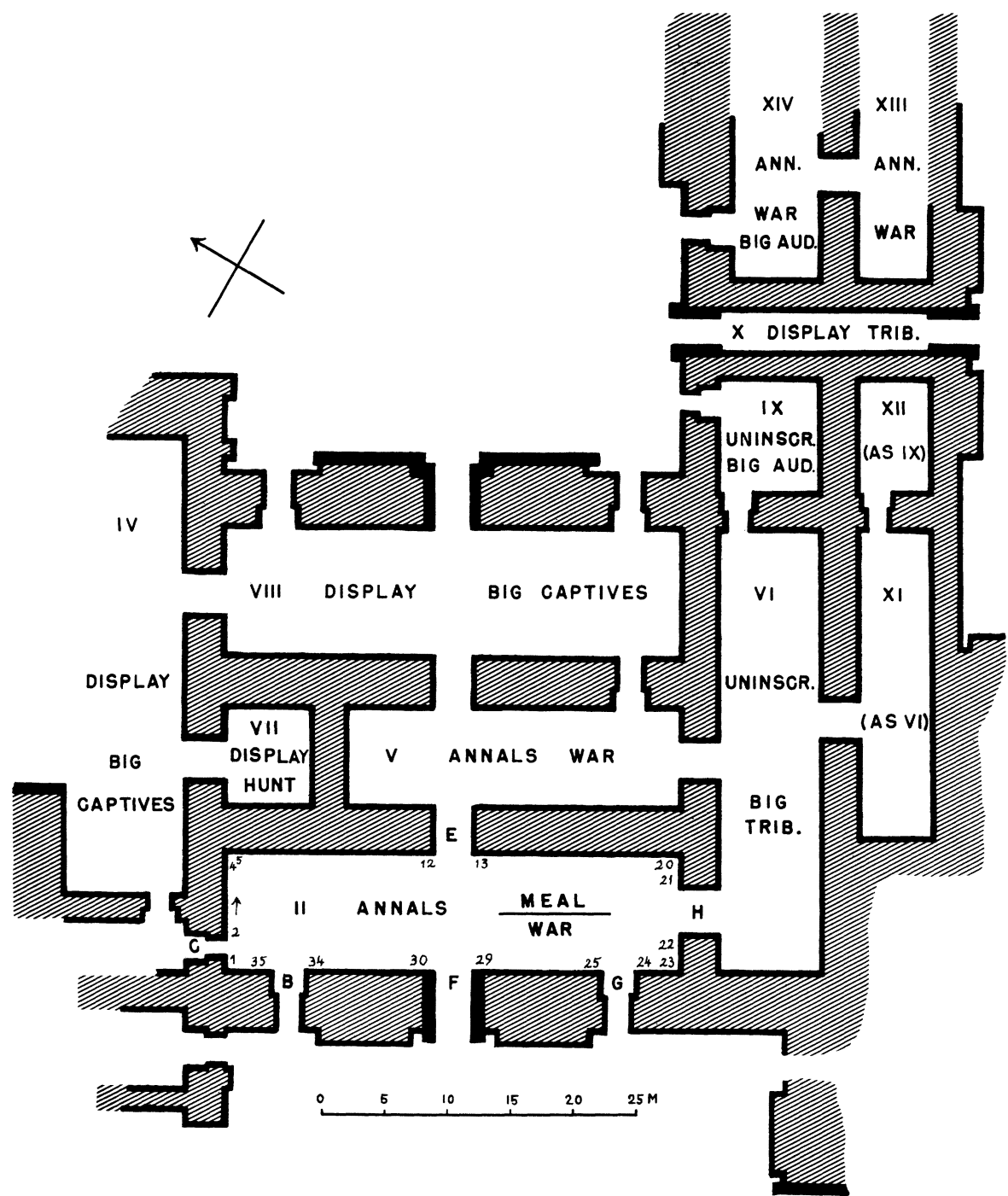
i. Assur. Pyxis lid



Balawat. Sketch showing arrangement of bronze strips on gate



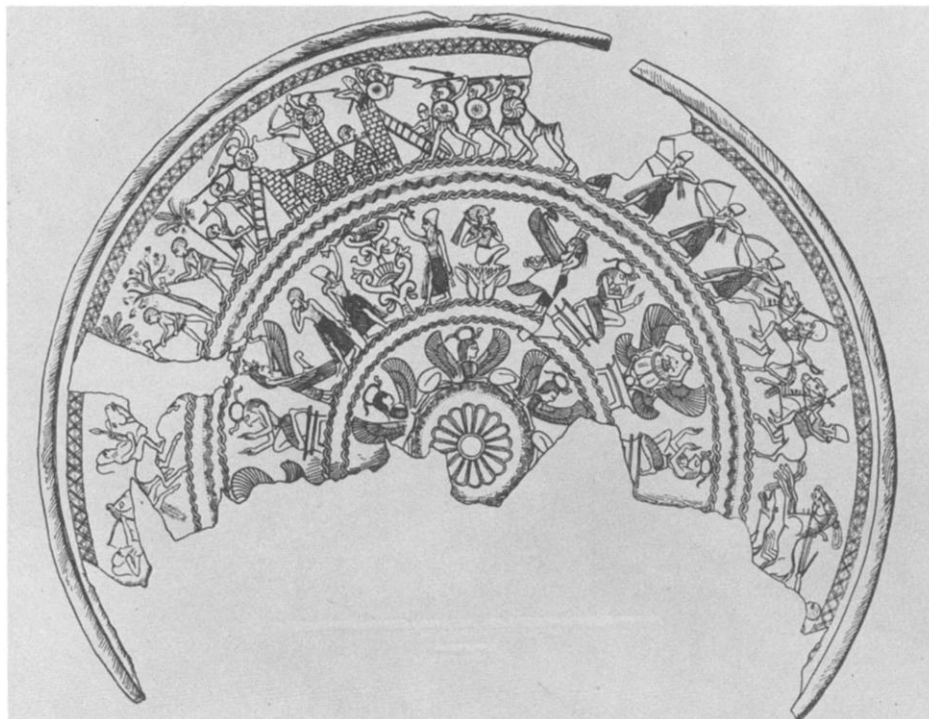
Balawat. Bronze strip X



Khorsabad. Plan of part of Sargon's palace



a. Bronze bowl from Palestrina, Italy



b. Bronze bowl from Amathus, Cyprus



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THE COMPOSITION OF HITTITE PRAYERS TO THE SUN *

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THIRTY YEARS AGO HANS EHELOLF published a translation of a Hittite hymn reconstructed from several parallel Boğazköy tablets which, at that time, had not yet been published in cuneiform.¹ Strangely enough, although the hymn was virtually identical in all copies, it was not addressed to the same god in all of them; rather, the deity addressed in some was the Sun Goddess of the town of Arinna, while in others it was the god Telipinu. Ehelolf noted that the term "lord" used in addressing the deity in all of the fragments did not agree with the female sex of the Sun Goddess but would fit the male god Telipinu, and he therefore used the name Telipinu throughout the reconstructed text. He did so although he himself noticed the similarity of some phrases to Babylonian hymns to Shamash, and although the greater part of the hymn, and in particular the portion containing the parallels to Shamash hymns, was preserved only in the version addressed to the Sun Goddess of Arinna.

The texts in question were published in cuneiform in 1930 by Arnold Walther in vol. XXIV of the *Keilschriftkunden aus Boghazköi*;² Nos. 1 and 2 are two copies of the Telipinu version, Nos. 3 and 4 of the version addressed to the Sun Goddess. In the preface Walther said: "The designation of the Sun Goddess as 'lord of just judgment' and 'just lord of judgment' may have been taken from the lost part of the Telipinu hymn or from the Sumero-Babylonian phrase 'Shamash, lord of judgment.'"

Albrecht Goetze gave a German translation of the same portion of the text in his *Handbuch* of

1933;³ here he used the name Sun Goddess of Arinna throughout the text and silently changed "lord" into "lady" in order to avoid the confusion of sexes. In a footnote, however, he said:⁴ "It has to be noted that, according to the beginning preserved in No. 1, the same hymn could be used, by substituting the other name, also for Telipinu."

The texts published by Walther were presented in full transliteration and English translation by Oliver Gurney in his dissertation "Hittite Prayers of Mursili II," which was prepared under Ehelolf and published in 1940 in the *Liverpool Annals*.⁵ Gurney contributed a great deal to the clarification of the relation of the different versions to one another. Not only did he correctly remark that the solar characteristics do not fit the nature of Telipinu, he also showed from the tablets themselves that in the Telipinu hymn (represented by the duplicates Nos. 1 and 2) there is no space, according to the size of the gap, for the lengthy part of the Sun Goddess hymn (No. 3) which contains the phrases characteristic of a solar deity.⁶ What enabled Gurney to express himself definitely in favor of Walther's second alternative, namely, that the hymn to the Sun Goddess was based on a Shamash hymn, was the discovery, in the excavations of 1932 and 1933, of fragments of a Hittite hymn to the Sun God. Since the latter were, however, still unpublished when he wrote, Gurney had to limit himself to a brief reference to the existence of such a hymn to the Sun God.

Gurney also analyzed the existing prayers of Mursili and showed that they consist of various parts of different character, which he called "Invocation," "Hymn of Praise and Prayer for Blessing," "Plague Prayer," etc. The observation that

* Presidential Address read at the joint meeting of the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society and the Mid-West Section of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, Chicago, April 18, 1958.

¹ H. Ehelolf, "Ein kleinasiatischer Hymnus aus dem Tontafel-Archiv von Boghazköi," *Berliner Museen. Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 49 (1928), 32-34. The issue was dedicated to my father, Bruno Güterbock, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday (cf. *ibid.* p. 26).

² Abbreviated *KUB*. The texts are *KUB* XXIV Nos. 1-4.

³ A. Götze, *Kleinasien* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft III. 1. 3. 3. 1, Munich, 1933), p. 128.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 128 n. 7.

⁵ O. R. Gurney, "Hittite Prayers of Mursili II," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 27 (Liverpool, 1940), 3-163 (abbr. Gurney). Gurney also used two fragments which were later published as *KUB* XXX Nos. 12 and 13.

⁶ Gurney, *l. c.* 9-11.

these prayers are free combinations of essentially independent parts is quite to the point; we shall see that this technique of composition was used by the Hittites in other cases as well.

Goetze's presentation of some of Gurney's sections in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*⁷ does not fully bring out the results of Gurney's analysis. In particular, the inclusion of the solar hymn in the "Daily Prayer" addressed to Telipinu is a step backward compared to Goetze's own *Handbuch*, since it creates the impression that solar characteristics were attributed to Telipinu, although Gurney had shown that they were not. The second edition of the *Handbuch*, published in 1957,⁸ does not essentially differ from the first; the statement that the hymns could be applied to Telipinu is repeated here, only a reference to the new text is added.

Turning now to the new text, the great hymn to the male Sun God Istanu, we are faced with a badly broken tablet the fragments of which were only slowly recovered. The first part of it was published in 1939 by Otten in *KUB XXXI*,⁹ additional fragments appeared in 1948 in a volume of Boğazköy tablets found by villagers and turned over to the museum of Ankara,¹⁰ others reached Geneva and were published by Laroche in 1951,¹¹ and more fragments were added by Otten in 1955 in *KUB XXXVI*.¹² From these additions¹³ it was learned:

1—that the new text is a complex composition, too,

⁷ *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. by J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1950; 2d ed., 1955) (abbr. *ANET*), pp. 396 f. as "b" under "Plague Prayers of Mursilis" and as "Daily Prayer of the King."

⁸ A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* (cf. n. 3 above), Zweite, neubearbeitete Auflage (1957), p. 136 with n. 7.

⁹ *KUB XXXI* No. 127; Nos. 131 and 132 were later recognized as belonging to the same tablet.

¹⁰ K. Balkan, *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri = Boğazköy-Tafeln im Archäologischen Museum zu Ankara* (Istanbul, 1948) (abbr. *ABOT*), Nos. 44, 44a, and 44b.

¹¹ E. Laroche, "Fragments hittites de Genève," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 45 (1951), 131-6 (abbr. *FHG*) No. 1 on pl. I and pp. 132 f.

¹² *KUB XXXVI* Nos. 79 and 79a.

¹³ The texts quoted in notes 9-12 are fragments of one copy, listed as A by E. Laroche, "Catalogue des Textes Hittites II," *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, 14, fasc. 59

combining the hymn to Istanu with a personal prayer;

2—that the personal prayer is parallel to the Prayer of Kantuzzili published by Ehelolf in *KUB XXX* and translated by Goetze in *ANET*;¹⁴

3—that there are various other texts containing parallels to some parts, combining them with still other prayers.¹⁵

Point 2 furthermore makes it possible to treat the problems of composition diachronically; for Kantuzzili was a royal prince, probably a brother of Suppiluliuma, Mursili's father, mentioned in the early years of Suppiluliuma's lifetime.¹⁶ Since Kantuzzili's prayer includes parts addressed to the Sun God, and since the upper part of the obverse of the tablet is lost, it is likely that this text began with the Istanu hymn just as the new text does. We may, then, follow the chronological sequence in analysing the various composite prayers, starting with the period of Kantuzzili.

The text of the new tablet¹⁷ begins immediately with a direct address to the Sun God, followed, after three "verses," by the hymn proper.

(1956) 114, No. 274 (abbr. *Catal.*). Parallel texts are, with Laroche's sigla:

B =	<i>KUB XXXI</i>	128
C =	"	129
D =	"	133
E =	"	134.

The preserved portions of B, C, and D follow one another in such a way that the three fragments could be parts of one copy; E is parallel to D, therefore another copy.

¹⁴ *Catal.* No. 275 = *KUB XXX* 10; *ANET*, pp. 400 f.

¹⁵ *Catal.* No. 276:

1. *KUB XXXVI* 75;
2. *KUB XXX* 11 + *XXXI* 135 (+?) *XXXI* 130.

¹⁶ Cf. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (abbr. *JCS*), 10 (1956), 49 f. and 123, with references.

¹⁷ Text according to A (notes 9-13). The dissertations cited in *Catal.* under No. 274 are, to my knowledge, unpublished. Pending their publication it seems unnecessary to present a detailed transliteration with full apparatus; instead we offer a normalized transcription (cf. *JCS*, 5 [1951], 142) with only the significant variants (sigla used: B—E according to *Catal.* No. 274 [n. 13]; "75," "130," and "135" refer to *Catal.* No. 276 [n. 15], "135" including *XXX* 11). Solid rules between sections are in A, dotted rules are taken from the variants. Selected verses, *viz.*, those containing an address, were presented in my article in vol. 65 (1945) of this *Journal*, pp. 251 ff.

TRANSCRIPTION

- (1) *Istanue išḫa-mi*
ḫandanza ḫannešnaš (2) *išḫaš*
nepišaš daganzipaš-a ḫaššue
 (3) *utne zik dudduškiši*
 (B adds: (3) *irḫuš-a-kan zik-pat zi[kikiši]*)
tarḫuīlatar (4) *zik-pat peškiši*
 (B: [utne(?)] (4) *anda ḫuišnuškiši*)
zik-pat ḫandanza
 (5) *anda genzu daškiši zik-pat* (omitted in B?)
 (6) *mugauwar zik-pat eššatti* (B: *ištamaškiši*)
- (7) *zik-pat genzuwalaš Istanuš*
 (8) *nu genzu zik-pat daškiši*
-
- ḫandanza-kan* (9) *antuhšaš tuk-pat aššuš*
nan zik-pat (10) *šarliškiši*
Istanuš šuwaru mayanza (11) DUMU ^dNingal
zamakur-tet ŠA NA₄.ZA.GĪN-aš
 (12) *kaša-ta DUMU.LÚ.ULÚ.LU-aš*¹⁸ *İR-KA*
 (13) *aruwa[it]*
nu-ta memiškizzi (C: [... aruwa]nun nu [...])
-
- (14) *nepišaš taknaš-a ḫulalešni zik-pat* (15)
Istanuš lalukimaš
-
- Istanue šarku(e) ḫaššue* (16) DUMU ^dNingal
utniyandaš šaklain (17) *išḫiul* (C and 130 in-
 verted) *zik-pat ḫanteškiši*
Istanue (18) *šarku ḫaššue* (omitted in 130)
šiuṇaš-kan ištarna zik-pat (19) *ašnuanza*
 (130, 2: *našta utneya ištarna* (3) [... aššanu]-
wanza Istanuš šiuš zik)
-
- daššu iš-ḫ[i?]-iš-ša tuk-pat* (*Istanui*, 130) *piyan*
 (20) *ḫandanza maniyahḫiyaš išḫaš zik*
 (21) *dankuwayaš utneaš* (*ḫumandaš*, 130) *attaš*
annaš zik
-
- (22) *Istanui šalli ḫaššue* (omitted in 130?)
Enlillaš attas-teš utne (23) *4 ḫalḫaltumari tuk-pat*
kišri-ti tiyan ḫarzi
 (24) *ḫannešnaš išḫaš zik*
nu ḫannešnaš pedi (25) *dariyašḫaš-tiš natta ešzi*
-
- karuiliyaš-a-kan* (26) *šiuṇaš ištarna Istanuš šarkuš*
-

¹⁸ Probably to be "read" *dandukešnaš* DUMU-aš according to the variant A iii 25 (*KUB* 127 iii 15) with Kantuzzili (*KUB* XXX 10) rev. 23' (Otten, *KUB* XXXI

TRANSLATION

- O Istanu, my lord,
 just lord of judgment,
 king of heaven and earth!
 (3) Thou art ruling the lands
 (var adds: and setting the boundaries).
 Thou art giving strength
 (var.: in [the country(?)] thou art life-giving).
 Thou art just,
 thou art having mercy (omitted in var.?),
 (6) thou art fulfilling the prayers (var.: listening
 to the prayers).
 Thou art a merciful Sun God
 and art having mercy.
-
- The just (9) person is dear to thee,
 and thou art letting him win,
 o Istanu, fully grown-up son of Ningal!
 Thy beard is of lapis lazuli.
 (12) Behold, the son of mankind, thy servant,
 has fallen down to thee
 and is speaking to thee (var. in 1st pers. sing.):
-
- (14) In the circumference of heaven and earth
 thou, Istanu, art the source of light.
-
- O Istanu, mighty king, (16) son of Ningal!
 Thou establishest the custom and law of the lands,
 o Istanu, mighty king! (omitted in var.)
 Among the gods thou art established
 (var.: Throughout the land, thou, Istanu, art an
 established god).
-
- A strong lordship is given to thee (, Istanu).
 (20) A just lord of government art thou,
 father and mother of (all) the dark lands art thou.
-
- (22) O Istanu, great king! (omitted in var.?)
 Thy father Enlil has put the four corners of the
 land into thy hand.
 The lord of judgment art thou,
 and in the place of judgment there is no tiring
 of thine.
-
- Also among the Former (26) Gods thou, Istanu,
 art mighty.
-

p. vi). Our text distinguishes between this phrase, referring to the person praying, and *antuhša*, which refers to "man" or "a person" in general.

TRANSCRIPTION

šiunaš-šan SISKUR.SISKUR (27) *zik-pat* (Išta-
nuš, 75) *zikkiši*
karuiliyaš-šan (28) šiunaš HA.LA-ŠUNU *zik-pat*
zikkiši

(29) *nepišaš* ¹⁸IG *appa tuk-pat Ištanui haškanzi*

(30) *nu-kan nepišaš KÁ-aš* (75: -uš) *zik-pat*
aššanuwanza Ištanuš (31) *šarreškiši* (D,
E, 75: *šarraškitta*)

(32) *nu nepišaš šiuneš tuk-pat* (Ištanui, D)
kattan kaninanteš

(33) *taknaš-a šiuneš tuk-pat kattan kaninanteš*
(E and 135 combine: [*nu nepišaš*]š *taknaš-a*
šiuneš t[uk-pat ... ka]ttan kaninanteš)

kuita (34) *Ištanuš memiškiši*
šiuneš-a appa tuk-pat (Ištanui, E) *aruweškanzi*

(35) *Ištanuš dammišhandaš kurimmaš-a antuḥ-*
*haš*¹⁹ (36) *attaš annaš zik*

kurimmaš dammišhandaš(-a) (37) *antuḥšaš kat-*
tawatar zik-pat Ištanuš (38) *šarninkiš-*
kiši

(39) *man-ašta karuwarwar Ištanuš nepišaz* (40)
šara upzi
nu-šan šarazziyaš utneaš (41) *katteraš-a utneyaš*
humandaš tuel-pat (42) *Ištanuwaš*
<lalukkimaš> (in 135) *tiyari*

nu UR.TÚG-aš ŠAH-aš-a hannesšar (*zik[-pat]*,
135) (43) *hannatta(ri)*

šuppalan-a hannesšar iššit (41) *kueš natta memiš-*
kanzi apat-a hannattari

(45) *idalauwaš-a huwappaš-a antuḥšaš hannesšar*
(46) *zik-pat hannatta(ri)*

antuḥšan-a-z kuin (47) *šiuneš šanzi*
nan-šan arḥa paškuwanzi
(48) *nan appa zik(-pat Ištanuš, 135) kappuwaši*
nan genzuwaši (135 omits *kappuwaši nan*)

¹⁹ Variants: E 9, 135, 4, and 75, 13 add *wannummiyaš*, 75 omits *antuḥšaš*. "Lonely" and "bereaved" are intended to render the general sense of *kurimma-* and *wannummiya-*; although both words may include the

TRANSLATION

(27) Thou (, Istanu,) settest the offerings of the
gods,
and thou settest the shares of the Former Gods.

(29) The door of heaven they open for thee,
Istanu,
and thou, well-established Istanu, passest through
the gates of heaven.

(32) The gods of heaven are bowing down to thee
(, Istanu),
and the gods of earth are bowing down to thee.
(var. "the gods of heaven and earth," in one
sentence)

(34) Whatever thou, Istanu, sayest,
the gods are falling down to thee (, Istanu)!

(35) Thou, Istanu, art father and mother of the
oppressed, the lonely (and the bereaved)
person.

Of the lonely and oppressed (37) person thou
Istanu, art restoring the claims.

(39) When Istanu (the sun) rises from the sky
in the morning,
thy light, Istanu, comes to all the upper and lower
lands.

The cause of the dog and the pig thou decidest.

Also the cause of the animals (44) who do not
speak with their mouth, that, too, thou
decidest,
and the verdict of the bad and evil person thou
givest.

A person at whom (47) the gods are angry
and whom they reject,
thou (, Istanu,) considerest him again
and hast mercy upon him (var. omits "considerest
and").

notions of "widow," "childless," and "orphan," I am
unable to assign a specific meaning to either word on the
evidence available so far. Note, furthermore, the variant
[*kurim*]-*pa-aš* E 11 for *kurimmaš* of A 36.

TRANSCRIPTION

- (49) *kun-a LÛ.NAM.ULÛ.LU-aš İR-KA Iota-nuš luluwai*
 (135: *ammuga* [.....] *luluwaiši*)
 (50) *nu İstanui zuwan šeššar šipazakiuwan tiyazi*
 (135 probably [š]ip[panzakimi])
 (51) *nan ħantantan İR-KA İstanuš kišarta ep*
 (135: [nu]-mu-za ħanda[ntan İR-K]A ħaššun
 [İstanuš kišarta epš]i)
-
- (52) *nu meuš kuiuš İstanuš turiyan ħarši*
- (53) *nu-šmaš kaša DUMU.NAM.LÛ.ULÛ-aš ħalkin šuhhaš*
 (54) *nu mewas-tiš karippandu*
nu kuitman (55) *meyawašteš ħalkin karippanzi*
ziga (56) *İstanuš ħueš*
nu-ta kaša LÛ.NAM.ULÛ.LU İR-KA (57) *ut-tar memai*
nu uddar-tit ištamaš[zi]
 (58) *İstanue šarku ħaššue*
 4 *ħalħaltumari ukturi* (59) *ištarna arħa iyattari*
kunnaz-tet (60) *naħšaranteš ħuiyanteš*
 GÛB-laz-ma-ta (61) *we<ri>temaš ħuiyanteš*
-
- (A 62-65 fragmentary, omitted in 75)
- nu* ^d*Bunene ku[nnaš](?)* ²⁰ ^{1a}*SUKKAL-KA* (66) *kunnaz-tit iyatta*
^d*Mišaruš-a-ta* [ŠA GÛB ... ?] (67) ^{1a}*SUKKAL-KA* GÛB-laz-tet *iyatta*
 (68) *nu-kan İstanuš nepiš[za ištarna(?)] arħa pa[iši]* (omitted in 75)
-

TRANSLATION

- (49) This son of mankind, thy servant, make thou, İstanu, prosperous! (var.: Thou makest me [, the king(?),] prosperous)
 then he will (var.: I shall) always offer bread and beer to İstanu,
 and thou, İstanu, take him as thy just servant by the hand
 (var.: and thou, İstanu, shalt take me, the king, thy just servant, by the hand)!
-
- (52) The Four (draft animals) whom thou, İstanu, hast harnessed,
 behold, the son of mankind has heaped up grain for them.
 So let thy Four eat!
 And while thy Four eat the grain,
 live thou, İstanu!
 Behold, the son of mankind, thy servant, speaks a word to thee
 and listens to thy words.
 (58) O İstanu, mighty king!
 Thou stridest through the four eternal corners, (while) on your right the Fears are walking
 and on your left the Terrors are walking.
-
- (After some fragmentary lines, omitted in the variant)
- (65) Bunene, thy vizier of [the right (side)?], is walking on thy right,
 and Mesharu, thy vizier [of the left (side)?], is walking on thy left,
 and (thus) thou, İstanu, passest through the sky (omitted in variant).
-

The next few lines²¹ are too fragmentary for translation. They seem to continue in a similar vein and to connect the hymn proper with the transitional section treated below.

The Babylonian elements in this text are obvious. There are Akkadian prayers that begin with the same address "O Shamash, lord of judgment!"²² The role of Shamash as judge is well

known.²³ Shamash is also called king and merciful; he allots the portions, passes through the gates of heaven and illuminates (or in some other way affects) the below and the above. He also has a lapis lazuli beard and is the son of Ningal, the wife of the Moon God, Sin. Of the statement of the Hittite hymn that his father Enlil put the four corners of the world into his hands, the filiation, though not the normal one, can be found in Babylonia, too,²⁴ whereas the rule over the four corners is not attributed to Shamash but rather to

²⁰ The text has ŠA x[....]x; one expects ŠA Z[AG], but the trace after the break does not fit.

²¹ Col. ii 1-8 in *KUB XXXI 127 + FHG 1*; the reference to the "gods of heaven" and the "gods of the earth" (lines 1-4) may provide the connection alluded to in the text.

²² The Nineveh texts K 5900, K 12000, and Rm 601 in C. D. Gray, *The Šamaš Religious Texts* (Chicago, 1901), p. 7 and plates VIII, X, XI.

²³ See, also for the following items, K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (Studia Orientalia VII, Helsinki, 1938), esp. the section on Šamaš, pp. 453-460; Gurney, p. 10 n. 1.

²⁴ Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

other gods. Of the satellites of Istanu, the two viziers of the right and left, Bunene and Misharu, have the same rank in Babylonia,²⁵ the latter being the personified "Order of Justice."

As concepts that are peculiar to the Hittites one may cite, apart from the modifications just mentioned, the special group of deities called the Former Gods; the inclusion of the animals, and especially of dog and pig, among the persons whom the Sun God judges; the notion that man can feed the animals harnessed to the god's quadriga, and some others.

As a whole, the composition does not have an exact parallel in Babylonian literature. It may be called a free composition for which the Hittite poet has taken a great deal of inspiration from Babylonia. He has made free use of these borrowed motifs, mixing them with others that are Hittite, and has thus produced a work of literature that, in spite of some rather clumsy repetitions, is not without force.

The person who pronounces this hymn as an introduction to his personal prayer is referred to, in the main copy of the text,²⁶ as "son of mankind." There are, however, some variants (which we have occasionally used), and two of them²⁷ say "king" instead of "man." Furthermore, as stated in the introduction, the prayer of prince Kantuzzili²⁸ is a parallel to the part which follows the hymn, that is, the personal prayer, and may very well have contained the same hymn in its first part now broken. We thus have three versions: one pronounced by a specific person, prince Kantuzzili; one that could be pronounced by any king; and one that could be pronounced by any person. It is hard to say which of the three is original. Certainly the text was composed by a learned scribe, and probably upon the orders of a member of the royal family. Whether Kantuzzili was the first to commission this prayer, or whether it was composed for the use of any king and only then adopted by the prince, we cannot tell. About the version referring to "man" in general it could

be argued, either, that it is the original one because it is closest to the way in which prayers are styled in Babylonia; or, that it represents the last stage, since scribal activity in the land of the Hittites was primarily concerned with the royal house and the application to any person would therefore be secondary. However that may be,²⁹ we may state that this Hittite hymn to the Sun God existed at the time of Kantuzzili, that is, shortly before the Amarna Age.

The composition of the text as a whole follows a Babylonian pattern, in broad outlines at least: first the address, then a hymn of praise, followed by a transitional passage that leads to the prayer proper which, in turn, has several sections.³⁰ The transitional part is best preserved in the version just read, but it also occurs, though with variants, in the prayer of Kantuzzili. In our main text this section reads as follows:³¹

That god has turned his eyes to another side
and does not give (this) son of mankind (a chance)
to act.

If that god is in the sky
or if he is on the earth,
thou, Istanu, shalt go to him.

Go, speak to that god and transmit to him the words
of this son of mankind!

Thus we see that Istanu, the all-present and all-seeing Sun, is invoked in the hymn because the person who prays wants to secure his help in finding his personal god and in transmitting his prayer to that god. Again the elements are Babylonian, as that of the personal god "who turned his face elsewhere";³² also prayers are found in which a great god is asked to order the personal god to be friendly again.³³ But the idea that Shamash should find the god and transmit man's prayer to him is not known from Babylonian texts and thus seems to be a Hittite innovation.

The prayer of Kantuzzili is available in Goetze's translation in *ANET* (pp. 400 f.). Although the

²⁵ *Ibid.* 455.

²⁶ Copy A, above notes 9-13.

²⁷ *KUB XXX 11 + XXXI 135* obv. 17; *KUB XXXVI 75* ii 7 (in the personal prayer). These are the versions of *Catal.* No. 276 (above, n. 15). Copy C of *Catal.* No. 274 (n. 13) also uses the 1st pers. sing. (*KUB XXXI 129*, 1; variant to A i 13 above), so C (+B+D?) may have belonged to the type of *Catal.* 276 rather than 274.

²⁸ *KUB XXX 10*, above n. 14.

²⁹ The variants might be expected to give a clue as to which version was the original; but at present I see no way of drawing such a conclusion from them.

³⁰ W. G. Kunstmann, *Die Babylonische Gebetsbeschwörung* (Leipziger Semitistische Studien, N. F. II, Leipzig, 1932), pp. 7 ff.

³¹ Copy A, col. ii 9-15, preserved in *FHG* No. 1; translation *RA* 45, 132. The parallel passage in Kantuzzili's prayer is *KUB XXX 10* obv. 1-5 (partly in *ANET*, p. 400). *KUB XXXVI 75* ii 7-12 shorter.

³² Kunstmann, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

³³ *Ibid.* 34.

new parallel makes possible some minor additions and modifications, we need not repeat the whole text here. The author reminds his god of the good care the god used to give him in the past and of the righteous life he, the author, used to lead,³⁴ and complains about his present illness. "Life is tied in with death," he says, "and death with life; the son of mankind does not live forever."³⁵ He then asks his own god to reveal to him the cause of his anger.³⁶ Then he turns to the Sun God again (in a section that can now be restored from the new copy):³⁷

*Ištanuš ħuma[ndaš] (62) weštaraš zik
nu-ta ħumantiya ħalugaš-tiš šanizziš
(64) [nu-mu]-šan kuiš šiuš-miš šait
nu-mu-šan arĥa paškutta (var.: piššiyait)
appa-ya-mu-za apaš-pat kappuiddu
[nu-mu ħu]išnuddu
nu-mu kuiš šiuš-miš inan paiš
nu-mu genzu namma [daddu]*

Thou, Istanu, art the shepherd of all,
and thy message is sweet to everyone.
The god who was angry at me
and rejected me,
let him consider me again
and make me live!
The god who gave me this illness,
let him again have mercy upon me!

Also the next sections are addressed to the Sun God. They deal with the author's sickness and his wish to get well in a very personal and, in parts, touching language. The author then addresses his own god again, saying: ³⁸ "Now I cried for mercy before my god; hear me, o my god!" The new text carries this prayer beyond the point where the Kantuzzili version breaks off, but unfortunately this last part is fragmentary here, too, so that it cannot be fully understood.^{38a} Even from this short outline of the prayer it will be evident that it, too, like the hymn, makes ample use of Babylonian motifs but is a free composition.

Turning now to the prayers of Mursili, who lived one generation later, it will be good to con-

sider not only the individual sections as presented by Gurney, but also the question of the distribution of these sections in the various versions.

First there is the Daily Prayer addressed to Telipinu. It has an introduction reading as follows:³⁹

The scribe reads this tablet to the god every day and
praises the god:
O Telipinu! A mighty, weighty god art thou!
Mursili, the king, thy servant, sent me,
and the queen, thy maid-servant, sent me (saying):
"Go and pray to Telipinu, our god, the lord of our
head!"

There follows the invocation which, in short, asks the god to return to his temple from wherever he may be, and to listen to the prayer of the king. He is then reminded that he is worshipped nowhere but in Hatti.⁴⁰ Then comes the hymn of praise, of which only the beginning is preserved here. It begins with a general section which reads:⁴¹

Thou, Telipinu, art a weighty god;
thy name is weighty among names,
and thy godhead is weighty among gods.

The following verses can be restored from the prayer to the Sun Goddess:⁴²

Furthermore, among the gods thou, Telipinu, art
weighty,
and great art thou, Telipinu!
And no other god is weightier or greater than thou!

Here we have reached the gap in the Telipinu prayer which, as said before, is too short for the long hymn praising the Sun Goddess as a solar deity. If, then, we find that at this very point the prayer to the Sun Goddess begins a section which is parallel to the beginning of the Istanu hymn,⁴³ we have to conclude that the Telipinu text did not have it. What the lost ca. 20 lines of the hymn to Telipinu may have contained, we cannot tell. Where the text is available again,⁴⁴ it contains the "Prayer for Blessing." The god is asked to bestow life, health, and offspring upon Hatti and to

³⁴ KUB XXX 10 obv. 6-19 with parallel Istanu A (notes 9-13) ii 16-42.

³⁵ KUB XXX 10 obv. 20, parallel A ii 43-44.

³⁶ KUB XXX 10 obv. 24-29, parallel A ii 51-61.

³⁷ KUB XXX 10 rev. 1-4, restored by A ii 61-68.

³⁸ KUB XXX 10 rev. 22 with parallels A iii 29-30 (XXXI 127 iii 12-13) and XXX 11 rev. 21.

^{38a} For the last five lines see now H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* (Dtsch. Akad. Wiss., Inst. f. Orientforschung, Veröff. Nr. 37, Berlin, 1958), pp. 123 f.

³⁹ Gurney, pp. 16 f., Section I, lines 1-6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-21, continuation of Section I.

⁴¹ Gurney, Section II, a, pp. 20 f., ii 20-22.

⁴² Gurney, Section II, b, pp. 22 f., lines 31-34. Since the Istanu hymn determines the beginning of the specifically solar part of Section II b, we are permitted to use the lines preceding it for this restoration of the Telipinu version.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, lines 34 ff.

⁴⁴ Gurney, pp. 20-23, iii 1-17; pp. 32 f., B ii 3-11.

remove illness, famine, etc., and to send them to the enemy countries. After another short prayer for blessing,⁴⁵ the text closes with the remark "And the assembly says 'So be it!'"⁴⁶

That much for the daily prayer to Telipinu. It contains nothing comparable to the Sun hymn and is quite in keeping with the character of Telipinu.

Second, there is a short Plague Prayer of Mursili. I call it a short Plague Prayer in order to distinguish it from the more famous Plague Prayers of the same king. A translation of it can be found in Gurney's article and in *ANET*.⁴⁷ At least two of the existing copies contain only this prayer.⁴⁸ It is addressed in most parts to "the gods," in the plural, and only occasionally to the Sun Goddess of Arinna. The complaint is not only about the well-known epidemic, but also about the hostilities that the king had to suffer from his neighbors. If we want to know the relative age of this prayer in relation to the famous Plague Prayers, it would seem that it is earlier.

Third, there is one version in which several sections are combined. This is KUB XXIV No. 3 with its duplicate.⁴⁹ It begins exactly like the Daily Prayer to Telipinu, with the same introduction and invocation.⁵⁰ Then follows the hymn which, as we now know, is composed of two parts. The first six verses⁵¹ are identical with the beginning of the hymn to Telipinu translated a while ago and praising the goddess for her high rank among all gods. Then, from the seventh verse on,⁵² follows a text almost identical with the Istanu hymn, beginning like it with the words "The lord of just judgment art thou"—without even changing the gender. We may now say that this was taken verbatim from the Istanu hymn. This hymnic part is preserved down to the verse "Whatever thou sayest, the gods bow down to thee," followed by a lacuna of approximately fif-

teen lines before the beginning of the Plague Prayer.⁵³ This is less than what would be required to accommodate all of the Istanu hymn, so we must conclude that the version addressed to the Sun Goddess of Arinna omitted some of the sections contained in the former. But we cannot be sure which. It would seem a fair guess to say that neither the draft animals nor the satellites of Istanu were mentioned here. The next part of this long composite text is, as already stated, the short Plague Prayer. This, in turn, is followed by a section⁵⁴ which in part is parallel to the curses and blessings of the Telipinu prayer but in part differs from it. In the colophon⁵⁵ we are told that Mursili pronounced this prayer for seven days in Hattusa and for seven days in Arinna.

Beside plague and war, Mursili also had difficulties in his own family. We know that the dowager queen, a Kassite princess whom Suppiluliuma had married as his last wife, caused a lot of trouble; Mursili blamed her for having caused the death of his wife, Kassuliyawi.⁵⁶ Now among the fragments published recently by Otten there is one⁵⁷ that begins with an invocation of the Sun Goddess of Arinna identical with that contained in the prayer just discussed. Of the continuation of the text very little is preserved, but what is left of the last column contains the name Kassuliyawi and the title "queen" in such distribution that it is likely that the two terms refer to different persons. It would seem, thus, that Mursili combined the invocation known from the other prayer also with one of his prayers devoted to the relation of his wife to the dowager queen.

In summing up the analysis of these prayers we find that the Hittites did not transfer characteristics of one god to another as freely as was previously assumed; on the contrary, the prayers to the different gods are quite distinct. The older set of prayers, datable to just before the Amarna Age, is the one that is closest to Babylonian concepts. In it, the male Sun God, Istanu, is addressed in

⁴⁵ Gurney, pp. 32-35, lines 12-18.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, lines 18-19. In *ANET*, p. 397, all this forms the section "Blessings and Curses."

⁴⁷ Gurney, Section III, pp. 24-33; *ANET*, p. 396, "Plague Prayer b."

⁴⁸ *Catal.* 283, C (Gurney D) = KUB XXIV 4 + XXX 12; B = KUB XXX 13, and D = *Verstreute Boghazköi-Teile* No. 121, the latter two possibly parts of one copy.

⁴⁹ *Catal.* 283, A = KUB XXIV 3 (Gurney C) + KUB XXXI 144; also F = KUB XXXVI 80, according to its colophon.

⁵⁰ Gurney, Section I.

⁵¹ Gurney, Section II, b, lines 29-34.

⁵² *Ibid.*, lines 34 ff.

⁵³ Gurney, pp. 24 f.

⁵⁴ Gurney, Section IV, b, pp. 34-37.

⁵⁵ Of KUB XXIV 3, Gurney, pp. 38 f., C.

⁵⁶ Cf. E. Laroche in *Ugaritica* III (Mission de Ras Shamra VIII, Paris, 1956), pp. 101-3 on prayers dealing with the dowager queen, Tawannanna (add: *KBo* IV 8); 98-101 on her identity with the "daughter of the king of Babylon"; 106-7 on the probability that Kassuliyawi was Mursili's wife.

⁵⁷ KUB XXXVI 81 (Laroche, *op. cit.*, p. 107, 3, with n. 2); *Catal.*, No. 283, E.

order to secure his help in propitiating the personal god. Among the prayers of Mursili, the one addressed to Telipinu contains nothing alien to the character of this god. In those matters that were of the greatest personal urgency, as the calamity caused by war and pestilence and the difficulties confronting the king's wife, Mursili turned to the Sun Goddess of Arinna, the highest deity of the Hittite pantheon. To her he prayed once for relief from pestilence and war alone; but he also addressed to her a composite prayer combining the general terms of the prayer to Telipinu with the Sun hymn and with the Plague Prayer. Here, the invocation and the first part of the hymn are so general that they could easily apply to any god. Specific characteristics, however, were transferred only from one solar deity to the other: from the male Istanu to the female Goddess of Arinna. It is true that this transfer was mechanical, since the author failed to change the sex in the address as "lord of judgment"; but apart from this, the attribution of solar characteristics to the Sun Goddess is quite legitimate, especially if, as we concluded from the available space, such specific traits as the draft animals and the viziers of the male god were omitted here.

It may be of interest to compare a prayer written still later by Muwatalli, the son and successor of Mursili II.⁵⁸ In the introduction Muwatalli says that he will first pray to all gods according to their temples and images,⁵⁹ and that thereafter he will pronounce his personal prayers.⁶⁰ This plan is carried out: the long invocation of all gods, arranged by cult places,⁶¹ is the first

prayer; the second set begins with a short prayer to the Sun God of Heaven,⁶² in which the god is addressed as shepherd and said to pronounce judgment over man, dog, pig and the animals of the field. The actual prayer to the Sun God only consists of the request that he should call all the other gods to whom Muwatalli is praying; thus it has a function similar to that of our great Istanu hymn (above, p. 242), of which it repeats only a few important phrases. The following section⁶³ is a prayer addressed to the Storm God *piḫaššašši*. Although this part is more of a personal prayer, it also contains the request that the Storm God should transmit the king's prayer to "the gods."⁶⁴ It is obvious that Muwatalli's prayer is much inferior to those of Kantuzzili and Mursili. Whether this reflects a difference in personality or whether it is to be explained on other grounds cannot be discussed here. What matters in this context is the fact that the composition of long prayers out of several parts was still practiced and that the short prayer to Istanu fulfills the same purpose as the older hymn and contains some of its motifs.

It is hoped that this analysis has served also to illustrate by a concrete example the main characteristic of Hittite civilization, namely, the way in which this people adapted and transformed elements of the high civilization of Mesopotamia according to its own needs and its own way of thinking.

⁵⁸ 45 iii 13-24, 46 iii 52-64; *ANET*, p. 398; cf. E. Tenner, "Zwei hethitische Sonnenlieder," *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, 1 (Weimar, 1930), 387 ff., esp. 390.

⁵⁹ 45 iii 25—iv 2, 46 iii 65—iv 45, in *ANET*.

⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that Muwatalli here uses a simile that also occurs in the great Plague Prayer of his father, from which he may have borrowed it: "The bird takes refuge to its nest (or: cage) and lives" (45 iii 40 = 46 iv 9 f.; cf. Plague Prayer, *KUB XIV* 8 rev. 22: *Kleinas. Forsch.*, 1, 216, § 10, 3; *ANET*, p. 395, 10).

⁵⁸ *KUB VI* 45 + *XXX* 14, with parallels *KUB VI* 46 and *XII* 35, *Catal. No.* 285; *ANET*, pp. 397-9.

⁵⁹ 45 i 21 ff. = 46 i 22 ff.

⁶⁰ 45 i 25 = 46 i 26.

⁶¹ 45 i 37—iii 3, 46 ii 2—iii 40, omitted in *ANET*; the section 45 iii 4-12, 46 iii 41-51 (*ANET*, p. 398) sums up this invocation and leads over to the prayers of the second group.



/ כנש ונש

KANES AND NEŠA: TWO FORMS OF ONE ANATOLIAN PLACE NAME?

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KANES AND NEŠA: TWO FORMS OF ONE ANATOLIAN PLACE NAME?

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In these pages dedicated to Professor Benjamin Mazar, who has done so much for the elucidation of the historical geography of the Near East, I intend to offer a hypothesis rather than a definite statement. The hypothesis is that Kaneš and Neša are the same town. The evidence is not sufficient for a proof in the strict sense, so I can only give the reasons that have led me to consider the equation ¹.

1. The following abbreviations are used in this paper:
For publications of Boghazköy texts:

- BoTU = E. Forrer, *Die Boghasköi-Texte in Umschrift* (Wiss. Veröff. der Dtsch. Orient-Ges. 42, 1926)
IBoT = *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri*
KBo = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (Wiss. Veröff. der Dtsch. Orient-Ges. 30, 36, 68, 69, 1921–55)
KUB = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (Staatliche Museen, etc., 1921 ff.)
VBoT = A. Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*, Marburg 1930
Bo = Museum numbers of unpublished Boghazköy tablets from the excavations of 1906–1912.

Others:

- AfO = *Archiv für Orientforschung*, ed. Weidner
ArOr = *Archiv Orientální* (Prague)
HUCA = *Hebrew Union College Annual* (Cincinnati)
ICK = B. Hrozný, *Inscriptions cunéiformes du Kultépé* (Monografie Archivu Orientálního XIV, 1952)
JCS = *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, ed. Goetze
JKF = *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung*, ed. Bossert
MDOG = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
MVAG = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatische-Agyptischen Gesellschaft*
OLZ = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
RA = *Revue d'Assyriologie*
RHA = *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, cited by fascicles

Kaneš or Kaniš is well known as the ancient name of the mound called Kültepe near the village of Karahüyük, some 15 miles northeast of Kayseri ². The name occurs frequently in the Old Assyrian documents of the merchant colonies ³, of which Kaneš was the most prominent. The place is also mentioned in a Mari letter together with two other Anatolian towns, Ḫarsamna and Ḫattuša ⁴.

In the Boghazköy texts, references to the town itself are rare. A certain Zipani, king of the country of Kaneš (LUGAL KUR URUKa-ni-eš), is listed among the enemies of Naram-Sin in a legendary text ⁵. That the region still bore the name of the town in the New Empire is shown by a passage in the Great Text of Ḫattušili III: "The (Gašgæan) enemy crossed the Halys and began to attack the country of [. . .]-pa and the country of Kaneš" (KUR URUKa-ni-eš) ⁶. To the same period belongs the mention of a "governor of the country of Kaneš" (ŠA-KI-IN KUR URUKa-ni-eš) in the Vow of Puduḫepa ^{6a}.

ZA = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*

ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

2. B. Hrozný, *Syria* 8 (1927), 10.

3. Occurrences in Colony texts are listed by E. Bilgic, *AfO* 15 (1945–51), 33 f., and in ICK p. 19; spellings: *Ga-ni-eš* and *Ga-ni-iš*.

4. G. Dossin, *RHA* 35 (1939), 70 ff., line 8: [iš]-tu Ka-ni-išKI. According to J. Bottéro et A. Finet, *Répertoire Analytique des Tomes I à V* (Archives Royales de Mari XV, 1954), p. 128, Kaniš is not mentioned in the texts there indexed.

5. KBo III 13=BoTU 3=ZA 44 (1938), 68, obv. 11.

6. Col. ii 5–7; A. Götze, *Hattušiliš* (MVAG 29, 3, [1925]), p. 14 f.; E. H. Sturtevant and G. Bechtel, *A Hittite Chrestomathy* (1935), p. 68 f.; cf. Götze, *RHA* 1 (1930), 25 sub. a.

6a. E. Laroche, "Le Voeu de Puduḫepa", *RA* 43 (1949) 55 ff., col. ii 18 (p. 60), text KUB XXVI 61,

In contrast to this meager attestation in historical texts, the name is relatively frequent in festival rituals. An offering for the gods of Kaniš is mentioned in lists of offerings⁷ to a group of gods who have been recognized as "Kanishite" deities⁸. In the cult of these and related gods "the singers of Kaniš sing"⁹. An adverb *kaniš-umnili* "in the language of the Kanisians" was found by Otten in a text which refers to two deities of this same group, namely Pirwa and The Seven¹⁰. In this connection Otten published two fragments of poetical texts mentioning Pirwa and raised the question as to whether they were written in a strange sort of Hittite or rather in "Kanisian" (*kanišumnili*)¹¹.

Turning to Neša and again starting with the Colony texts, we find the following mentions, of which the second is not quite certain: One document¹² deals with garments "that entered the palace in *Ni-ša*". In the other¹³, garments are given *a-na ni-ša*(? or: *iš*?)*-e-im*, a form explained by Lewy as nisbe of Neša, "to the Nesian".

Outside the Assyrian Colony documents, the city of Neša is known mainly from the Anitta

inscription¹⁴. According to this text, Neša was conquered by Anitta's father, Pithana, who defeated its king and took the town, but treated its inhabitants friendly. Anitta himself brought the statue of the god Šiušummi, whom an earlier king of Zalpuwa had carried away, back to Neša (39 ff.). In the rest of the inscription he mentions Neša as if it had become his own residence: he takes both the king of Zalpa, whom he has captured (43 f.), and the ruler of Purušhanda (76 f.) to Neša; in that town he erects buildings (55 ff.), and the army of Neša appears to be Anitta's own army (68 ff.).

In other Hittite sources the name Neša is found only rarely. In a text dating from the Old Kingdom we read a short song which begins with the words "The garments of Neša" (of the rest, very little is understood)¹⁵. The only other occurrence known to me is in a passage inserted into a ritual text, in which Neša is mentioned in connection with queen Šummiri of the Old Kingdom¹⁶.

The language which moderns call Hittite was called Nesian by the Hittites themselves¹⁷. The pertinent adverb appears in the three forms *na-a-ši-li* (with a change from *e* to *a* known from other instances in Hittite)¹⁸, *URUⁿⁱ-ši-li*¹⁹, and

15 with 63, 18. For a *šakin* of Ugarit, see J. Nougayrol, *Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit* IV (Mission de Ras Shamra IX, 1956), p. 262 under *sakinnu*.

7. KUB II 13 iii 14 — iv 3; H. Th. Bossert, *Ein heth, Königssiegel* (Istanbuler Forschungen 17, 1944), p. 39 f.; DINGIR.MEŠ URUKA-*ni-iš* in iii 25; restored by Bossert, *op. cit.*, p. 41, also in iv 26. A similar list, Bo 2597 + Bo 2659 ii 4 ff., is quoted by H. Otten, *JKF* 2 (1951), 73 n. 29.

8. A. Goetze, "The Theophorous Elements of the Anatolian Proper Names from Cappadocia", *Language* 29 (1953), 263–277; our first text there p. 264, List 2.

9. References: E. Forrer, *ZDMG* 76 (1922), 196 ff., Nos. 69–97; passages translated by Bossert, *Ein heth. Königss.* 23–49; additions by Goetze, *l.c.* 272 ff.

10. H. Otten, "Pirwa — der Gott auf dem Pferde", *JKF* 2 (1951) 62–73; transliteration of Bo 6222, 8–13 on p. 67.

11. *Ibid.* 70; Bo 1391 and Bo 6483, p. 65 fig. 1, p. 69 fig. 2.

12. Collection Winkelnbach, J. Lewy, *RHA* 17 (1934), 4; lines 1–3 transliterated in G. Eisser and J. Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe*, 3. und 4. Teil (*MVAG* 35, 3, [1935]), p. 180.

13. Eisser-Lewy, *op. cit.* 1–2 (*MVAG* 33, [1930]), p. 138, No. 150, 6, with note c. Lewy's hand copy gives *-iš*.

14. Copy A: BoTU 7; B: BoTU 30; C: KUB XXXVI 98 — 98 c; cf. Otten, *MDOG* 76 (1938), 44 f. Translation by Otten, *MDOG* 83 (1951), 40 ff.; cf. Hrozný, *ArOr* I (1929), 273–298.

15. KBo III 40 = BoTU 14 a, line 13; cf. Hrozný, *l.c.* 297, whose translation is far from certain.

16. Bo 2911 and Bo 3175, cited by Forrer, BoTU II p. 24*. According to my copies it seems that the two fragments join; 3175 r. col. 1' + 2911 r. col. 11'. Bo 2911 r. col. 5 f. reads: [.....] URUNe-ša-an URU-an (6) [.....] x-e-eš ar-ḫa da-a-ir "[When(?)] the [.....] (plur.) took Neša, the town, away." Bo 3175 r. col. 5 (line 15 of combined text): na-an EGIR-pa URUNe-e[-ša]..... "And [they bring(?)] her (a certain Ašuhani) back to Ne[ša]." *tšummiri* in 2911, 11.

17. Hrozný, *Journal Asiatique* 218 (1931), 307 ff., esp. 317 ff. I fully agree with Goetze (*Language* 29, 263 n. 4) in rejecting the doubts that have been expressed concerning this meaning of the term; cf. also B. Landsberger, *Sam'al* I (Veröff. der Türk. Hist. Ges., VII. Serie Nr. 16, Ankara 1948) p. 101 f.

18. KBo V 11 i 3.

19. IBoT I 36 iii 64.

ne-eš-um-ni-li ²⁰. The last form, used by a scribe of Arzawa who asks his Egyptian colleague to answer in that language, i.e., in Hittite, is an adverb in *-ili* derived from the gentilic noun *Nešumna* "Nesian", whereas *našili/nišili* is formed directly from the place name. The gentilic noun, *Nešumna*, itself is now also attested: in a festival text ²¹ "the Nesians (LÜ.MEŠ *Ne-šū-me-ni-eš*) sing" while offerings are made to three deities of the group mentioned above as "Kani-shite": [Ašgašepa] ²², The Queen, and Pirwa.

Thus far the sources. We now turn to the reasons for our attempt to identify Neša with Kaneš.

First, it is curious that Kaneš is not mentioned in the Anitta text. We know that Piṭḫana ruled over Kaneš ²³. Recently a dagger bearing the Old Assyrian cuneiform inscription "Palace of Anitta, the king" has been found on the city mound of Kültepe ²⁴, a fact which supplements the textual evidence ²⁵. The conclusion that the building in which the dagger was found actually was "the palace of Anitta" cannot safely be drawn, since the dagger may have been brought there from another building in Kaneš or even from another town. However that may be, it seems that the large and rich city of Kaneš was under the rule of both Piṭḫana and Anitta, so that it is strange not to find it mentioned in the inscription dealing with their deeds. This difficulty would disappear if Neša, conquered by Piṭḫana and used as a residence by Anitta, were identical with Kaneš.

Second, there is the linguistic situation. Already

in the first stages of Hittitology, E. Forrer concluded from the Hittite names of some of the gods for whom the singer of Kaneš sings, that Hittite (as we call it) was the language of that singer; he even introduced the term "Kanisisch" and used it for the language called "Hittite" by all others ²⁶. It is true that not all the names of gods connected with the singer of Kaneš are Hittite, and that some of these gods also appear in different ethnic settings; however, the fact remains that those gods whose names are definitely Hittite only appear in connection with the singers of Kaneš ²⁷. That the gods of Kaneš should include older (pre-Hittite) gods, and that Hittite deities should be worshipped also by foreign peoples (Pirwa in Haššuwa, a town in Hurrian territory; the same deity also in a Luwian text) ²⁸ is not so strange; there are enough examples of similar borrowings in Anatolia. The contrast between the name "singer of Kaneš" of a man employed in the cult of Hittite deities and the name "Nesian" of the Hittite language ²⁹ would disappear if we could equate Kaneš with Neša. I am inclined not only to believe that Forrer was right, but even to go a step further and actually to equate the two place names ³⁰. It seems that the LÜ.MEŠ *Nešumeneš* take the place of, or even are identical with, the "singers of Kaneš" ³¹. We cannot be sure that they are identical, since the possibility exists that people from a town other than Kaneš were employed in the cult of Ašgašepa, The Queen, and Pirwa, just as Pirwa was occasionally worshipped in Luwian; but this latter possibility is slight.

20. VBoT 2, 25; for the reading see Hrozný, *l.c.* 317.

21. KBo VII 38 r. col. 10.

22. For the restoration see E. Laroche, *OLZ* 1955, 226.

23. This is the most natural interpretation of the formula *i qāti Biṭḫana rubā'im Anita rabi similti* in a Kültepe document discussed by J. Lewy, *RHA* 17 (1934), 1-8; transliterated and translated by the same, *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* 2 (1938), 120 f.

24. T. Özgüç, "The Dagger of Anitta", *Belleten (Türk Tarih Kurumu)* 20 (1956), 33-36 with fig. 3.

25. In view of that find I would take the formula *i qāti Anita rubā'im rabi'im*, though attested only for Alishar (Lewy, *RHA* 17, 6 and *Archives*, *l.c.* 133 ff.) to mean that Anitta succeeded his father in the rule over Kaneš, too.

26. *ZDMG* 76, p. 198.

27. Literature above, notes 7-8. There are more Hittite names now than the two mentioned by Forrer.

28. Otten, *JKF* 2, pp. 66-69; Haššuwa 67 with n. 24; Luwian text 68 f.

29. Güterbock, "Hittite Religion" in *Forgotten Religions*, ed. V. Ferm, New York 1950, p. 85 f.

30. It should not be forgotten that the passage containing URUni-ši-li and the improved reading *ne-eš-um-ni-li* were not available to Forrer. Gurney informs me that in the 1930's Forrer told him that he favoured an equation of the two place names. I could, however, not find a published statement of Forrer to this effect.

31. The verb is always in the plural even though the noun has the plural sign only in a few instances (Forrer, Nos. 82, 83, 88).

In this connection we have to consider two things:

1. The progressing analysis of the proper names of local inhabitants of Anatolia in the Colony Age has revealed an increasing number of Hittite elements in their names³², and some common words have also been found³³. In spite of the fact that some elements of the proper names were no longer living in standard Hittite³⁴, it is safe to assume that Hittite, or rather an archaic form of it, was spoken in Kaneš in the Colony Age. The fact that Nesian seems to have been spoken in Kaneš does not prove that Kaneš and Neša are the same town; however, it could be explained more easily if they were.

2. The poetic passages mentioned above are written in a language which we do not fully understand. It contains good Hittite words and forms along with others not known from the classical language. That these passages are in *kanešumnili* is only a guess; actually, the adverb occurs in a different text, and Otten only tentatively considered the possibility that it might refer to the language of those poems. There is nothing in these poetic fragments that could not be explained as an archaic feature lost in the later language; nothing, in other words, that would force us to assume their language to be essentially different from Hittite, or prevent us from equating *kanešumnili* with *nešumnili*.

This is the reasoning that has induced me to offer the hypothesis. I am well aware of the fact that it is not conclusive; the evidence may, and

will, be interpreted differently. Nevertheless, I feel that the possibility of Neša being Kaneš is strong enough that it should be taken into consideration. Final proof may come some day³⁵. The occurrences of the name Neša in Kültepe texts may be cited as evidence against the equation. So far, the passages have been taken as referring to the town of Neša, different from Kaneš. Although this interpretation cannot be disproved, the passages can be understood also if the identity of the two names is accepted. There is no reason why the palace of Neša in the one document (above, note 12) should not be that of Kültepe itself³⁶, why the Nesian of the other text (note 13) should not be an inhabitant of Kaneš, or why an Assyrian scribe should not occasionally have used the other name of the town (or rather, the Hittite form of the name, as we shall see presently).

There remains the question as to whether linguistically *Kaneš* and *Neša* can be the same. The end of the two words presents no difficulty: to the final -š of the root, a "thema vowel" -a- with inflectional endings (nom. -š, etc.) may easily have been added, just as in *Ḫakmiš/Ḫakmiššaš*, *Kargamiš/Kargamiššaš*, etc.³⁷ The beginning is more difficult. *ka-* in Kaneš could be a prefix³⁸. More probably, however, *kan-* and *n-* are two ways of expressing an original *kn-*, which may

35. As in the case of another of Forrer's proposals: DKAL=Inar(a), proof for which came now from a text excavated in 1936: Otten, *AfO* 17 (1956), 369.

36. The existence of a palace in Kaneš could be deduced from the mention of a *rubā'um* of that town: Bilgiç, *AfO* 15 34; Goetze kindly provided an actual occurrence: ICK I 189, 22 f. — The passages quoted by J. Lewy, *HUCA* 27 (1956), 24 n. 103, refer to the palace "of Kaniš" only by implication. Note, however, that the situation in the text quoted in our note 12 resembles that in the texts collected by Lewy very closely.

37. Added by speakers of an Indo-European language. Parallels are *Hattuš* in Kültepe and in Hattic, as against Hittite *Hattušaš*, first attested in the stem form *Hattuša* in Mari (note 4); *Durhumit* against *Durmittaš*, etc.; however, *Kuššara* in Kültepe, whereas the Hittites write *Kuššar*! *Ni-ša* (n. 12) is the oldest example of this name with thema vowel.

38. A prefix *ka-* exists in Hattic, but it is hard to understand why it should appear — and be omitted — in a name.

32. Goetze, *Language* 29, 263 ff.; 30, 349 ff.; E. Laroche, *Recueil d'onomastique hittite*, Paris 1952, pp. 101–110.

33. E. Bilgiç, *Die einheimischen Appellativa der kapadokischen Texte und ihre Bedeutung für die anatolischen Sprachen* (Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları 96: Sumeroloji Enstitüsü Yayınları 3, Ankara 1954).

34. Cf. Laroche, *l.c.*, and B. Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954), 121, footnote, point 4, who rejects the idea that the language was Nesian or an "archaic Nesian". It is true that the "*abšu* language" as a whole is not Nesian; but proper names often belong to a stratum older than the spoken language. The fact that some names are Nesian shows that that language was spoken at the time. Cf. also A. Kammenhuber, *RHA* 58 (1956), 17 ff., notes 39–40.

or may not have developed into spoken *n-* as in English *knee*, *knife*, etc., Latin *nōsco* from the root *gnō-*. Finally, it should be noted that the form *Kaneš* occurs only in Akkadian context (apart from the Hittite derivative *kanešumnilī*); that is, in the Old Assyrian texts of Kültepe, the Babylonian Mari letter and, in Hittite texts, in the Akkadian construction of a genitive following a regens that is written ideographically: KUR (also in combinations like LUGAL KUR, ŠAKIN KUR), DINGIR.MEŠ, and LUNAR (*māt Kaneš*, *šar/šakin māti Kaneš*, *ilāni Kaneš*, *nār Kaneš*).

Neša-, however, has Hittite inflectional forms in all Hittite passages. This situation is parallel to the relation of Hittite *Ḫattušaš* to the Akkadogram KUR URUḪatti (*māt Ḫatti*)³⁹. Therefore, if the identity of the two names were correct, the distribution of the two forms could be well understood.


39. Güterbock, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 60 (1950–52), 206 n. 1; the same *apud* Landsberger, *ArOr* 18, 1–2, 340 n. 59; *JCS* 10 (1956), p. 98 note o, and p. 122.

ADDENDA

1) To note 30: In January, 1958, Dr. Forrer kindly wrote me that he gave "Kanis, Nesa and Nasa as names of the same town" on a map published with an article "El Génesis del Imperio Hatti" in the periodical *Síntesis* of 1954. In his letter he also gave his reasons for the equation, which are essentially the same as mine. In the linguistic analysis of the two forms he differs, taking *ka-* as the Hattic prefix (he adds an interpretation of *ka-niš* which I refrain from reproducing).

2) Prof. Kemal Balkan of Ankara tested my hypothesis, which I had communicated to him, in his recent publication *Letter of King Anum-hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari, VII Seri No. 31a), Ankara 1957, by using it for a reconstruction of the history of Kaneš. A new translation of the Mari letter mentioning Kaniš (above, note 4) is given there on pp. 48 f. Add another Mari reference, which I overlooked: Dossin, *RHA* 35, 73; Balkan, p. 49 *sub* 2.

duins of Asia", originally the people of Palestine and farther east.

The ninth "bow", omitted altogether probably was  $T^3\text{-}m\dot{p}w$, "Lower Egypt".

The gain which the stela yields to the historian, apart perhaps from the fact of its very existence

at Beisan, admittedly amounts to nothing. Still, in order to justify this adverse verdict, it seemed necessary to establish its text in full. In doing so, a few philological points of interest have emerged — a small reward indeed, but Egyptologists are accustomed to being grateful even for small mercies.

CORRIGENDUM

In the title of Hans G. Güterbock's article, p. 46*, the first word should read KANEŠ instead of KANES.



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AN OUTLINE OF THE HITTITE *AN.TAḪ.ŠUM* FESTIVAL

HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

AMONG the tablets found in 1957 in the archive room of Building K on Büyükkale at Boghazköy¹ there is a nearly complete tablet (field number 126/p + 271/p + 433/p + 444/p)² which I copied in 1959. Since it has duplicates, this two-column tablet will be called copy A. Copy B is *KUB XXX 39*, the beginning and end of a one-column tablet from Building A (Catalogue³ 496, 1, A); copy C is *KUB X 94* (496, 3), a small fragment of another two-column tablet from Winckler's excavations. *KUB XXV 27* (508, 3) is in part parallel, although dealing with EZEN.MEŠ SAG.UŠ "the regular festivals." Quoted here as S. Transliteration and translation follow:

A, col. i, beginning restored from B

(B 1) [.....]-ri ŠA EZEN.ḪI.A [AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR}.....(B 2).....
m]a-a¹-an LUGAL-uš^{URU} Ḫa-at-tu-ši še-e[r gi-im-ma-an]-da[-ri-ia-az-zi (B 3) nu GIM-an
LU]GAL-uš^{URU} Ḫa-at-tu-ša-az (A 4) [(da-a-i nu LUGAL) SAL.LUGAL^{UR(U)} Ḫa)]-at-tu-ša-
az^{URU} Ta-ḫur-pí (A 5) [(an-da pa-a-an-zi na-aš-ta LUGAL)]-uš^{URU} Ta-ḫur-pí (A 6)
[š(a-ra-a IŠ.TU^{GISGIGIR})] pa-iz-zi

(A 7) [(ma-a-an LUGAL-uš a)]-ra-aḫ-za(-ma) ku-wa-pí-ik-ki da-me-e-da-ni (8) [(URU-
ri gi-im-ma-a)]n-ta-ri-ia-az-zi ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma (9) [(Ú.BURU⁷-an-za)] ki-ša-ri ták-kán
LUGAL-uš a-pí-iz URU-az (10) [(d)a-a-i (nu a)]n-da-an^{URU} Ta-ḫur-pí(-pát) pa-iz-zi
(11) [(^{URU}Ka)]-a-ta-pí-ma-kán ša-ra-a Ú-UL ku-ít-ki⁴ pa-iz-zi (12) ^{URU}Ka-a-ta-pí DINGIR.
MEŠ-aš ḫa-az-zi-ú-i NU GÁL ku-ít-ki⁵

(13) ma-a-an LUGAL-i-ma a-aš-šu ta-aš-ta^{URU} Ka-a-ta-pí ša-ra-a (14) a-pé-e-ni-iš-ša-an
pa-iz-zi DINGIR.LUM-ma-za Ú-UL ku-in-ki i-ia-zi (15) šal-li(-ia) Ú-UL ḫal-zi-ia lu-
uk-kat-ti-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL (16) ^{URU}Ta-ḫur-pí an-da-an pa-a-an-zi na-aš-ta
LUGAL-uš^{URU} Ta-ḫur-pí (17) ša-ra-a^{GISGIGIR}-az pa-iz-zi ta^{ḫa}-le-en-tu-u-wa-aš (18)
šal-li a-še-eš-šar

(19) lu[-uk]-kat-ti-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL^{URU} Ḫa-at-tu-ši⁶ an-da-an pa-a-an-zi (20)
nu I-NA^{ḪUR.SAG} Ti-ip-pu-u-wa^{LÚ.MEŠ} ME-ŠE-DI DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL⁷ (21) pít-ti-ia-an-zi
nu-za LUGAL SAL.LUGAL^{ḫar}-nu-i wa-ar-ap-pa-an-zi (22) na-aš-ta⁸ ^{URU}Ḫa-at-tu-ši
ša-ra-a^{GISḫu}-u-lu-ga-an-ni-ít⁹ (23) pa-iz-zi nu^{ḫa}-le-en-tu-u-wa(-aš) šal-li a-še-eš-šar

¹ *MDOG* XCI 57 ff.; 75.

² The last two fragments, completing the colophon, were added by H. Otten after my departure.

³ E. Laroche, "Catalogue des Textes Hittites," *RHA* XIV 33-38, 69-116; XV 39-89; XVI 18-64. Hereafter referred to by simple number (in italics).

⁴ B 9: ku-wa-at-qa.

⁵ B 9: ḫa-az-zi-i-ú (sic!) EZEN[-ia Ú-U]L ku-iš-ki, cf. *IBoT* III 40, 5.

⁶ Cf. S i 1': [^{URU}PA-ši.

⁷ In B 15 inverted.

⁸ B 16 adds [. . . LUGAL]-uš.

⁹ B 16: -na-az.

(24) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* URU[(A-ri-i)]*n-na-az* KUS¹⁰*kur-ša-aš*¹⁰ [(ú-iz-zi)] (25) ^h*ha-l[e-en-tu-u-aš a-ni-u]r*(?)¹¹ *šal*[(*li*)] *a-še*[(*-eš*)]-*šar*

(26) [*lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* KUS¹²*kur-š(a-aš* URUTa-ú-i)]-*ni-ia pa-iz-zi* (27) [..... A-N(A EZEN.ITU *wa-ar-a*)]*p-zi*¹²

(28) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* KUS¹³*kur-ša-aš* (URUTa-ú-i)]-*ni-ia-az ú-iz-zi* (29) *na-aš*(?) [^u*H*i-ia-aš-na *še-eš-zi*] *na-aš-kán* x-x[-x(?)] *p*]a-iz[-zi]¹³ (30) L[Ú.ME]Š A(-BU-BI-DU DUMU. SAL x) URU]Zi-ip[(-pa-la-an)]-*da*¹⁴ (31) [x] x x [. . .]-*zi*

(32) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* EZ[EN] x-x-an I[Š-T]U(?) [É].GAL *tar-kum-mi-an*[-zi] (33) *nu* KUS¹⁵*kur-š(a-aš* I-NA É ⁿNISABA(?) ₁ú-iz-zi (34) [*nu*] I-NA É ⁿNISABA(?) x x x [x x] x x LÚ.MEŠGUDÚ(?) [. . .?] (35) NINDA.KUR₄.RA *hi-in-kán-zi* URUKa-a[-ša-ia]-*az-zi-ia* SILÁ-an [ú(?)]-*da-an-zi*¹⁵

(36) *nu* ^h*ha-le-en-tu-u-wa-aš* *šal-li a-še-eš-šar* (37) I-NA É.GAL ₁[^uA-BU-B]I-TI-ia-kán ZAG-na-aš (38) ŠA ^uU UR[U]Zi-ip-pa-la-an-da ^u*h*ar-ši-ia-al-li (39) *a-pé-e-da-ni-pát* UD-ti *ki-nu-wa-an-zi*

(40) [*nu*] I-NA UD.3.KAM EZEN *e-eš-ša-an-zi* 8 GUD.ḪI.A [x] UDU.ḪI.A (41) [x] x x x x ŠA É.GAL LÚA-BU-BI-TI-pát *da-aš-kán-zi* (42) [.....-i]a-kán IŠ-TU ^h*hé-eš-ti-i* SAḪAR.ḪI.A-uš (43) [*a-pé-e-da-ni* U]D-ti *pé-e-da-i*

(44) [..... LUGAL SAL.LUGAL(?) I-NA] É ^uUTU ₁*pa-a-a-n-zi* (?) (45: traces; two more lines to end of column)
A, col. ii

(1) [.....^uA-ri-in-na *pa-i*[z-zi] (2)-t]i-el-la *šal-li a-še-eš-šar* *ša-ša-a*[n-na-ma (3) LUGAL-uš I-N]A ^uURU A-ri-in-na *pa-iz-zi* SAL. LUGAL-ma ^uURUKÛ.BA[BAR-ši (4) I-NA É.]SAL.LUGAL *pa-iz-zi*

(5)¹⁶ [(*lu-uk*)-kat]-ti-ma-kán LUGAL-uš I-NA ^uURU A-ri-in-na AN.TAḪ[(ŠUM^{SAR} (6) *da-a-i* S)]AL.LUGAL-ma-aš-ša-an ^uURUKÛ.BABAR-ši I-NA É.SAL.LUGAL (7) [(AN. TAḪ.ŠU)]M^{SAR} *da-a-i nu* I-NA É.SAL.LUGAL *šal-li a-še*[(*-eš-ša*)]*r*

(8) [(*lu-uk-k*)]at-ti-ma LUGAL-uš ^uURU A-ri-in-na-az ^uURUKÛ.BABAR-š[i (9) *ú-iz*]-zi *nu* ^h*ha-le-en-tu-u-wa-aš* *šal-li a-še-e*[š-šar] (10) UD.10.KAM

¹⁰ Cf. S i 5.

¹¹ B 19 less, perhaps [*šal-li a-ni-u*]-*ur*.

¹² S i 7 ff.: [*lukkatti-ma* KUS¹²*gu*]-*r-ša-aš* URUTa-ú-i-ni-ia (8) [*paizzi* I-NA(?)] É.GAL-LIM-ma A-NA EZEN.ITU.KAM (9) [*wa-ar-ap-pu*]-*wa-an-zi* (cf. A iii 30).

¹³ S i 12 f.: [*lu-uk-kat* KUS¹³*gur-ša-aš* URU¹³*Hi-ia-aš-na* *še-eš-zi* (13) [*na-aš-ká*]n(?) *šu-uḫ-ḫa* *pa-iz-zi*.

¹⁴ In B 23 end of paragraph; the verb of A 31 could be restored on edge of B. Thereafter B breaks off.

¹⁵ Cf. S i 20 f.: *lu-uk-kat* KUS¹⁵*gur-ša-aš* URU¹⁵*Hi-ia-aš-na-za* EGIR-pa (21) ^uURUPA-ši *ú-iz-zi* URUKa-ša-ia-za SILÁ (illegible traces over erasure).

¹⁶ C is duplicate to lines 5–9.

(11) *l[u-u]k-kat-ti-ma* GAL.DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL *I-NA* ^h*he-eš-ti[-i]* (12) MU.KAM-a]n *pé-e-da-i* LUGAL-uš-ša EGIR-ŠU *ia-ia-a[t-ta-ri]* (13) *nu-k]án pa-iz-zi pít-ti-ia-u-wa-aš* ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ KAS[-š*i da-a-i*]¹⁷

(14) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL-uš *I-NA* É ^v*Zi-pár-wa-a* *[pa-iz-zi]* (15) *nu* EZEN ŠA ^uU ^uURU.KÛ.BABAR-*TI-ia-kán* ^uUG^h*har-ši-ia[-al-li]* (16) *še-ep-pi-it-ta-aš a-pé-e-da-ni* UD-ti *ki-nu[-wa-an-zi]* (17) *I]-NA* É ^uUTU-ma EZEN *ha-da-ú-ri i-ia-an-zi* [...(?)] (18) 10] UDU.ĤI.A *hu-u-kán-zi*¹⁸

(19) *[nu]-kán* ^uU ^uš*u-up-pa da-an-zi na-at za-nu-wa-an-zi* (20) *[na]-at PA-NI* DINGIR-LIM *ti-an-zi* UDU.ĤI.A-ma *hu-u-ma-a[n-du-uš]* (21) *I-N]A* É.GAL-LIM EGIR-*pa da-an-zi*

(22) [1] UDU-ma[-*kán* Š]À É.DINGIR-LIM *d[a-a-l]i-ia-an-zi* ^uU ^uNAR[-*ia-kán*] (23) ^uME-ŠE-DI ^uI-NA É] ^uU *ma-aḥ-ha-an aš-ša-nu-ir I[-NA É* ^uUTU-*ia]* (24) QA-TAM-MA ^u*aš-ša-nu[-wa-an-zi IŠ-TU* DINGIR-LIM QA-TAM-MA [SI × ŠA-at]¹⁹

(25) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL-uš *I-NA* É ^v*Zi-pár-wa-a* (26) *nam-ma pa-iz-zi nu* EZEN-ŠU

(27) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL-uš *ták-na-aš* ^uUTU. (28) ^uHAL-ma *ne-ku-uz me-ḥur I-NA* ^h*tar-nu-ú-i* [... . . . ?] (29) *A-NA* GIŠ.ĤI.A ^uGIŠTÚG ^uNA⁴*hu-u-wa-ši* ŠA ^uU [x].MEŠ x[. . .]

(30) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL-uš *I-NA* ^h*tar-nu-ú-i* ŠA GIŠ.ĤI.A ^uGIŠTÚG *pa-iz-zi]* (31) *nu* ŠA ^uU ^uNA⁴*hu-u-wa-ši* GUD.ĤI.A UDU.ĤI.A *hu-u-kán-zi*

(32) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL *I-NA* É ^uU *pa-a-an-zi* (33) *nu* šal-li *a-še-eš-ša[r I]-NA* É ^vZA.BA₄.BA₄-ma EZEN.x[. . .]²⁰ (34) *i-ia-an-zi nu* 10 UDU.ĤI.A *hu-u-kán-zi nu-kán* ^uU ^uš*u-u[p-pa]* (35) *da-an-zi na-at PA-NI* DINGIR-LIM *ti-an-zi* UDU.ĤI.A-ma (36) *hu-u-ma-an-du-uš I-NA* É.GAL-LIM EGIR-*pa da-an-zi* (37) 1 UDU-ma-kán ŠÀ É.DINGIR-LIM *da-a-li-ia-an-zi* (38) GAL.ĤI.A-ma-kán ŠA EZEN.ITU.KAM *aš-ša-nu-wa-an-zi* (39) *IŠ-TU* DINGIR-LIM *ki-iš-ša-an ha-an-ta-it-ta-at*

(40) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL *I-NA* É ^v*Ha-an-nu pa-a-an-zi* (41) *nu* šal-li *a-še-eš-šar I-NA* É ^uU-ma DUMU.LUGAL (42) *IŠ-TU* É.GAL-LIM *u-i-ia-an-zi* *nu* EZEN *ha-ta-ú-ri* (43) *i-ia-zi nu* UDU.ĤI.A *hu-u-kán-zi nu-kán* *šu-up-pa* (44) *da-an-zi* *na-at za-nu-wa-an-zi na-at PA-NI* DINGIR-LIM (45) *ti-an-zi* UDU.ĤI.A-ma *hu-u-ma-an-du-uš I-NA* É.GAL-LIM (46) EGIR-*pa da-an-zi* 1 UDU-ma-kán ŠÀ É.DINGIR-LIM (47) *da-a-li-ia-an-zi a-da-tar a-ku-wa-tar* (48) [*IŠ-TU* É <.GAL-LIM> ^uA-NA]

¹⁷ Restored after iii 9.

¹⁸ Cf. S i 14.

¹⁹ Restored from iii 16–18 and ii 39; [SI × ŠA-at] on account of space.

²⁰ Traces of ĤI.A.]? But cf. S i 9 f.: *I-NA* É ^vZA.BA₄.BA₄-ma (10) [EZEN *ha-da]-ú-ri*.

DUMU.LUGAL *u-i-ia-an-zi nu* GAL *ḥar-zi* (49) [.....]x-ma-az SİR-
ki-iz-zi (50–51 traces, then end of column)

A, col. iii

(1) [.....]..... (2) Ṛ A-NA ^Dx URU]..... ^DU URUŠa-mu-ḥa-ia
(3) ši-pa-an-da-an-zi

(4) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-za-kán* LUGAL-uš É *pár-ku-wa-ia-aš* (5) ^DU *pí-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši-in*
i-ia-zi SAL.LUGAL-ma-za-kán (6) ^DUTU URU A-ri-in-na ŠA Éḥa-le-en-tu-u-wa-aš *i-ia-zi*

(7) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma šu-up-pa-ia-aš* UD-az LUGAL-uš-ma (8) A-NA GIŠ.ḪIA GIŠTÚG
pa-iz-zi nu-kán pít-ti-ia-u-wa-aš ANŠU.KUR.RA.MEŠ (9) KAS-ši *da-a-i* EGIR-iz-zi-ia-
az-ma-kán *ma-a-an* [GA]L ME-ŠE-DI (10) *ma-a-an* GAL.DUMU.MEŠ.É.GAL PA-NI
^DU *pí-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši* (11) Ṛ PA-NI ^DUTU URUTÚL-na GAL.ḪIA *aš-ša-nu-uz-zi*

(12) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma šu-up-pa wa-ar-ap-pu-u-wa-ar*²¹ (13) *ku-lu-mur-ši-ia ši-pa-an-da-*
an-zi I-NA É ^D[KAL(?)]] (14) EZEN *ḥa-da-ú-ri i-ia-an-zi nu* 10 UDU *ḥu-u-kán[-zi]* (15)
nu-kán šu-up-pa da-an-zi na-at PA-NI DINGIR-LIM [*ti-an-zi*] (16) 1 UDU-ma-kán
ŠA É.DINGIR-LIM *da-a-li-ia-an-zi* (17) ^LṚNAR-ia-kán ^LṚME-ŠE-DI I-NA É ^DU
GIM-an (18) *aš-ša-nu-e-er I-NA* É ^DKAL-ia-kán QA-TAM-MA *aš-ša[-nu-wa-an-zi]*

(19) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma [I-N]A* É ^DU URUḪa-la-ab I-NA É ^D[....-ia] (20) A-NA ^DKa-
a[t-ta]ḥ-ḥa ^DU.GUR ^DḪa-ša-me-li (21) Ṛ A-NA ^D[x] EZEN *ḥa-da-ú-ri i-ia-an-zi* (22) *nu*
10 UDU.ḪIA ŠA É.DINGIR-LIM [*ši-pa*]-an-da-an-zi

(23) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL SAL.LUGAL I-NA É ^DAš-ka-ši-pa (24) *pa-a-an-zi*
^LṚ.MEŠḪAL-ma ^DIŠTAR ^U[ṚḪ]a-at-ta-ri-na (25) [*mu-u-ga-an*]-zi UD.22.KAM

(26) [*lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LU]GAL SAL.LUGAL[..... (27).....].....^DIŠTAR
^U[ṚḪa-at-t]a-ri-na (28) [*mu-u-ga-an-z*]

(29) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* LUGAL S[AL.LU]GAL I-NA É ^D[x] *pa-a-an-zi* (30) *nu šu-up-pa*
wa-ar-ap-pu-u-wa-an-zi ^LṚ.MEŠḪAL-ma (31) ^DIŠTAR URUḪa-at-ta-ri-na *nam-ma*
mu-u-ga-a-an[-zi] (32) ŠA DINGIR-LIM-ia ŠU.ḪIA *šu-up-pí-ia-aḥ-ḥa-an-zi* (33) *ne-*
ku-uz me-ḥur-ma ku-lu-mur-ši-ia ši-pa-an-da[-an-zi]

(34) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* A-NA ^DIŠTAR URUḪa-ad-da-ri-n[....]

(35) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* A-NA ^DIŠTAR URUḪa-ad-da-ri-n[a...(?)]] (36) *šu-up-pa-ia-aš*
UD-az

(37) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma* ^LṚ.MEŠḪAL ^DNi-na-at-ta-an-ni-uš (38) *ši-pa-an-da-an-zi*
LUGAL-uš-ma-za ^DKar-ma-ḥi-li-in (39) *i-ia-zi*

(40) *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-az* LUGAL-uš ^UUR.SAGTa-pa-la-an DÛ-zi

²¹ Cf. S iii 12: *lu-uk-kat-ti-ma šu-up-pa* NISABA-ar.

(41) [lu]-uk-kat-ti-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL I-NA É^DA-a pa-a-an-zi

(42) [lu-u]k-kat-ti-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL I-NA É DINGIR.MAH pa-a-an-zi (43)
[^DU^{UR}]^UHur-ša-an-na-aš-ši-in-na mu-u-ga-an-zi

(44) [lu-u]k-kat-ti-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL DINGIR.MAH^Šar-ki-ú-i-i[a (45) i]-ia-a[n-z]i^DU^{UR}Hur-ša-an-na-aš-ši-in-na mu-u[-ga-an-zi]

(46) [.....] I-NA É.ŠÀ.TAM SAG.KI-eš-na [.... (perhaps one more line to end of column)

A, col. IV

(1?) (2) [..... GUD].ĪI.A UDU.ĪI.A ši-pa-an-ti

(3) [lu-uk-kat-t]i-ma ka^r-ru^l-wa-ri-wa-ar I-NA É^{LÚ.MEŠ}[MU(?) (4) wa-g]a-an-na ḫal-zi-ia nam-ma LUGAL SAL.LUGAL I-NA É^DKAL (5) ṽpa^l-a-an-zi KAS-an-ma da-ra-an-zi^{ĪUR.SAG}Piš-k[u-ru]-nu-wa-an (6) da-a-iš (-) ti-an-zi

(7) [l]u-uk-kat-ti-ma LUGAL-uš^{UR}Ha-it-ta še-eš-zi [.....]-ma-aš-ša-an (8) ša-ra-a^{ĪUR.SAG}i pé-e-da[-an-zi]

(9) lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-aš-ša-an LUGAL SAL.LUGAL ĪUR.S[AG-i UGU pa-a-a]n-zi
(10) nu EZEN-ŠU ša-ša-an-na-ma an-da-an^U[^{RU}Hur-ra-na-aš-š]i²² (11) pa-iz[-zi]

(12) [lu]-uk-kat-ti-ma-az LUGAL SAL.LUGAL^DUTU^{UR}A-ri-in-n[a]x-ia
(13) [I]-NA^{UR}Hur-ra-na-aš-ši i-ia-an-zi GAL.DUMU.É[GAL-ma] (14) I-NA^{UR}Zi-ip-pa-la-an-da pé-en-an-i (15) ta-aš-še^{LÚ.MEŠ}SANGA pí-ra-an a-da-an[-zi]

(16) lu-uk-kat-ti-ma^{UR}Zi-ip-pa-la-an-ti²³ [.....(?)]

(17) lu-uk-kat-ti-ma^{UR}An-ku-wa nu^Šḫa-le-en-tu-u[-wa-aš] (18) šal-li [a-še]-eš-š[ar]

(19) lu-uk-kat-ti-ma-az LUGAL-uš EZEN ZU-UN-NI i-ia-zi²⁴

(19a) [DUB.1.KAM]²⁵ (20) EZEN.ĪI.A AN.TAĪ.ŠUM^{SAR} [(ma-aḫ-h)]a-an ḫa-an-te-ez-zi²⁶ (21) a-ni-ia-an-te-eš ŠU.NIGÍN IT[(U.1.K)]AM UD.ṽ8¹(?)KAM-ia²⁷ (22) A-NA EZEN.ĪI.A AN.TAĪ.ŠUM^{SAR}ša-an ku ṽi-e¹-eš (23) an-da ḫa-an-da-a-an-zi QA-TI²⁸

(24) ŠÀ-ta ši-ia-an-na-aš^DZi-it-ḫa-ri-ia²⁹ (25) A-NA EZEN.ĪI.A.AN.TAĪ.ŠUM^{SA}[(^B

²² Horizontal at end of line; restored after line 13.

²³ B rev. 1': [. . . Zi]ṽip-p[ā-la-an-d]a[. . .]

²⁴ B 3': [. . . m]a-za LUGAL-uš DU ZU-UN-NI EZE[N(?) . . . i-ia]-zi.

²⁵ B 4': [DUB].1.KAM QA-TI; A has QA-TI at end of 23, while [DUB.1.KAM] may be restored in the break above the center of line 20.

²⁶ B adds -li.

²⁷ B 5': ITU.1.KAM ṽ UD.5.KAM; numeral in A damaged by break between 433/p and 271/p. See below.

²⁸ For position of QA-TI in B see note 25.

²⁹ B 1' adds -aš.

I)]-NA É-ŠU³⁰ a-pé-e-el³¹ (26) ^éka-ri-im-mi pa-iš-k[(at-ta a-ri-i)]a-an-ma-at [. . . ?]
 (27) ku-it ut-tar šu-wa-at[(ta-at)]³²

(1) of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival

[1st day] If the king spends the winter up in Hattusa, then, when the king sets out from Hattusa, the king and queen go from Hattusa to Tahirpa; the king drives up to Tahirpa in a chariot.

(7) But if the king spends the winter anywhere else, in another town, then, when it becomes spring the king sets out from that town and goes to Tahirpa. But up to Katapa he does not go at all: at Katapa there are not rites (var.: and no festival) of the gods.

(13) But if it pleases the king he may go up to Katapa even so; but neither shall he celebrate there any god, nor shall the great assembly be called. The next day³³ the king and queen enter Tahirpa; the king drives up to Tahirpa in a chariot. In the *ḫalentu* house the great assembly (takes place).

[2d day] (19) Next day the king and queen enter Hattusa. At Mount Tippuwa the bodyguards and the palace attendants race. Then the king and queen bathe in the *tarnu* house. The king drives up to Hattusa in a (light) cart. In the *ḫalentu* the great assembly (takes place).

[3d day] (24) Next day the Fleece arrives from Arinna. [Rites of] the *ḫalentu* (var.: [great rit]es?). Great assembly.

[4th day] (26) [Next day the Fl]eece goes to Tawiniya. [.] bathes for the Festival of the Month.

[5th day] (28) Next day [the Fleece] comes (back) from Tawiniya; it stays over night at Hiyasna, [then] goes [up to the roof(?)].³⁴ The *abubitu* . . . the daughter . . . the Storm-god of (?) Zippalanda.

[6th day] (32) Next day they announce from the palace the . . . festival. The Fleece arrives at the temple of Nisaba(?); in the temple of Nisaba(?) . . . to(?) the anointed (priests) they deliver bread, and they bring a lamb from Kasaya.

(36) Great assembly in the *ḫalentu*. In the palace of the *abubitu* they open the storage vessel of the right side of the Storm-god of Zippalanda on that very day.

[6th–8th days] (40) For three days they perform the festival. Eight oxen and x sheep they take [from the . . .] of the palace of the *abubitu*, and [the . . .] brings earth from the House of the Dead on [that] day.

(44) [. the king and queen (?)] go into the temple of the Sun-god(dess) . . .

(ii 1) [.] goes to Arinna. Great assembly [in . . .] . . . But for sleeping [the king] goes to Arinna, while the queen goes (back) to Hattusa into the Queen's Palace.

[9th day] (5) Next day the king takes the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant in Arinna, while the queen takes the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM plant in the Queen's Palace at Hattusa. Great assembly in the Queen's Palace.

[10th day] (8) Next day the king comes (back) from Arinna to Hattusa. Great assembly in the *ḫalentu*. Tenth day.

³⁰ B 8' adds ^{VRV}Ha-at-tu-ši.

³¹ B 8' adds I-NA.

³² B 9' f. after *paškatta*: a-ri-ia-an-ma-at DINGIR-LIM-it (10) ut-tar-kán šu-u-wa-at-ta-at.

³³ If the optional trip to Katapa is taken, Tahirpa is entered on the second day, but this delay is not counted in the normal course of the festival.

³⁴ Thus perhaps after S i 13 (n. 13).

[11th day] (11) Next day the chief of the palace attendants carries [the “year”] to the House of the Dead, and the king follows him. He goes and puts the race horses on their way.

[12th day] (14) Next day the king goes into the temple of Ziparwa: festival. They open the grain storage vessel of the Storm-god of Hatti on that day. In the temple of the Sun-god(dess) they perform the *ḥadauri* festival. [. . . .] they slaughter [ten] sheep.

(19) And they take the meat and cook it and put it before the deity. All the sheep they take back to the palace,

(22) but one sheep they leave in the temple. Just as the singer and the bodyguard have set up (the cups) in the temple of the Storm-god, in the same way they set (them) up in [the temple of the Sun-god(dess)]; thus it was determined by the deity.

[13th day] (25) Next day the king again goes into the temple of Zirparwa. His festival (takes place).

[14th day] (27) Next day the king [celebrates(?)] the Sun-goddess of the Earth, while an incantation priest in the evening [goes(?)] in(to?) the *tarnu* house and . . . es the . . . s of the Storm-god at the stela (which is) at the boxwood trees.

[15th day] (30) Next day the king [goes] to the *tarnu* house of the [boxwood] trees; they slaughter oxen and sheep at the stela of the Storm-god.

[16th day] (32) Next day the king and queen go into the temple of the Storm-god. Great assembly. But in the temple of Zababa they perform the festival[s(?)]. . . .³⁵ They slaughter ten sheep, take the meat and put it before the god. They take all the sheep back to the palace, but one sheep they leave in the temple. They set up the cups belonging to the Festival of the Month; thus it was determined by the deity.

[17th day] (40) Next day the king and queen go into the temple of Hannu. Great assembly. But into the temple of the Storm-god they send a prince from the palace, and he performs the *ḥadauri* festival. They slaughter sheep, take the meat and cook it and put it before the god. They take all the sheep back to the palace, but one sheep they leave in the temple. They send food and drink from the palace to the prince. He holds a cup [and sets it up(?) while the] keeps singing. (iii 1) and to god X of the town of Y and to the Storm-god of Samuha they make offerings.

[18th day] (4) Next day the king celebrates the Storm-god *piḥašašši* in the Pure Temple, while the queen celebrates the Sun-goddess of Arinna in the *ḥalentu*.

[19th day] (7) Next day is the day of the meat (offerings). The king goes to the boxwood trees and puts the race horses on their way. Afterwards (someone), be it the chief of the bodyguards or the chief of the palace attendants, sets up the cups before the Storm-god *piḥašašši* and the Sun-goddess of Arinna.

[20th day] (12) Next day holy ablution (takes place). They perform *kulumuršiya* offerings. In the temple of [Inara(?)] they perform the *ḥadauri* festival. They slaughter ten sheep, take the meat and put it before the deity. < They take all the sheep back to the palace, > but one sheep they leave in the temple. Just as the singer and the bodyguard have set up (the cups) in the temple of the Storm-god, in the same way they set (them) up in the temple of Inara.

[21st day] (19) Next day they perform the *ḥadauri* festival in the temple of the Storm-god of Halab and in the temple of [. . . .] for Kattahha, Nergal, Hasameli, and [X]. They offer ten sheep in (each?) temple.

³⁵ Cf. note 20 to transliteration.

[22d day] (23) Next day the king and queen go into the temple of Askasipa, while the incantation priests lament for Ishtar of Hattarina. Twenty-second day.

[23d day] (26) [Next day] the king and queen [.] while the . . .] lament for Ishtar of Hattarina.

[24th day] (29) Next day the king and queen go into the temple of X and to take the holy ablution, while the incantation priests again lament for Ishtar of Hattarina. They also purify the hands of the deity. In the evening they perform *kulumuršiya* offerings.

[25th day] (34) Next day [. . .] for Ishtar of Hattarina.

[26th day] (35) Next day is the day of meat (offerings) for Ishtar of Hattarina.

[27th day] (37) Next day the incantation priests make offerings to the Ninattanni goddesses, while the king celebrates Karmahili.

[28th day] (40) Next day the king celebrates Mount Tapala.

[29th day] (41) Next day the king and queen go into the temple of Ea.

[30th day] (42) Next day the king and queen go into the temple of the Mother Goddess and lament for the Storm-god of Hursanassa.

[31st day] (44) Next day the king and queen celebrate the Mother Goddess in the *arkiu* house and lament for the Storm-god of Hursanassa.

(46) [.] in the house of the *šatammu*

(iv 1) offers [oxe]n and sheep.

[32d(?) day] (3) Next day, in the morning, (people) are called into the house of the [cooks(?)] for a collation. Then the king and queen go into the temple of Inara. And they determine the road: they include (?) Mount Piskurunuwa.

[33d(?) day] (7) Next day the king spends the night in Haitta, while they carry [the . . .] up to the mountain.

[34th(?) day] (9) Next day the king and queen go [up] to the mountain. Its festival (takes place there). For sleeping, however, he goes into [Hurranassa].

[35th(?) day] (12) Next day the king and queen celebrate the Sun-goddess of Arinna and [.] in Hurranassa, while the chief of the palace attendants drives [(some animals)] to Zippalanda; the priests eat them in his presence.

[36th(?) day] (16) Next day: in Zippalanda [. . .(?)].

[37th(?) day] (17) Next day: in Ankuwa. Great assembly in the *halentu*.

[38th(?) day] (19) Next day the king performs the Rain Festival (var.: performs the [. . .] festival for the Storm-god of Rain).

[Colophon] (20) (One tablet) (about) how the festivals of the AN.TAH.ŠUM plant are first (?) performed. A total of one month and eight(?) (var.: five) days that they devote to the AN.TAH.ŠUM festivals. Complete.

(24) To remember: For the AN.TAH.ŠUM festival of Zithariya one goes to his temple, (that is) to his own temple (in Hattusa). The wording that was determined is too long (var.: It was (thus) determined by the god; the wording is too long).

It is obvious that this text is an outline as well as a cult inventory of the long spring festival that takes its name from the AN.TAH.ŠUM plant. The ceremonies cover more than one month. In B the total is given as “one month and five days”; this would be 33, 34, or 35 days depending on whether a month had 28, 29, or 30 days. In A, the number of days added to “one month” has, according to H. Otten’s copy of 433/p, two verticals at the bottom, while the top is damaged; thus, it could be 2, 5, or 8. The individual days are usually introduced simply by *lukkatti-ma* “the next day”; only the tenth

and twenty-second (damaged but probable) days are expressly numbered. Counting only the *lukkatti* formulae preserved in A after the twenty-second day, one gets thirty-eight days as a minimum. This is against a reading of the damaged figure as either “2” or “5” but would fit its restoration (or emendation?) to “8” and would thus yield a month of thirty days.

There exist several rituals for individual parts of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (485–497). Many of these recur in our text, and other festival texts, not hitherto recognized as belonging to the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM, can now also be placed.³⁶ The results of a first attempt at such identifications may be presented in the following list; prolonged work may well result in additions and modifications. Even at this stage I offer this study to Professor Benno Landsberger as a small token of gratitude and affection, although we are still far from establishing a “Cult Calendar of the Hittites.”

In the following list, items of doubtful pertinence or mere comparison are put in brackets.

- 1st day: To Tahurpa but not to Katapa: *IBoT* III 40 (496, 1, A');
[cf. for Katapa: *IBoT* II 16; *KUB* X 31 (496, 6; 2)].
- 2d day: [For entering Hattusa via Tippuwa see at end (493)]. Great assembly
in *ḫalentu*: *KUB* X 3 etc. (497, 1).
- 3d–5th days: [For a different travel of the Fleece cf. *KUB* X 78 + XX 25 (512, 1)].
- 4th day: [For the EZEN.ITU cf. 473, 4 and 11].
- 6th day: [Storm-god of Zippalanda: uncertain whether 474 belongs here. For
ḫešti see 11th day].
- 8th–9th days: [Arinna: uncertain whether any of the texts under 498 belong here];
silver used for the AN.T.Š. festival there: *KBo* IX 91 rev. 6–10.
- 11th day: “[Years]” to *ḫešti* house: *IBoT* II 1 (496, 4); *KUB* XX 33 (510, 5;
Otten, *ZA* XLIX, 345); *IBoT* III 1 (510, 1), MU.ḪI.A in line 49;
[perhaps also 510, 2–4].
- 12th–13th days: Temple of Ziparwa: *KUB* XX 8 (492); [cf. *KUB* XX 29 (476, 1) with
unpubl. dupl. Bo 235].
- 14th day: Sun-goddess of the Earth: *KUB* XX 8 (492).
- 14th–15th days: Stela of Storm-god at boxwood trees near *tarnu*: 495.
- 16th day: [Temple of Storm-god: ?]; temple of Zababa: *KBo* IV 9 etc. (487).
- 17th day: [Prince performs in temple of Storm-god: *KUB* XX 45 (530, 4)?
Various temples, but AN.T.Š. in i 8 etc. mentioned!].
- 18th–19th days: Storm-god *piḫašašši* and Sun-goddess of Arinna: *KUB* XI 13 (516).
- 21st day: [Storm-god of Aleppo: 392 not pertinent].
- 21st or 24th day: [The short divine name in either place could be *ḫIB*; if so, *IBoT* I 3
(491)].
- 22d–24th days: *mugauwar* for Ištar of Ḫattarina: *IBoT* III 115 (413, 2).
- 25th–26th days [Offerings to the same: cf. *IBoT* II 55 (413, 1)?].
- 28th day: [Mount Tapala: 475 has trip there: pertinent?].
- 29th day: Temple of Ea: *KUB* X 5 (485).

³⁶ I wish to express my indebtedness to Laroche's “Catalogue” (above, n. 3), without which I could not have undertaken this task.

- 30th–31st days: [For ^{DU} ^{URU} *Huršannašši* cf. ^{DU} *huršannaš*, *ABOT* 1 (529, 7), performed by the queen only; note “house of *šatammu*” there and on 31st (?) day].
- 32d day: [Temple of ^{DU} *KAL*: cf. 486 for ^{DU} *KAL* of Tauriša, performed in grove at that town: pertinent? Trip may be inferred from the following].
- 32d–34th days: To *Ḫaitta*, festival on Mt. *Piškurunuwa*: *KUB* XXV 18; *IBOT* I 1 (490, 1; 4).
- 35th–36th days: [To *Zippalanda*: *KUB* XXXIV 126 (502)? Cf. colophon with those of 476, 1 and 486, 1. Doubtful whether 474 belongs here, cf. 6th day].
- 37th day: [To *Ankuwa*: cf. trip there *KUB* XX 96 (474, 3) iii 21 in text devoted to Storm-god of *Zippalanda*].
- 38th day: Rain festival at *Ankuwa*: *KUB* XXX 73 (label only, 189, 5).
- “Note”: The *AN.T.Š.* Festival of *Zithariya*, in his temple in the capital, is *KUB* X 18 etc. (493), see X 18 ii 3–12 = 17 ii 1–8. Entry via *Tippuwa*; from X 17 ii 9 on parallel to 479, 1 (cf. 2d day).

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Mythologies of the Ancient World

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Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION, by Samuel Noah Kramer	7
MYTHOLOGY IN ANCIENT EGYPT, by Rudolf Anthes	15
MYTHOLOGY OF SUMER AND AKKAD, by Samuel Noah Kramer	93
HITTITE MYTHOLOGY, by Hans G. Güterbock	139
CANAANITE MYTHOLOGY, by Cyrus H. Gordon	181
MYTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT GREECE, by Michael H. Jameson	219
MYTHOLOGY OF INDIA, by W. Norman Brown	277
MYTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT IRAN, by M. J. Dresden	331
MYTHS OF ANCIENT CHINA, by Derk Bodde	367
JAPANESE MYTHOLOGY, by E. Dale Saunders	409
MYTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT MEXICO, by Miguel León-Portilla	443
INDEX	473

Hittite Mythology

BY HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

Speaking of Hittite mythology we have to keep in mind that the Hittite Empire, as it spread over all of Anatolia and parts of Syria and north Mesopotamia, included regions of different background, culturally as well as ethnically and linguistically. Soon after the Hittite language had been deciphered in 1915, it was noticed that among the cuneiform tablets of the Hittite capital there were texts in several other languages beside Hittite. Apart from Sumerian and Akkadian, the languages of higher learning, a number of local languages could be identified. As the number of texts and, with it, our knowledge of these languages increased, it became apparent that there existed mythical tales in all languages. For a better understanding of the myths of ancient Anatolia it will therefore be best to start with a brief survey of the various languages, so as to enable us to attribute the individual myths to the different components of Hittite civilization.

The oldest population of the central part of the Anatolian plateau whose language is known are the Hattians. Their language does not belong to any of the better-known linguistic groups but rather stands by itself, with a vague, though possible, relation to some of the idioms spoken in recent times in the Caucasus. The Hittites called this language

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hattili, that is, the language of the country of Hatti. While taking over the name of that country for their own kingdom, the Hittites reserved the term *hattili* for the language of the old inhabitants in contrast to their own Indo-European language, which they called *nesili* after the town of Nesa, the center of their own first settlement. Since moderns had already used the name "Hittite" for the official *nesili* language, they had to invent another term for *hattili*, namely, "Hattic." We thus say "Hattic" for the non-Indo-European *hattili* language, but Hittite or sometimes, for clarity's sake, "Nesian" for the Indo-European *nesili* language, which was the official language of the kingdom and, as such, most productive in literature.

There are two more Indo-European languages in Anatolia beside Hittite: Luwian and Palaic. Palaic was spoken in the north (according to the most likely localization proposed, in Paphlagonia, northwest of Hatti); like Hittite, it was superimposed on a Hattic substrate. Luwian, on the other hand, was spoken in the south: probably in the southwest and certainly in the Cilician plain. We have to assume that the Luwians, too, superseded a population that spoke another language, but this substrate still remains unknown and unnamed. The language written with the so-called Hittite hieroglyphs is nothing else but a Luwian dialect. But since no mythological material has so far been found in hieroglyphic inscriptions—which, for the most part, are of votive character—we may safely leave hieroglyphic Luwian out of our consideration.

There finally is the non-Indo-European Hurrian language of north Mesopotamia and north Syria. The Hurrian element came to play an important part in Hittite civilization, especially in the New Kingdom or Empire period (fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.), during which probably the dynasty and certainly many scribes were of Hurrian background. Kizzuwatna, the region in southeastern Anatolia including the Cilician plain, was the one Hittite province in which Hurrian scribal schools must have flourished most prominently. Since, as we have seen, Luwian was also spoken in Cilicia, we find

a certain amount of linguistic mixture in that region, as evidenced by Hurrian loanwords in Luwian and by Luwian loanwords in Hittite texts dealing with Hurrian myths.

Our task, then, will be to ascribe, as far as possible, the individual myths to these various ethno-linguistic groups: Hattic, Nesian (Hittite), Palaic, Luwian, and Hurrian. In so doing we immediately make an observation concerning the literary form in which mythological tales have been handed down: only the myths of foreign origin were written as real literary compositions—we may call them epics—whereas those of local Anatolian origin were committed to writing only in connection with rituals. By foreign origin in this context we mean mainly Hurrian; beside it, Babylonian, for which it can be shown that Hurrian served as intermediary, and Canaanite, for which we can only assume that the way of borrowing went from Syria via Cilicia to the Hittite capital. By local Anatolian we mean the material preserved in Hattic, Palaic, and Luwian, and those Hittite myths whose protagonists are local, chiefly Hattic, deities.

In Hattic we have, apart from brief and, as yet, hardly intelligible allusions to mythological concepts, only one little story: "The Moon Who Fell from Heaven."¹ Although this tale is contained in a bilingual text where the Hattic original is provided with a Hittite translation, the story itself is far from clear. We can only make out that the moon fell down from heaven and that various deities, among them the Storm-god, saw it and sent messengers after it. From the ritual that precedes and follows the tale we learn that it was told "when the Storm-god thunders" and that the Storm-god with his helpers, the clouds, thunders, and rains, received offerings; so the story seems to have been told *in maiorem gloriam* of the Storm-god, who must have played a major part in it.

Much more important is the myth of "The God Who Disappeared." The best-preserved versions of this myth are in Hittite, but the locale as well as the *dramatis personae* clearly point to a Hattic background. There are many versions of this myth. Not only do we find different deities in the

role of the Vanished God, but even the versions dealing with one and the same god differ in detail. This textual instability is certainly the result of the non-literary character of the texts: all versions were written down in connection with a ritual. Contrary to what might be expected on the analogy of—real or alleged—myths of “dying gods” of other peoples,² this ritual has nothing to do with seasonal patterns but rather serves to reconcile the vanished deity with a certain individual, who may be a queen or a private person, and to secure well-being, probably also offspring, for that person and his or her household. Nor does the god die in these Hittite tales; he rather goes into hiding, as we shall see.

In the best-known version of this myth the god who disappears is Telipinu, and the story is therefore mostly referred to as the Telipinu Myth. The name of the god is Hattic. Telipinu is a son of the great Storm-god, and he himself bears many traits of a Storm-god.³ There is also a version in which the vanished god is simply called Storm-god; since this version has never been translated in full, and since it contains an episode not included in the Telipinu version, it may be good to give a translation of it here.⁴ (Brackets indicate restorations and parentheses, additions made for the sake of idiom or clarity; roman type indicates uncertainty of translation or restoration.)

The beginning of the story, which must have contained a description of the god's anger and probably a statement of its cause, is so fragmentary that it cannot be understood. In another version of the Storm-god myth⁵ it is said that the god “was angry at (queen) Ashmunikal” and that in his rage “he put his right shoe on his left foot . . . and left.” This is immediately followed by the description of the results of the Storm-god's leaving. At this point our main version of the Storm-god myth becomes available, in part restored from the Telipinu version.

*Fog seized the windows, smoke seized the house:
In the fireplace the logs were “oppressed” (smouldering).*

*On the pedestal the gods were "oppressed,"
in the fold the sheep were "oppressed,"
in the corral the cows were "oppressed":
The ewe refused its lamb, the cow refused its calf.*

*. . . . (two and one-half fragmentary lines not paralleled by
the Telipinu version)*

*Barley and emmer-wheat no longer grow,
cattle, sheep and humans no longer become pregnant,
and even those who are pregnant do not give birth.*

*The mountains dried up, the trees dried up
(so that) shoots did not come (forth).*

The meadows dried up, the springs dried up.

*[The great Sun]-god prepared a feast and invited the
thousand gods.*

*They ate but could not satisfy their hunger,
they drank but could not satisfy their thirst.*

[The Father of the Storm-god said [to the gods]:

"My son [is not there; he became enraged]

[and carried away] growth,

he carried away everything good!"

*The great gods and the small gods set out to search for
the Storm-god.*

The Sun-god sent out the swift Eagle (saying):

"Go, search the high mountains,

search the deep valleys,

search the darkblue waves!"

The Eagle went but did not find him.

The Eagle swiftly brought the Sun-god news:

"The high mountains I searched,

the deep valleys I searched,

the darkblue waves I searched,

but I did not find him, the Storm-god of Heaven!"

*The Storm-god's Father went to his (i.e., the Storm-
god's) Grandfather and said to him:*

*"Who sinned (so that) the seed perished and everything
dried up?"*

The Grandfather said:

"No one sinned, but you alone sinned!"

The Storm-god's Father replied:

"In no way did I sin!"

But the Grandfather said:

*"This matter I shall investigate,
and (if I find you guilty) I shall kill you!
Now go, search for the Storm-god!"*

*The Storm-god's Father went to Hannahanna of the Gul-
sas (the Mother-goddess).*

Hannahanna of the Gulsas said to the Storm-god's Father:

"Why did you come?"

The Storm-god's Father said:

*"The Storm-god became enraged,
(so) everything dried up and the seed perished.
Now my father says to me:*

'It is your fault!

I shall investigate the matter and kill you!"

Now, how shall I proceed? What has happened?"

Hannahanna replied:

"Fear not!

*If it is your fault I shall put it straight,
and if it is not your fault I shall (also) put it straight.
Go, search for the Storm-god
(while) his Grandfather has not yet heard (about it)!"*

The Storm-god's Father said:

"Where shall I go and search?"

Hannahanna replied:

"I shall hand him over to you.

Go, bring (me) [the Bee]!

*I myself shall instruct it,
and it will search for [the Storm-god]."*

The Storm-god's Father said t[o Hannahanna]:

*"The great gods and the small gods searched for him
and did not find him;*

shall now this Bee go and search for him?"

Its wings are weak, and it is weak itself:

They will.!"

Hannahanna replied:

"[.] not [.]"

In this version the continuation is lost. Since the individual versions differ in detail, it is better to refrain from a verbal restoration taken from other versions. It seems likely, however, that Hannahanna, in the speech that originally followed, dispelled the misgivings expressed by the Storm-god's Father about the Bee's fitness and, after the Bee had been brought into her presence, gave it instructions for the search. In a small fragment of which it is not clear whether it belongs to this particular version but which at least deals with the Storm-god,⁶ parts of these instructions and of the ensuing search are preserved, and in this context "a grove at the town of Lihzina" is mentioned, that is, the god's hiding place where the Bee found him.

The corresponding section of the Telipinu version tells the story roughly as follows: Following Hannahanna's instructions, the Bee searches everywhere until it finds the god sleeping in a grove at Lihzina. (Note that this town, although mentioned as the hiding place of both Telipinu and the Storm-god in the two versions of our myth, is known from ritual texts as a cult center of the Storm-god only.) The Bee stings the god, thus awakening him. As a result his anger only increases; he now brings destruction over man and beast and the whole land. The gods, left in consternation, have recourse to magic.

In our Storm-god version the corresponding parts are lost. What is left of the second column of the tablet is very fragmentary and without parallel. It completely differs from the part of the Telipinu version just outlined, but we cannot tell yet whether we have here a different story or merely an addition.

The entreaty and ritual aimed at bringing the vanished god back follow the same patterns in all versions, though with variations in detail; we may safely leave them aside.⁷ The ritual is followed by the narrative of the god's return:

*The Storm-god returned to his house and took account
of his land.*

The fog left the window, the smoke left the house.

*[On the pedestal the gods] were set straight,
in the fireplace the logs were set straight,
[in the fold] the sheep were set straight,
in the corral the cows were set straight.
[The mother] guided [her child],
the ewe guided her lamb,
the cow [guided her calf],
[the Storm-god] guided [the king and queen]
and took account of them for life and well-being [to the end
of days].*

As said before, various deities are cast in the role of the Vanished God. Telipinu and the Storm-god are the most prominent and happen to be those dealt with in the best-preserved texts. Similar myths about other deities are less intelligible, in part because of their bad state of preservation, in part because of philological difficulties. A story in which the Sun-god disappears and "Rigor" or "Paralysis" seizes all nature⁸ belongs in the latter category. Some fragmentary texts contain a story similar to the Telipinu myth but dealing with Anzili and Zukki, deities of unknown linguistic background.⁹ In a story that differs greatly in detail we find the Bee sent out to search for Inara, who is called the daughter of the Storm-god.¹⁰ The motif of the fury of the deity, but without the description of the disappearance and its consequences, is found in texts dealing with the Storm-god of the town of Kuliwisna¹¹ and with the Mother-goddess, Hannahanna.¹² The rituals performed to appease these deities are very similar to, in part even identical with, those connected with the Telipinu and Storm-god myths. Whether these texts never had the mythological tale or whether it is only lost in the existing fragments remains an open question.

What matters is that in the texts mentioned so far the mythological tales are closely connected with ritual. The texts themselves were handbooks to be used whenever the occasion arose for the performance of the magic rites described in them. Thus they fall into a large group of magic rituals containing shorter or longer mythological tales. To mention only

two examples for many: a ritual against paralysis contains the story of how nature was "bound," how the news reached Kamrusepa, the goddess of magic, and how she "loosened" everything that was "bound."¹³ In a ritual for the erection of a new palace, one of many mythological passages reads as follows:¹⁴

When the king enters the house (the new palace), the Throne calls the Eagle: "Come! I send you to the sea. But when you go (there), look in the green forest (and see) who is sitting (there)!"

The Eagle replies: "I looked! Istustaya and Papaya, the primeval Netherworld goddesses, are sitting there bowing down."

The Throne answers: "And what are they doing?" The Eagle replies: "(One) holds a spindle, they (both) hold filled mirrors. And they are spinning the king's years. And of the years there is no limit or counting!"

The deified Throne is a Hattic goddess; Istustaya and Papaya are Hattic deities, too, who are elsewhere mentioned together with other Netherworld deities, the most prominent of whom is the Sun-goddess of the Earth. Here we get a glimpse of the Anatolian concepts of the Netherworld, which include goddesses spinning the thread of life like the Parcae. This similarity should, however, not be taken as evidence for Indo-European origin, since the goddesses are Hattic. Incidentally, the "filled mirrors" have been explained as flat pans filled with water that makes a reflection. The whole passage is typical of the device of using a brief mythological tale in a ritual: it is, of course, told in order to secure long life for the owner of the new palace; the tale itself has magic power here as in the other rituals.

Returning to the myth of the Vanished God, we saw that of the deities cast in that role, Telipinu has a Hattic name; Inara, too, is connected with the Hattic element, whereas "Storm-god" and "Sun-god" are universal great gods whose names are written with word signs. These gods existed also in the Hattic pantheon, where their names, Taru and Estan,

respectively, are known, and there is nothing against the assumption that our stories deal with the Hattic Taru and Estan. Yet the texts are in Hittite, **which** means that the speakers of Indo-European Hittite **adopted** the myths together with the gods of their predecessors.

Among the Indo-European languages of Asia Minor there is one other that superseded a Hattic substrate: Palaic. One of the few Palaic texts known so far contains a mythological tale followed by a kind of hymn.¹⁵ Although we still understand very little of the language we can see that here the tale contains the motif of the feast at which the gods "eat but cannot satisfy their hunger, drink but cannot satisfy their thirst." The town of Lihzina is also mentioned here. The hymnic part of the text contains the name of the god Zaparwa, the main god of the Palaians, who, as has been proposed, may well be a Storm-god. The two features mentioned remind us of the myth of the Vanished God, but the rest of the story, as far as it can be made out, seems to run differently.¹⁶ Although we cannot, therefore, claim that the Palaic myth deals with Zaparwa as Vanished God, it is significant that it shares some motifs with the Hittite tales on that theme; these common motifs, at least, if not the whole stories, should then go back to the common Hattic substrate.

Luwian texts are almost exclusively of the magic type, either short spells or longer incantations inserted in ritual texts. Here again a myth is told in such a text.¹⁷ Although very little of the story can as yet be understood, it seems to contain the motif of a feast prepared by the Sun-god, but in a completely different setting: this feast is closely linked with the cause of the illness which the ritual is intended to heal.

So far we have dealt with mythological tales written down in connection with magic rituals. There are, however, also tales connected with the cult. The best known of these is the myth of the fight between the Storm-god and the Dragon; *illuyanka*, thus far taken as proper name of the monster, is nothing but the common noun meaning "dragon" or "serpent." The text states expressly that the story was recited at the

purulli festival of the Storm-god, one of the great yearly cult ceremonies.¹⁸

Thus speaks Kella, [the priest] of the Storm-god of Nerik:

"(These are) the words of the purulli of the Storm-god of Heaven:

When they speak as follows:

*'Let the land thrive and prosper
and let the land be protected!
and if it, then, thrives and prospers,
then they perform the purulli festival.'*

The story itself, whose first version follows immediately, is well known and need not be repeated here in full. In a first round the Storm-god is defeated by the Dragon, so he asks the other gods for help. The goddess Inara helps him by preparing a feast and securing the assistance of a mortal man whom she promises her love. When the Dragon is drunk from the drinks offered him by Inara, the mortal helper binds him, whereupon the Storm-god returns and kills the Dragon. The story then goes on to tell the fate of the man who enjoyed the love of the goddess: He is told not to look out of the window, of course does so as soon as the goddess has left, longs for his family and, when he expresses the wish to go home, is punished in some way. The text is broken here, but we may assume that he was killed.

Unfortunately the break in the tablet makes it almost impossible to understand the passage immediately following the end of this version. In it the king and "the first *purulli*" are mentioned. The next paragraph reads:

*Mount Zaliyanu is the first of all!
When it has apportioned rains to Nerik,
the herald brings offering bread from Nerik.
Mount Zaliyanu asked for rain:
he brings [.] bread to it.*

Thereafter the tablet is broken again. Obscure as this passage may be, it somehow links the story with the important cult

city of Nerik (whose priest was mentioned as author of the text in the introduction) and mentions the rain-giving, deified mountain, Zaliyanu, which is near that town.

Where the text becomes available after the gap we find the second version of the Dragon fight. In it, too, the Dragon at first defeats the Storm-god. Here he robs him of his heart and his eyes. The Storm-god then marries a mortal maid, daughter of a poor man, and has a son from her. When the latter grows up he wants to marry the daughter of the Dragon. His father instructs him to ask for the stolen heart and eyes when entering the house of the bride (the legal background is the Hittite custom that a wealthy father can get a husband for his daughter by paying the so-called bride price to the young man; the statement in the story that the lad's mother was poor thus gains perspective). The demand is met, the Storm-god regains his former stature and can engage in a new battle which, we are told, is to take place "by the sea again" (so it seems the first fight was by the sea as well; that passage is damaged). By marrying the Dragon's daughter, however, the son of the Storm-god has taken on an obligation of loyalty to his father-in-law; he therefore takes the latter's side and asks his own father not to spare him; whereupon "the Storm-god killed both the Dragon and his own son."

At the end of this second—and more sophisticated—version there is another gap, after which there follows a very difficult text, of which only one detail is of interest here: Zaliyanu, mentioned earlier in the text as a mountain, is here said to be the wife of Zaskhapuna. Zaskhapuna was once believed to be the Hittite name of the Storm-god, and I personally still consider this a possibility; at least it can be *one* name of the god beside others. According to its form it is a Hattic name. Our text calls Zaskhapuna "the greatest of all gods," a distinction certainly befitting a Storm-god more than any other deity.

We saw that the Dragon Fight Myth is linked to the city of Nerik by the office of its author and in the section following the first version. The Storm-god of Nerik himself,

however, is not mentioned in the text. This young Storm-god, who was a son of the great Storm-god, had an important cult. There is a ritual aimed at bringing him back to Nerik from other towns to which he had gone.¹⁹ This may be a mythological expression for the well-known historical fact that Nerik was for a time taken away from the Hittites by the Gasga people of the north but later regained. The text, however, explains the god's absence by his anger—a familiar motif. The god is called back to Nerik from wherever he may be. One passage (rev. 11–22) has a mythological flavor; it deals with the river Marassanta, the Halys of the ancients, now the Red River of Turkey:

You, o Marassanta, are close to the heart of the Storm-god of Nerik.

*The Marassanta formerly flowed astray,
but the Storm-god turned it and made it flow toward the sun
and (thus) made it flow near Nerik.*

The Storm-god said to the Marassanta river:

*"If some one infuriates the Storm-god of Nerik
(so that) he walks away from Nerik and the couch,
then you, o Marassanta, don't let him go to another river (or)
another spring!"*

*The Storm-god of Heaven said to the Marassanta river:
"(This) shall be (a matter of) an oath for you:
do not alter your course!"*

The Marassanta did not alter its course.

You, o gods, did it!

*Now let the river Nakkiliata call the Storm-god of Nerik.
From under the sea (and) the [waves],
from under the nine river-beds let it bring him back!*

Other parts of this rather difficult text are prayer-like invocations directed to the Storm-god of Nerik himself, among other things asking him to "bring rain down from heaven" (rev. 60). The passage translated above, however, stands out as a rare Hittite example of an etiological myth: it was the great Storm-god of Heaven himself who diverted the course

of the largest river of Central Anatolia so as to make it flow near the cult center of his son.

What we have surveyed so far does not cover all myths of Central Anatolia but may suffice to give a general picture of their character. Turning now to the myths of foreign origin, we may note in passing that the Hittites knew the Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic. The Akkadian version was treated in the scribal schools as is witnessed by a fragment of it found at Boghazköy. Beside it there are fragments of a Hurrian and of a Hittite version. The latter shows that the Hittites adapted the epic to their own sphere of interest by shortening those parts that dealt specifically with Uruk, the Sumerian home town of the hero.²⁰ And from the former, that is, from the very existence of a Hurrian version, we may gather that the Hittites became acquainted with the epic through the Hurrians; the same is true, as we shall see, of other Babylonian mythological concepts.

As stated at the outset, there is a whole epic literature in Hittite that deals with Hurrian and Canaanite deities or with human heroes bearing Hurrian names. In contrast to the Anatolian myths, which we found connected with rituals, these tales of foreign background are real literary compositions often called "songs" in the sense of "epics." Many of them can only be mentioned here very briefly. Among them there is, first, the epic of the hero Gurparanzakh. The name of the hero is Hurrian; it is derived from Aranzakh, the Hurrian name of the river Tigris, and this river, personified, plays a part in the story. The setting is, however, in Akkad, the famous north-Babylonian city; so this is another example of a Babylonian theme transmitted to the Hittites by the Hurrians, although no Akkadian prototype has yet been found. Second, there is the story of the hunter Keshshi, of which there are fragments of a Hittite and a Hurrian version, while an Akkadian version formed part of the reading material of the scribal school at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt. Third, the story of Appu and his two sons, Evil and Good, and fourth, a myth about the Sun-god and a cow, in which the

cow bears a human child that is later found by a fisherman (possibly these two fragments belong to the same story as indicated by the end of the Appu text, where a cow is introduced and the Sun-god makes a prediction concerning it). Fifth, there is the myth about the serpent Hedammu, a voracious monster that is checked by the goddess Ishtar's womanly charms.²¹

Of Canaanite or Syrian myths we have Hittite versions of two: one deals with the god Elkunirsa and his wife Ashertu, that is, *El qônê ereş* "El the Creator of the Earth" and Asherah.²² Of the existing fragments, one tells that a god whose name is written with the word-sign for the Storm-god but who must in this context be Ba'al-Hadad, visits his father Elkunirsa while the latter is camping out near the Euphrates; he tells his father that when he came to his house, Asherah made him advances which he refused. El advises him to go back and threaten her. In the second fragment a goddess called Ishtar, which again stands for the West-Semitic Astarte or 'Anat, in the guise of a bird overhears a bedroom conversation of El and Asherah and tells it to her brother, the Storm-god (Hadad).

The other Syrian myth in Hittite deals with an adventure of Mount Pishaisha. This mountain must be in Syria since it is mentioned in treaties among the deities listed as witnesses together with the equally deified mountains Lebanon and Hermos. In our epic fragment Mount Pishaisha rapes the goddess Ishtar, is threatened with punishment by her, and asks for mercy.²³

The best preserved and, by their contents, most interesting Hittite epics reflecting Hurrian myths, however, are those dealing with Kumarbi, "the Father of the Gods." So far we have two, or perhaps three, such compositions. Of the first, the original title is lost; since its main theme is the sequence of gods who were kings in heaven, it has been called "The Kingship in Heaven."²⁴ The first part of this epic is preserved in a badly mutilated single copy; of other copies we only have one small fragment and possibly a second. The text begins with a proem:

[Let and] who are primeval deities hearken,
let [. . . . and . . .], the mighty gods, hearken!

Let Na[ra Napshara, Mink]i Ammunki hearken,
let Ammezzaddu [and], father and mother, hearken!

Let [. . . .] and Ishkhara, father and mother, hearken,
let Enlil [and Ninlil], who are exceedingly mighty, ever-
lasting deities, hearken,

let [. . . .] and [. .]ulkulimma hearken!

The story itself follows immediately:

Formerly, in former years, Alalu was king in Heaven.
Alalu was sitting on the throne,
and mighty Anu, the first of the gods, stood before him.
He bowed down to his feet
and put the drinking cups into his hand.

For nine "counted" years Alalu was king in Heaven.
In the ninth year Anu gave battle against Alalu.
He defeated Alalu,
and he (Alalu) fled before him
and he went down to the Dark Earth.
Down to the Dark Earth he went,
but on the throne Anu sat.

Anu was sitting on his throne,
and mighty Kumarbi gave him to drink:
He bowed down to his feet
and put the drinking cups into his hand.

For nine "counted" years Anu was king in Heaven.
In the ninth year Anu had to give battle against Kumarbi:
Kumarbi, Alalu's offspring, gave battle against Anu.
Anu no longer withstood Kumarbi's eyes;
he slipped out of his hands and fled, Anu (did),
and went up to the sky.

After him Kumarbi rushed
and seized him, Anu, by his feet
and pulled him down from the sky.

He bit his loins
(so that) his manhood united with Kumarbi's interior like
bronze (i.e., as copper and tin unite to form bronze).

*When it united,
when Kumarbi swallowed Anu's manhood,
he rejoiced and laughed.*

*Anu turned back
and to Kumarbi he began to speak:
"Thou rejoicest about thine interior
because thou hast swallowed my manhood!*

*"Do not rejoice about thine interior!
Into thine interior I have put a (heavy) load:
First I have made thee pregnant with the weighty Storm-
god;
second I have made thee pregnant with the river Aranzakh
(Tigris), the irresistible;
third I have made thee pregnant with the weighty god Tash-
mishu,
and two (other) terrible gods have I put as load into thine
interior.*

*Thou shalt come to stop hitting the rocks of Mount Tassa
with thy head!"*

*When Anu had finished speaking
he went up to the sky.*

*But (Kumarbi) hid himself
and spat out of his mouth, he, [Kumarbi,] the wise king.
Out of his mouth he spat spittle [and the manhood] mixed to-
gether.*

*What Kumarbi had sp[at] out,
Mount Kanzura fear.*

*Kumarbi went in rage into Nip[pur, his town].
. he sat down.*

*Kumarbi did not [.] count [the months].
The ninth month came, (rest of column lost).*

Counting months is a common motif introducing childbirth. In the second column of the tablet, where the surface is so rubbed off that a satisfactory text cannot be established, childbirth is indeed the theme, although it is of unusual nature. It seems that here several deities who are in Kumarbi's "interior" discuss with him through what opening of his body

they should make their appearance. Two of the deities mentioned here are not among the three named by Anu: one is Marduk (the god of Babylon, here represented by a rare Sumerian name), the other's name is written with the word sign KA.ZAL, meaning "lust." These may be the "two terrible gods" mentioned without name by Anu. Only the last child is one of those announced by name: the Storm-god. Although the name of this god is here, as elsewhere, always written with a word sign, we may safely call the god by his Hurrian name, Teshub, in this Hurrian myth.

The third column is badly damaged, too, so that here again a coherent text cannot be established. Following a suggestion made, we may insert in the gap between columns ii and iii another fragment (which would be the third copy alluded to above).²⁵ In it "the king of Kummiya," who can only be Teshub (as we shall see from the Ullikummi Epic), addresses Anu; he reminds him of the fact that "[Kumarbi,] the Father of Gods, though a male, has given birth" to him; he also mentions several hard tasks that his father gave him (not otherwise known) and lists the divine powers with which he was endowed (a passage similar to a listing of the powers given Marduk in the second column). Following the same scholar's suggestion we assume that, where the third column of the main copy sets in with half-preserved lines, Teshub asks Anu to kill Kumarbi.²⁶ In his reply Anu seems to dissuade Teshub from his plan of killing Kumarbi and speaks of the kingship in terms that are too fragmentary for full understanding. The suggestion that Anu proposes to make Ea king²⁷ seems to agree with what can be gathered from the following sections. After Anu's long speech one may restore (column iii lines 19-22):

*When Teshub [heard these (Anu's?) words],
[they] became loathsome to his heart,
[and in anger] he spoke to the bull Sheri:
"[.] are coming against [me] for battle!
."*

Sheri is one of Teshub's sacred bulls. Several gods are mentioned in the fragmentary continuation; that Teshub pronounced a curse over them can be gathered from the reply (lines 31-32):

*The bull Sheri re[plied] to Teshub:
"My lord! Why didst thou curse them?"*

Again the rest of the speech is beyond repair. After a gap the curse is still being referred to. This time it is Ea of whom we read (lines 67-72):

*When Ea had [hear]d those words
they became loathsome to his heart.
Ea began to reply these words to (the god) . . . -ura:
"Do not pronounce curses against me!
He who cursed me,
[why] does he curse me?
Now thou who [tellest me these words] again,
thou art (thereby) cursing me.
A dish [that] with beer,
that dish will break to pieces!"*

There follows another gap, after which there is childbirth again. This time it is Earth who gives birth to two children. Unfortunately we can tell neither who these children are nor who begot them. The logic of the story would require that we should hear what happened to the part of the seed that Kumarbi spat out, and Earth would be a good candidate for the one who received and bore it. In a fragment which partly restores the fourth column, however, mention is made of a "wagon," and a word that may be restored as "manhood" once follows "wagon" in an otherwise broken line. It has been suggested on these grounds that the children grew out of Wagon's seed and that with "the wagon" the constellation of the Great Wagon (or Great Dipper) is meant. To complicate things further, it is Ea who counts the months and to whom the news of the happy event is brought. Thus, the question of who is the father must be left open. Mention of a throne and the title king occurring in broken context in

the vicinity of the name Ea might indicate that at this point it is indeed Ea who is king among the gods, which would agree with the tentative interpretation of the third column given above. It has to be stressed, however, that the present state of preservation of the tablet renders all these interpretations highly hypothetical. Shortly after the birth of Earth's two children the tablet ends.

Summing up the contents of this epic composition, we find that in its first part it tells how the celestial kingship passed from Alalu to Anu and from Anu to Kumarbi. Of these gods, Anu is, of course, the well-known Babylonian god whose name is Sumerian An "Sky"; a god called Alala is at least attested in a Babylonian list of gods as one of Anu's ancestors. That we are dealing with generations is stated in our text where Kumarbi is called Alalu's offspring. The name Kumarbi is Hurrian; Kumarbi is sometimes equated with the Sumerian Enlil, though—as we shall see—not consistently. The fact that in our text Kumarbi goes to Nippur seems to indicate that its author made that identification, since the Babylonian town of Nippur is well known as the cult city of Enlil. The parallels that exist between this story and both Hesiod's *Theogony* and the Phoenician mythology as related by Philo Byblius have often been discussed; a few remarks may therefore suffice here.

In Hesiod the sequence is Ouranos ("Sky")—Kronos—Zeus; the fight between Ouranos and Kronos includes the motif of castration as does the fight between Anu and Kumarbi in the Hittite text. There is in Hesiod no generation corresponding to Alalu. Philo Byblius, however, in the outline of Phoenician mythology which he ascribes to a certain Sankhuniaton, has that generation. Here the sequence is:

1. Phoenician Elioun, Greek Hypsistos "The Highest," corresponding to Alalu;
2. Greek Ouranos "Sky," Phoenician name not given, corresponding to Anu;
3. Phoenician El, Greek Kronos, corresponding to Kumarbi;

4. elsewhere Ba'al-Hadad is mentioned as the chief god, corresponding to Teshub and Zeus.

The fact that Philo knew of the first generation omitted by Hesiod is a point in favor of the authenticity of his account; similarly, the discovery of Ugaritic literature has shown that a complex mythology indeed existed in Syria some fifteen centuries before Philo.

What exactly followed Kumarbi's victory over Anu and his pregnancy incurred in this fight is not clear because of the deplorable state of the text. Teshub is born, somehow. That he became king in Heaven at some point of the story may safely be assumed because of his role as supreme god in the actual cult of both Hurrians and Hittites; but at what point of the story this happened we do not know. Nor is Ea's role too clear (Ea, the wise god, is a figure familiar from Sumero-Babylonian religion, too). We found some indications that he may have been made king (after Kumarbi?), but the bad state of the text does not allow for a definite statement. In another text, to which we shall presently turn, Ea rather is the one who appoints and deposes celestial rulers. This text²⁸ deals with the temporary rule of a deity whose name is written with the word sign KAL, which, unfortunately, is ambiguous. Neither the reading Sumerian *lama*, Akkadian *lamassu* "protective deity," nor the reading Inara—the name of an Anatolian goddess whom we met in the Dragon Fight Myth—fits the context which seems to deal with a rather unruly male god. So we shall simply use the form KAL instead of the unknown real name of the god. As far as the sequence of events is concerned, it would seem that KAL's rule interrupted that of Teshub, since it seems that KAL takes the rule from him at the beginning but has to recognize him as his master in the end.

The beginning of the text is lost and its first column badly mutilated. At one point one may restore (column i, lines 18-26):

KAL [.] and to[ok] the reins and [the whip]
out of the Storm-god's hand.

*The [Storm]-god turned back and [to KAL] began to speak:
 "[My] re[ins and whip] thou hast taken from my hand
 and [taken them into thine own] hand.
 Those reins [are]!
 Thou wilt be called to the house,
 and the reins [.]".*

There follow a few lines so fragmentary that they are beyond repair, and then a lacuna of some thirty to forty lines. In it, it may have been told that Ea appointed KAL to be king, if the following restoration is correct (ii 1-9):

*[When] KAL [heard] Ea's words,
 he [.]
 [and] began to [rejoi]ce.
 [.] he ate and drank,
 [. u]p to Heaven he went,
 up to Heaven [.] he [. . . .]ed.
 [In the years that] KAL [was king] in Heaven,
 in those years [.].*

Whether the following lines contained the description of a time of disorder and distress or rather, as has been proposed, of blessing, is uncertain because of their fragmentary state. After another gap and some broken lines at the beginning of the third column we read (iii 5-44):

*KAL began to [reply] to :
 "[.] I determinel
 These gods [grew] big,
 [they] and they arose,
 (but) I [do not fear] them at all;
 I shall not [put] bread into their mouths!
 The road they are to go
 and the road they are to come,
 those I, KAL, king of Heaven, determine for the gods!"
 The impetuous winds brought the n[ews] (variant:
 KAL's evil words) to Ea (while he was) on his way.
 (Variant adds: When Ea heard KAL's [words],
 his [mind became angry].)*

Ea began to speak to Kumarbi:

"Come! Let us go back!

This KAL whom we made king in Heaven,

just as he himself is rebellious,

so he made the countries rebellious,

*and no one any longer gives bread or drink offerings to the
gods!"*

Ea and Kumarbi turned [their faces]:

Ea [went] to Abzuwa,

but Kumarbi went away to Du[. . .].

Ea made a messenger stand up in front [of himself]

and undertook to dispatch him to KAL (saying):

"Go, speak these words to [KAL]:

'Ever since we made thee king in Heaven

[thou] hast not done anything!

*Never hast thou called [an assembly]'"] (end of
speech fragmentary).*

The messenger departed

and recounted [Ea's words to KAL] exactly.

When [KAL] had heard [Ea's words],

he began to [.].

Ea began to speak to Izzummi[, his vizier]:

"Go down to the Dark Earth,

and the words that I speak to thee,

go and tell them to Nara Napshara, my brother (saying):

'Take my speech and hearken to my words!

[KAL] has made me angry,

so I deposited him from the kingship in Heaven.

"That KAL whom we made king in Heaven,

just as he himself is rebellious,

so he made the countries rebellious,

*and no one any longer gives bread or drink offerings to the
gods.*

Now, Nara, my brother, hear me!

And mobilize all the animals of the earth!

Mount Nasalma [.],

and unto his head [. !'"] (broken).

A small further fragment²⁹ seems to tell that Nara fulfilled Ea's wish. After another gap, someone (Ea?) gives orders on how to treat KAL, and the Storm-god and his vizier Ninurta carry that order out. It seems to consist of some bodily punishment involving mutilation. After it KAL speaks to the Storm-god, addressing him as "my lord" but apparently reminding him of the fact that he himself had been made king. The Storm-god gives a short reply most of which again is lost. There the tablet ends, and its colophon (the entry giving tablet number and title, always written at the end of a tablet) is broken in such a way that we learn neither the title of the work, nor whether this tablet forms part of the same epic as the one outlined before, nor whether the story continued.

The second (or, if the KAL text is a separate work, third) epic of the Kumarbi cycle is called "The Song of Ullikummi." Although it is a separate literary work its contents can be connected with the theme of the celestial kingship: Kumarbi tries to replace Teshub as king by the stone monster Ullikummi which he begets for this purpose.³⁰

This epic also begins with a proem; its beginning is damaged, the fourth line reads:

Of Kumarbi, father of all gods, I shall sing.

There follows the beginning of the story:

*Kumarbi takes wisdom unto his mind
and a bad "day" as evil (being) he raises.
Against Teshub he plans evil,
and against Teshub he raises a rival.*

*Kumarbi [takes] wisdom unto his mind
and sticks it on like a bead.*

*When Kumarbi had taken wisdom unto his mind,
he promptly rose from his chair.
Into his hand he took a staff,
upon his feet he put the swift winds as shoes.
He set out from his town Urkish
and came to (a place called) Cool Pond.*

*At Cool Pond a great Rock is lying:
Its length is three leagues,
but its width which it has below is [one] and a half leagues.
His (Kumarbi's) mind sprang forward,
he slept with the Rock,
and his manhood [flowed] into it.
Five times he took it,
[and again] ten times he took it.*

Urkish, Kumarbi's home town, was in north Mesopotamia, the heartland of the Hurrians. After a gap there follows a passage in which Kumarbi is invited by the Sea; he follows the invitation and, after seven drinks, dispatches his vizier Mukishanu to the Waters with a message, the contents of which are lost. What this episode means in the story can only be guessed: presumably the two gods, Kumarbi and the Sea, agree that Kumarbi's future child should grow up in the sea. After another gap we read that the Rock bore a child:

*[The midwives] brought him to birth,
and the Fate-goddesses and [Mother-goddesses lifted the
child]
and placed him on Kumarbi's knees.
Kumarbi began to rejoice over his son,
he began to fondle him
and began to give him his dear name.*

*Kumarbi began to speak to his own mind:
"What name shall I put on him,
on the son whom the Fate-goddesses and Mother-goddesses
gave me?"
Out of the body he sprang like a blade.
Let him go! Ullikummi be his name!
Let him go up to Heaven,
let him suppress Kummiya, the dear town!
Let him hit Teshub
and pound him like chaff
and crush him with his foot like an ant!*

*Let him break Tashmishu like a dry reed!
Let him scatter the gods down from Heaven like birds
and smash them like empty dishes!"*

(Note the obvious etymological connection made here between the name given the child, Ulli-kummi, and the task given him, to destroy Kummiya, the city of Teshub. The following speech deals with the problem of letting the child grow up unnoticed.)

*When Kumarbi had completed these words
he began (again) to speak to his own mind:
"To whom shall I give this son?
Who will [take] him and treat him as a gift?
[Who will]
and [carry] him to the [Dark] Earth?
Let the Sun-god of Heaven [and the Moon-god] not see him!
Let Teshub, the brave king of Kummiya, not see him
and let him not kill him!
Let Ishtar, the queen of Nineveh, not see him
and let her not break him like a dry reed!"*

*Kumarbi began to speak to Impaluri:
"O Impaluri! The words which I speak to thee,
to my words lend thine ear!
Take a staff into thy hands,
put the swift winds as shoes upon thy feet!
Go to the Irshirra gods
and speak these strong words to the Irshirras:
'Come! Kumarbi, father of gods, calls you to his house!
The matter about which he calls you
[.].
Now come promptly!"*

*["Then the Irshirra]s will take the child,
and they [will carry] him to the [Dark] Earth.
The Irshirras [will],
but to the great [gods] he will not [be visible]."*

*[When] Impaluri [heard these words],
he took a staff into his hand . . . (etc.).*

In true epic style the fulfillment of Kumarbi's command is then told with identical words. The story continues:

*When the Irshirras heard these words,
they [hurried], hastened.
[They rose from their seats]
and covered the way at once
and came to Kumarbi.
And Kumarbi began to speak to the Irshirras:
"Take [this child],
treat him as a gift
and carry him to the Dark Earth!
Hurry, hasten!
Put him on Ubelluri's right shoulder like a blade!
In one day he shall grow a yard,
but in one month he shall grow a furlong!
....."*

The Irshirras take the child, but first bring him to Enlil (who is here taken as different from Kumarbi). Enlil sees that the child's body is made of stone and immediately understands the situation. He says:

*"Of no one but of Kumarbi is this an evil plan!
Just as Kumarbi raised Teshub
so now he has raised this Stone as a rival against him."*

Only after this interlude do the Irshirras put the child on the shoulder of Ubelluri, who, as we learn later in the epic, is a giant who carries Heaven and Earth, including the sea (thus comparable to the Greek Atlas). There the stone child grows up as fast as ordered. He grows in the sea, which only comes to his waist, while his head reaches the sky. The first among the gods to see him is the Sun-god, who decides to break the news to Teshub.

*When he saw the Sun-god coming
Tashmishu began [to speak to (his brother) Teshub]:
"Why does he come, the Sun-god of Heaven, the [king of]
the lands?"*

*The matter about which he comes,
that matter is [grave],
it is [not] to be cast aside!
Strong is it, the struggle,
strong is it, the battle!
Heaven's uproar it is,
the land's hunger and thirst it is!"*

*Teshub began to speak to Tashmishu:
"Let them set up a chair for him to sit,
let them lay a table for him to eat!"*

*While thus they were speaking
the Sun-god arrived at their [house].
They set up a chair for him to sit,
but he did not sit down;
they laid a table for him to eat,
but he did not reach out;
they gave him a cup,
but he did not put his lips to it.*

*Teshub began to speak to the Sun-god:
"Is the chamberlain bad who set up the chair
so that thou sattest not down?
Is the steward bad who laid the table
so that thou atest not?
Is the cupbearer bad who gave thee the cup
so that thou drankest not?"*

Here the first tablet ends. At the lost beginning of the second the Sun-god must have told Teshub and Tashmishu of the stone monster he had seen growing in the sea. Where the text becomes intelligible, the Sun-god finally is persuaded to take the food and drink offered him, and after the meal he returns to Heaven. After his departure the two brothers, Teshub and Tashmishu, decide to go and look for themselves; they are joined by their sister, Ishtar (Shaushga in Hurrian), who sees them leaving. All three ascend Mount Hazzi, a mountain on the shore of northern Syria known from Classical times as Casius and from Semitic sources as Zaphon.

*They took one another by the hand
and went up to Mount Hazzi.*

*The king of Kummiya set his face,
he set his face upon the dreadful Stone.*

*He saw the dreadful Stone,
and from anger his [mind] was altered.*

*Teshub sat on the ground,
and his tears flowed forth like streams.*

Teshub in tears spoke the word:

"Who will any longer endure this one's violence?

Who will any longer fight?

Who will any longer endure this one's fearfulness?"

Ishtar replied to Teshub:

"O my brother! He does not know or ,

but bravery has been tenfold given him!

."

The continuation of Ishtar's speech is first fragmentary, then lost. Probably she tries to console and encourage her brother. After the gap we find her by the seashore, adorning herself and singing. She is told, however, (by a personified Wave?) that this is of no avail:

"In front of whom singest thou?

In front of whom fillest thou thy mouth with [songs]?"

The man is deaf and hears not,

in his eyes he is blind and sees not!

And mercy he has not!

Go away, o Ishtar, and find thy brother

before the Stone becomes brave,

before the skull of his head becomes overwhelming!"

Ishtar takes the advice, throws away her ornaments and her musical instrument, and leaves, lamenting. After another gap we find Teshub giving Tashmishu orders for the preparation of battle. His war chariot and the two sacred bulls that are to pull it are to be readied. Furthermore,

*"Let them call forth the thunderstorms,
let them call forth the rains and winds
..... !*

*The lightning which strongly flashes,
out of the bedchamber let them bring it!
And let them bring forth the chariots!
Now arrange, set them,
and word bring me back!"*

The order is carried out; part of the preparations are lost at the end of the second tablet, as well as the beginning of the great battle in the following tablet. Obviously the "seventy gods" who participate in it on Teshub's side are unsuccessful against the Stone, who even overshadows Kum-miya, Teshub's own town, where Hebat, his wife, is worrying about her husband's fate. A maidservant sent out by her returns without news. After another gap it is Tashmishu who, from the top of a tower, tells Hebat, who is on her roof, that her husband will have to give up his rule "until the years that have been decreed for him will be fulfilled."

*When Hebat saw Tashmishu
she almost fell from the roof.
Had she taken a step,
she would have fallen from the roof,
but the palace women held her and let her not go.*

Tashmishu then returns to Teshub and advises him to seek the help of the wise Ea. The two brothers go to Ea's abode where they approach him with great reverence. The passage in which they actually ask him for help is again lost, and so is Ea's reply to them. After the gap Ea goes to Enlil first and then to Ubelluri. He asks both whether they know of the stone monster created as a rival to Teshub. Enlil's reply is lost; the discourse with Ubelluri runs as follows:

*Ea began to speak to Ubelluri:
"Knowest thou not, O Ubelluri?
Has no one brought thee word?"*

*Knowest thou him not,
the swift god whom Kumarbi fashioned against the gods?
And that Kumarbi truly plans death for Teshub
and fashions a rival against him?*

.....

*Is it because thou art remote from the Dark Earth
that thou knowest not this swift god?"*

Ubelluri began to reply to Ea:

*"When Heaven and Earth were built on me
I knew nothing.*

*But when it came to pass that Heaven and Earth were cut
apart with a 'cutter,'*

this, too, I knew not.

*Now something makes my right shoulder hurt,
but I know not who he is, that god!"*

When Ea heard these words,

he turned Ubelluri's right shoulder:

*there the Stone was standing on Ubelluri's right shoulder
like a blade!*

Ea then orders the Former Gods to produce the very tool with which once Heaven and Earth had been separated; now he will use it to separate the Stone from Ubelluri, on whom he has grown. This is obviously meant to break the Stone's power; for, after another gap, we find Ea telling Tashmishu:

*"First I struck him, the Stone;
now go ye and fight him again!"*

Delighted by this news, Tashmishu breaks it to the gods. Teshub mounts his chariot again, rides down to the sea with thunder, and engages in a fresh fight with the Stone. There follows an almost Homeric dialogue between the two adversaries, in which Ullikummi boasts of the role his father Kumarbi has assigned him. Thereafter the text is altogether lost, but we can safely assume that the outcome of this second battle was the final victory of Teshub. Such "happy end" is not only expected on the analogy of the Anatolian Dragon Fight story discussed above and of the Greek myth

to be mentioned presently, but is required by the fact that in actual religion Teshub was the supreme god, so that the myth must have shown him victorious in the end.

The Greek parallel just alluded to is the story of Typhon. This monster arises as a new adversary to Zeus at the point of Hesiod's *Theogony* where Zeus has just gained power by his victory over Kronos and the other Titans. Later Greek tradition preserved details that fit our Hurro-Hittite myth even more closely. Thus one source says that Typhon grew out of an egg impregnated with the seed of Kronos. Other authors describe the first, unsuccessful battle as taking place at Mount Casius, that is, our Hazzi. Typhon himself was believed to have his home in Cilicia, and in an unpublished cuneiform text a mountain called Ullikummi is listed among the mountains of Kizzuwatna, that is, Cilicia.

Thus far the myths, to the extent that they can be understood or reconstructed. As said before, there are others, mostly in a bad state of preservation, and there probably were still others entirely unknown to us. From the foregoing excerpts the difference between Anatolian and foreign myths will have become clear. The Kumarbi cycle is a work of literature. Whether the existing Hittite version is a translation of a Hurrian original (as suggested in the past) or whether it is the creation of an author or authors who only drew their subject matter from Hurrian tradition but freely wrote the epic in Hittite, the literary language of the Empire, will remain an open question as long as we do not know more about a Hurrian version. The Hittite epics before us are not only written in a literary, truly epic, style; also their contents, the mythological concepts they represent, are very sophisticated. The question of whether these epics are translations or free adaptations thus becomes secondary: what matters is the fact that they reflect a very complex mythology whose elements can be traced back through the Hurrians to Babylonia. Not only such names as Alalu, Anu, and Ea with his vizier Izzummi (Akkadian Usmu) are Babylonian, but also the basic concept of generations of gods who succes-

sively ruled the universe goes back to Babylonia. Thus this Hurro-Hittite epic literature and the mythology contained in it are heirs to a long-established West-Asiatic mythological literature. The ties with the West-Semitic world, Phoenicia and Ugarit, are less obvious. Sankhuniaton as quoted by Philo Byblius only seems to reflect the same Hurrian mythology that underlies the Kumarbi epics; nevertheless it is interesting that in later times this mythology was simply considered Phoenician. The Canaanite myths preserved in Hittite, in turn, that is, the stories about Asherah and Mount Pishaisha, are too fragmentary to allow for detailed comparison. Yet it seems, even from these small fragments, that the tenor of these tales is very similar indeed to that of Ugaritic literature, although the particular stories have no counterpart there except for an allusion in the Pishaisha text to a victory of the Storm-god over the Sea, which may mean the victory of Ba'al over Yam "Sea" in the Ugaritic Ba'al cycle.³¹ If we are permitted for a moment to look at Sankhuniaton, the fragmentary Hittite versions of Syrian myths, and the Ugaritic epics as one group, we may say that in complexity and sophistication it equals the myths of Hurro-Mesopotamian background.

In contrast, the Anatolian myths discussed in the first part of this survey seem to be much simpler. Although the Anatolian deities also form families, there is here no succession of rulers, nor do these myths contain Babylonian elements (the word signs used to write names of gods should not mislead us). It is true that the Storm-god who, as provider of rain, was the supreme god all over West Asia outside Babylonia proper, is the central figure in both the Anatolian and the Hurrian and Syrian myths. But the stories told about him show a marked difference: whereas in the Kumarbi cycle Teshub is the last king in a divine dynasty going back to the Sumerian Alalu, and whereas his struggle with the stone monster is a world-shaking battle involving all the gods, the Anatolian Storm-god is simply the great god of the land whose well-being and well-meaning are badly needed. If he goes into hiding because someone aroused his anger, he has to be

propitiated. To tell, at the yearly festival, the story of how he ultimately overcame the Dragon is a means to secure the much-needed rain for the land. If a local Storm-god has left his cult city he can be brought back by a prayer containing the story of the river Marassanta that was especially made to flow nearby and charged with watching over him. It thus seems that these Anatolian stories are very close indeed to what is commonly called nature myths, although, perhaps, already one step removed from an hypothetical original form of such myths. We saw that the myth of the Vanished God is no longer connected with a seasonal ritual; and for the Dragon Fight story, which does belong to a seasonal festival, I doubt that the listeners "knew" that the Dragon "meant" drought: for them it was enough to hear that the Storm-god finally defeated his enemy. Yet the connection with seasonal phenomena is apparent.

Also the plots of the Anatolian myths are simpler than those of the foreign ones. To overcome the Dragon, simple ruses are used. None of the gods, not even the sharp-eyed Eagle, can find the Vanished God, but the Bee, dispatched by the Mother-goddess, finds him; to overcome his increased fury magic is needed. Family relations follow an all too human pattern. In the Telipinu version of the Vanished God myth, it is the Storm-god, Telipinu's father, who is concerned about his son's disappearance but unable to bring him back; old grandmother Hannahanna rudely tells him "do something!" but she herself has to take over by sending out the Bee. In the Storm-god version translated above the episode is added in which the Father first turns to the Grandfather for counsel, only to be reprimanded that it is all his own fault; here again it is Hannahanna who finds the solution after having reassured him.

I hope that in pointing out these differences we have done no more than bring into focus what seems obvious when the Anatolian and foreign myths are read. In doing this we have tried to bring out the fact that not all that is written in Hittite is just one "Hittite mythology" but that it is necessary to distinguish between genuine Anatolian myths and those of the

Hurrian-Mesopotamian-Syrian realm. That such different elements were brought together in the Empire and that the scribes of Hattusa included such diverse material in their writings only serves to illustrate the complexity of Hittite civilization. When the Hurrian or Kizzuwatnean element in the royal house and in the scribal schools imported Hurrian myths, the Anatolian tradition continued beside it; and whatever the ethnic background of the individual stories, they were written in the literary language in which the unifying power of the Hittite Empire manifested itself.

NOTES

For a general survey of Hittite history and civilization the reader is referred to:

O. R. Gurney. *The Hittites* (Pelican Book, A 259. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1952; 2nd ed. 1954).

Translations of Hittite texts by A. Goetze are found in:

J. B. Pritchard, ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: University Press, 1950; 2nd ed. 1955), which will be quoted in the notes as *ANET*.

E. Laroche published a "Catalogue des Textes Hittites" in *Revue Hittite et Asianique* XIV (1956) 33-38; 69-116; XV (1957) 30-89; XVI (1958) 18-64, quoted hereafter as *Cat.* (with number). It contains references to the original publications of cuneiform texts and to translations and discussions. For the scholar, reference to *Cat.* will be sufficient in most cases; only a few texts are quoted below by the cuneiform edition, for which the following abbreviation is used:

KUB: Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (Berlin, 1921-).

Other abbreviations used in the notes are:

RHA: Revue Hittite et Asianique.

ZA: Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.

Kum.: see note 21.

MGK: see note 24.

1. *ANET* p. 120.
2. For a sound warning against an easy application of the cliché of the "dying god" see the posthumous publication of a lecture by Henri Frankfort, "The Dying God," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXI (London, 1958) 141-51.
3. For this character of Telipinu see H. G. Güterbock, "Gedanken über das Wesen des Gottes Telipinu," *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich . . . gewidmet* (Heidelberg, 1959) 207-11.
4. Text: *Cat.* 261. For the distinction of the various versions of the myth see H. Otten, *Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus* (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 46, 1, Leipzig, 1942); the Telipinu version used here for partial restoration is *Cat.* 258, translated in *ANET* pp. 126-28.
5. Otten, *op. cit.* pp. 55-56; *Cat.* 262, 1: *KUB XXXIII* 15.
6. Otten, *op. cit.* pp. 47-48; *Cat.* 262, 6: *KUB XXXIII* 33.
7. The ritual part of the Telipinu version is in *ANET* pp. 127-28.
8. The so-called Yuzgat Tablet with parallels listed *Cat.* 263; for a partial translation see Gurney, *The Hittites*, pp. 187-88.
9. *KUB XXXIII* 36 and 67, *Cat.* 264, 6, and 346, 2.
10. *Cat.* 267, 1 and 2; cf. *ibid.*, 6 and perhaps 3-5.
11. *Cat.* 342, 2-5.
12. *Cat.* 265, 5-9 and 16.
13. *Cat.* 332.
14. *Cat.* 308, *ANET* pp. 357-58; for the translation given here see H. G. Güterbock in *RHA* XIV/58 (1956) 22-23.
15. *Cat.* 438; A. Kammenhuber, "Das Palaische," *RHA* XVII/64 (1959) 1-92, section "Mythisches Fragment," pp. 40-63.

16. Cf. Kammenhuber, *loc. cit.*, p. 55 for contents, p. 91 for Zapparwa.
17. KUB XXXV 107-8, *Cat.* 452, 2; H. Otten, *Luvische Texte in Umschrift* (Berlin, 1953) pp. 97-99; P. Meriggi, "Zum Luvischen," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 53 (1957) 193-226; the myth on pp. 209-18; E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite* (Paris, 1959) pp. 158-62.
18. *Cat.* 257; *ANET* pp. 125-26.
19. KUB XXXVI 89, *Cat.* 553, partly paralleled by KUB XXXVI 88, *Cat.* 290, 4.
20. *Cat.* 227-30. H. Otten, "Die erste Tafel des hethitischen Gilgamesch-Epos," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 8 (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Istanbul, 1958) 93-125, gave a translation of the first tablet including recently found fragments and showed where the Hittite version differs from the Akkadian (for which see E. A. Speiser's translation, *ANET* pp. 72-99). For the rest of the Hittite version cf. J. Friedrich, "Die hethitischen Bruchstücke des Gilgameš-Epos," *ZA* 39 (Neue Folge 5, 1930) pp. 1-82.
21. *Cat.* 232-37. An outline of these stories was given by H. G. Güterbock in an appendix to his *Kumarbi: Mythen vom churritischen Kronos* (*Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 16, Zürich-New York, 1946) pp. 116-22; full translations were published by J. Friedrich, "Churritische Märchen und Sagen in hethitischer Sprache," *ZA* 49 (N.F.15, 1950) 213-55 (Appu, Cow, Keshshi) and "Der churritische Mythos vom Schlangendämon Hedammu in hethitischer Sprache," *Archiv Orientalní* XVII/1 (Prague, 1949) 230-54.
22. *Cat.* 231; H. Otten, "Ein kanaanäischer Mythos aus Boğazköy," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung I* (Berlin, 1953) 125-50; the same, "Kanaanäische Mythen aus Hattusa-Boğazköy," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 85 (1953) 27-38; previously F. Hrozný, article "Hittites" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Vol. 11, p. 607 of the 1956 edition).

23. *Cat.* 246; *Kum.* p. 122; J. Friedrich, "Zu einigen altkleinasiatischen Gottheiten," *Jahrbuch für Kleinasiatische Forschung* II (1952) 144-53, esp. pp. 147-50; Otten, in the article quoted last in note 22, pp. 35-36.
24. *Cat.* 238 (and possibly 244, see next note). First made known by E. O. Forrer in 1936. Translations: *Kum.*, Texts 1 a and b, pp. 6-10; Güterbock, "The Hittite Version of the Hurrian Kumarbi Myths: Oriental Forerunners of Hesiod," *American Journal of Archaeology* 52 (1948) 123-34, esp. pp. 124-25; H. Otten, *Mythen vom Gotte Kumarbi* (MGK) (Berlin, 1950) pp. 5-9; ANET pp. 121-22; P. Meriggi, "I miti di Kumarpi, il Kronos Currico," *Athenaeum* N. S. 31 (Pavia, 1953) 101-57, esp. pp. 110-29.
25. See Meriggi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 128-31, for the likely suggestion that KUB XXXIII 105 (*Cat.* 244; *Kum.* Text 1 b) belongs here.
26. Meriggi, *ibid.*, p. 123 to line 2 (p. 125).
27. *Ibid.*, p. 125 with n. 58 to lines 15-16.
28. *Cat.* 241 (and 251, see next note). *Kum.*, Text 1 c; Otten, MGK pp. 9-13; Meriggi, *loc. cit.*, pp. 133-47.
29. KUB XXXVI 3 (MGK No. 3), cf. Otten, MGK p. 12 n. 4; Meriggi, *loc. cit.*, p. 145; contrast *Cat.* 251.
30. *Cat.* 239; *Kum.*, Text 2, pp. 13-28; MGK pp. 13-25; ANET pp. 121-25; H. G. Güterbock, *The Song of Ulikummi* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1952); reprinted from *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* V (1951) 135-61; VI (1952) 8-42.
31. *Kum.*, p. 122; cf. the Ugaritic epic translated by H. L. Ginsberg, ANET p. 131.



AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

When Was the Late Hittite Palace at Sakçagözü Built?

Author(s): Hans G. Güterbock

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the village and the fields. An attractive Roman relief with a flying figure (Fig. 30), a battered, more than life-size head of a Roman emperor (Trajan?), parts of a garland frieze perhaps from the theatre, a heroic figure from a frieze, and the tombstone of a gladiator were among the additions. A remarkable *venatio* frieze so closely resembles the *venatio* scenes carved on a pilaster of the theatre at Hierapolis⁸⁴ as to suggest that the Sardinian scene of animal games, too, may have come from the theatre.

A late archaic relief retrieved from the village shows a frontal female figure with a necklace of acorn-shaped pendants (Fig. 31). The piece resembles Phrygian reliefs of Cybele, but is closer to archaic Greek work.⁸⁵ The owner pointed out the place where it was found at the *türbe* (tomb) known as Dede Mezari, ca. 1.5 km. west of the village of Sart Mahmut and ca. 500 m. north of the Salihli highway. Cut limestone masonry built into the saint's shrine⁸⁶ and piles of tiles, some of which are stamped (Fig. 32), awaken the suspicion that this hillock may be the site of a sanctuary.

WHEN WAS THE LATE HITTITE PALACE AT SAKÇAGÖZÜ BUILT?

HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

In BULLETIN 160 (December, 1960), pp. 43-45, Professor George M. A. Hanfmann has shown that the "Late Hittite" palace on the mound called Caba Hüyük (Jobba Euyuk) at Sakçagözü was inhabited as late as the third quarter of the seventh century B. C. The following remarks are not meant in any way to question the terminal date or its significance for possible contacts of the Greeks with this oriental art. They are only intended to remind the reader of the evidence available for the date of the erection of the palace.

The striking similarity between the relief of the king at Sakçagözü and the statue of a king found in the gate chamber of Arslantepe near Malatya was duly stressed by the excavator of the latter, the late Louis Delaporte.¹ This similarity is not only one of style but includes such details as dress, crown, attitude, and even facial features that give the impression of a portrait. At Arslantepe, the statue, found entombed on the floor, had originally stood on a pedestal in the door chamber. The analogy of the stela of Esarhaddon, which originally stood in exactly

⁸⁴ *JdI* Erg. 4 (1898), p. 64, Figs. 12 f. Both representations are remarkable in showing persons riding on bulls as well as a number of bears among the fighting animals.

⁸⁵ Cf. R. Temizer, *Anatolia* 4 (1959), Pls. 35-39.

⁸⁶ Two pieces have masons' marks—EY and N.

¹ L. Delaporte, *Malatya: Arslantepe*, I: *La Porte des Lions* (*Mémoires l'Institut Français d'Archéologie de Stamboul*, V, 1940), p. 38.

the same position in the citadel gate of Zincirli,² immediately suggests that the statue at Arslantepe was the monument of a conqueror just as the stela of Esarhaddon. At Sakçagözü, however, the relief of the king forms an integral part of the original entrance decoration of the palace. The problem thus could be formulated as follows: if we knew of a ruler of a neighboring state who conquered Malatya during the general period indicated by the style of both the Arslantepe statue and the Sakçagözü reliefs, we might be able to assign an exact date to both monuments.³

It was B. Landsberger who gave the answer to this question, in 1948, in a publication not easily available:⁴ the person depicted in both sculptures can only be Muttallu, the last king of Kummuh and, from 712-708, also king of Milid. He helped Sargon in 712 against Tarḫunazi of Milid and received that town as a reward. Similarly he may have been rewarded, around 720, with the region of Sakçagözü, which had previously belonged to Sam'al.⁵ In 708, however, he was dethroned by Sargon, and it would be after his liquidation that his statue at Arslantepe was buried.⁶

This identification of the king sets narrow limits for the period during which the monuments in question could be created: Sakçagözü between 720 and 708, the Arslantepe statue between 712 and 708. The well known similarity that connects the lions and the sphinx bases of Sakçagözü with those of Zincirli ("Hilani III" and "Hallenbau P")⁷ also speaks in favor of this date.

In conclusion, I would combine the date thus established for the execution of the palace sculpture with Professor Hanfmann's demonstration of the longevity of the building by saying that the palace was decorated in the late eighth century and existed until the late seventh century B. C.

² *Ausgrabungen in Sindschirli*, I (1893), p. 11.

³ Cf. *Guide to the Hittite Museum in the Bedesten at Ankara* (1946), pp. 71-73.

⁴ B. Landsberger, *Sam'al: Studien zur Entdeckung der Ruinenstätte Karatepe* (*Veröff. der Türkischen Historischen Gesellschaft*, VII. Serie Nr. 16, 1948), pp. 76-79: "Die Anlage des Palastes von Sakçagözü."

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁶ *Ibid.*, with n. 203.

⁷ *Ausgrabungen in Sindschirli*, IV (1911), p. 340; Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II:2 (2nd ed., 1931), pp. 434 f., cited by Landsberger, *op. cit.*, p. 76; add: E. Akurgal, *Späthethitische Bildkunst* (Ankara, 1949), pp. 48 f.; for the dating of the buildings at Zincirli, R. Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien* (Tübingen, 1955), p. 368.



The North-Central Area of Hittite Anatolia

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THE NORTH-CENTRAL AREA OF HITTITE ANATOLIA

HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

THE geography of Anatolia in Hittite times is one of the most intriguing subjects of Near Eastern studies. Ever since the Hittite sources became available scholars have tried to bring some order into the mass of geographical names contained in them. The fact that on the Anatolian plateau only two equations, Hattusa = Boğazköy and Kanesh = Kültepe, are really documented makes this task very difficult indeed, and as a result the systems of Hittite geography proposed by different scholars at different times have varied greatly. The late Professor Garstang was among the first scholars who engaged in these studies and pursued them for the rest of his life, publishing a number of articles and preparing a book the completion of which he did not live to see. Not being a philologist himself, he secured the assistance of his nephew, Dr. O. R. Gurney. Although this collaboration started as early as 1936, it was rendered difficult and at times interrupted by factors beyond the control of the two scholars, such as the Second World War and various commitments taking up their time. We owe a great debt of gratitude to both Dr. Gurney and his mother, Mrs. R. Gurney, the sister of Professor Garstang, for having achieved the difficult task of completing the book here under review¹ after the death of its original author.

The book contains, after a Foreword by Gurney and a Preface by Garstang, in

Part One a systematic treatment of the major parts of Anatolia, namely: "I. The Halys Basin" (pp. 1-31), "II. The North-Eastern Highlands" (32-39), "III. Isuwa and Eastern States" (40-49), "IV. Kizzuwadna" (50-62), "V. The Central Area: The Lower Land" (63-74), "VI. Sallapa, Milawata, and the Lukka Lands" (75-82), "VII. The Arzawa Lands" (83-100), and "VIII. Other Western Countries" (101-9). In Part Two (111-26) some of the sources used are given in translation by Gurney, while translations of other texts appear where they are discussed in Part One (they are listed on p. iii). An "Index of Geographical Names" (127-33) in two parts, "1. Hittite," and "2. Classical and Turkish," concludes the book and enhances its usefulness.

As far as the broad outlines of Hittite geography are concerned, some degree of consensus has been reached by now, as, for instance, about locating Hayasa in the northeast, Isuwa east of the Euphrates near the headwaters of the Tigris, Kizzuwatna in the southeast including the Cilician plain, and Arzawa and the Lukka Lands in the west. In the present book all localizations are discussed in detail with ample references to the original sources, so that the reader can follow the reasoning, while those scholars who may have different views will find the presentation useful as a basis for further discussion. It should not be forgotten that in spite (or perhaps even because) of the wealth of material not all problems can be solved at present, so that in many cases we shall have to content ourselves with reasonable

¹ *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*. By JOHN GARSTANG and O. R. GURNEY ("Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara," No. 5 [London, 1959]). Pp. x + 133, 2 maps. 30s.

guesses for some time to come. The value of the present book lies in the fact that it offers, along with well-established facts, such reasonable guesses, and in that it draws a picture of the entire country (as far as it is in Anatolia; the Syrian possessions of the Hittites are not included), testing the localization of one region by that of the next. Also, in the absence of an up-to-date printed collection of all Hittite geographical names the index will serve as a welcome supplement to the partial lists accompanying the existing text translations.²

To form an opinion about the validity of the geographical system here elaborated, a reviewer would have to check, step by step, every statement made in the book. Such a task would require a great amount of time and would result in something like another book rather than a review or article. The present reviewer feels that the chapters dealing with the peripheral regions are, on the whole, in agreement with the views generally held, even though some details remain open to discussion.³ He thinks, however, that the part concerned with the central area, that is, mainly the first chapter called "The Halys Basin," is open to considerable criticism. He therefore chooses to devote this article to a detailed discussion of this area. The reason for calling it "north-central"

rather than "central" will, it is hoped, become clear in the course of the investigation.

The most striking feature in this first chapter is the localization of Nerik near the Kanaksu valley and, consequently, of many other towns connected with Nerik along a belt running eastward from Yozgat. In his review of the present book, Goetze⁴ has already given good reasons for rejecting this theory and for returning to his own arrangement of Nerik and the places connected with it to the north of Boğazköy. The essential point is, of course, the fact that Nerik was occupied by the Gasga people from the time of Hantili in the sixteenth down to Hattusili III in the thirteenth century, and that lack of Hittite control over the Kanaksu basin during all this time is inconceivable. I think that the reconstruction of the region as sketched by Goetze⁵ is, on the whole, quite convincing, although I differ from him with regard to the position of Nerik itself. Before entering into this problem, however, it will be best to follow the line of reasoning offered in the book under review. In doing so I shall adduce some new evidence that was not available to the authors. By making a clear distinction between those cases in which I differ in the interpretation of known data and those in which I draw on new sources, I hope to avoid the danger of being unfair.

The starting point in the chapter on the Halys Basin is Tawiniya (pp. 11 f.), which is equated with Tavium (Büyük Nefezköy), southwest of Boğazköy. Apart from the fact that the two names are similar though admittedly (p. 12) "not by any means identical," this identification is based on the topography of Boğazköy. After having deduced from two different listings of place names that there were two

² Such as *Hatt.*, *Madd.*, *AM*, *Staatsv.*, *AU*, *HAB*, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma" (*JCS* X), etc. Abbreviations used in this article are those listed in Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*.

³ I would like to offer the following suggestions: the difficulties concerning the Ulmi-Teshub treaty (pp. 65 f.; *KBo* IV 10) might be eased if one could take ^{ur}*Daddašši* (obv. 30; cf. p. 67, n. 4) simply as name of one of the *upati* of Walwara (cf. *Oriens* X [1957] 360); this would render unnecessary the assumption of some territory belonging to ⁴*U-tašša* but not to the Hulaya River Land (pp. 71 ff. with sketch), leaving the two terms equivalent as new and old name, respectively. Also, on the basis of the custom of "double names" (*JCS* X [1956] 121) one might take ^m*4*LAMA and Ulmi-Teshub as "double names" of the same man, a son of Muwatalli (*Hatt.* iv 62 after *NBr.* p. 32, n. 1, following Forrer, *Forsch.* I, p. 100).

⁴ *JCS* XIV (1960) 43-48.

⁵ *RHA* XV/61 (1957) 91-103.

different routes leading from Hattusa to Arinna, with Tawiniya lying on only one of these, the authors argue that "if the king on one occasion had left by the northern gate and on another itinerary had used one of the southern gates to reach the same objective, he would have had to make a long and unnecessary detour on one of the journeys" (p. 11). What if such a detour was intended? We shall come back to the nature of the various "itineraries" in the light of new material; but even without that, it is *a priori* quite possible that a ceremonial visit of various cult places should have proceeded in a line that was "a detour," forming a curve or a loop or a zigzag, as indeed the itinerary of the *nuntarriašhaš* festival ("The Festival List," p. 10) touches Tahirpa twice and thus must have made a loop.

Furthermore, in the discussion of the position of the Tawiniya Gate at Hattusa (p. 11) two rituals have been left out:⁶ KUB XV 31 i 13-15 "They lift up the tables and carry them down to the Tawiniya Gate (*nat-kan KÁ.GAL-TIM ŠA uruTa-ú-i-ni-ia katta pedanzi*) and place the tables on the first road," and KUB XV 34 i 18⁷ "They go down through the Tauniya Gate" (*nat-kan katta IŠTU KÁ.GAL uruDa-a-ú-ni-ia panzi*). These are incantation rituals; whereas the authors could argue that the festival procession in the text translated by them (KUB X 91) might have started from one of the upper temples, such an argument is excluded for these texts: they are not connected with any specific temple. Although both rituals are of the *evocatio* type, aiming at bringing gods back home, they are styled in so general terms that the conclusion is inevitable that the way to the Tawiniya Gate led "down" from anywhere in the

city, in other words, that it was indeed a north gate. Once this is recognized, the classical name Tonea of a town situated north of Boğazköy offers a much closer parallel (especially to the variant spelling Dauniya just quoted) than Tavium; and this equation of Tawiniya with Tonea, probably Eski Yapar or perhaps Hüyük, has long since been proposed.⁸ Thus the very starting point of the whole system has shifted from the southwest to the north, i.e., in the direction of Goetze's reconstruction of the geography of the region.

We now have to dwell on the nature of the lists used in this chapter and printed at its beginning (pp. 6-10).

"Hattusilis' Command": These are listings of countries that Hattusili received for administration (*ana mu'irduti*). I would admit that "the sequence was determined by geographical considerations," but it does not follow that "they were situated on a strategic road." They would have formed a cluster rather than a line; the listing could follow any kind of arrangement, like a circle or an S-curve. Lists II and III are nothing but excerpts from List I; the latter has Hakkis and Istahara (omitted in the rendering!) at the very end because Hattusili received these two countries as subject to him (*İR-anni*, that would be *ana arduti*) in contrast to the other regions (and became even king in Hakkis). For the very same reason these two names appear at the head of the excerpts, Lists II and III. To conclude from a comparison of these lists that one of them is "a return journey" (p. 6, n. 1) or "that road junctions must have been situated at Hanhana and Hattena" (p. 14) is forcing the evidence.

The "Extract from Fragment (i.e., a

⁶ Overlooked also by this reviewer in *Afo* XV (1945-51) 31, n. 215 (note to article by E. Bilgiç).

⁷ Zuntz, *Scorgiuri*, p. 490.

⁸ Goetze, *RHA* I (1930) 27 (Hüyük near Alaca); Güterbock *apud* Bilgiç, *Afo* XV 31, n. 215 (Eski Yapar); cf. Goetze, *RHA* 61, 98 with n. 48.

prayer) of Arnuandas I" is an enumeration of countries sacked by the Gasga people and thus situated near the Gasga zone. Some corrections are in place: for "Katahha" read *Ka-pi-ru-u-ḥa-az* (*KUB* XVII 21 ii 22, collated; the duplicate, Bo 8617 in *KUB* XXXI, p. v, has *Ka-pi-i-ru*[- . . .]); for "Tapapanuwa" read *Ta-pa-š[a]-a-wa-az* (*ibid.* 23, collated; the beginning of *ša* is different from the preceding *pa*; also the duplicate has *š[a* . . .]); for "Parituya" (*ibid.* 25 with dupl. *KUB* XXXI 124 ii 9) read *Pa-tal-li-ia-az*. In *KUB* XXIII 115, 8 read [*G*]*a-aš-ta-ma-an* for "[. . .]putama," and for "Seris" probably *Še-e-ri-iš-(!)š[a-an]*.

"Ceremony List," *KUB* XXV 28: Not "some one, presumably the king, makes a journey," but rather "The apparatus (*aniyaz*) of the house of the *šatammu* goes," i.e., is taken from Hattusa to Ankuwa, accompanied by some official (the *ḥupralaš*). This, then, is a real itinerary; for in contrast to ceremonial tours of the king such a "service trip" is likely to have taken the shortest route.⁹

The excerpt from an "Oracle Text" (p. 8) does not convey an impression of the long and important text *KUB* V 1. A full treatment of this text alone would fill a monograph. We shall use some parts of it when discussing the location of places in the vicinity of Nerik. The related oracle text, *KUB* XXII 25, correctly adduced by Goetze,¹⁰ should have been used here, too.

The "Sacrifice List," i.e., the listing of gods of many towns in the festival text *KBo* IV 13 (which, incidentally, continues beyond the portion reproduced on p. 8) is, again, a mere listing, which may follow a more or less geographical arrangement. As it is partly paralleled by one of the

"Herald's Lists" of *VBoT* 68,¹¹ a word is in order on these.

The most important point is the existence of another such list, *KUB* XXVI 2, which, though quoted in Goetze's first article and in the present book,¹² was not used in this connection either in Goetze's later article¹³ or here, but was correctly listed together with *VBoT* 68 by Laroche in his *Catalogue*.¹⁴ In its reverse are listed *abarakkū* of: (1) Sanah[- . . .],¹⁵ (2) Nenassa, (3) Hupisna, (4) Tuwanuwa, (5) ¹⁴AGRIG ¹⁴NA.KAD, (6) the AGRIG of Hanhana, (7) Tawi[niya], (8) Takkupsa(!),¹⁶ (9) Durmi[ttā], and (10) Uhhiwa.

A comparison of the names (6)–(10) with the "Sacrifice List" and "Herald's List III" (= *RHA* I 20–23) immediately shows that the sequence in the former is different (our names (6)–(10) appearing there in lines 21, 20, 24, 22, and 33 in this sequence!), and the selection of the latter also differs (only Uhhiwa in List III, iii 9; Tawiniya not there but in List II, ii 17).¹⁷ It is difficult to see how, in the presence of this differing list, the sequence in the others could be taken as an itinerary.

The three towns of *KUB* XXVI 2 rev. 2–4, Nenassa, Hupisna, and Tuwanuwa, are known to be in the Tyanitis, far off to the southeast. Their presence here is not quite as surprising as it might seem, since

¹¹ Col. iii 4–9, here printed on p. 10. Goetze's arrangement of the two lists in parallel columns (*RHA* I 20–23) is much more convenient. Another partial parallel is the AGRIG list 1087/f (H. Otten, *Festschr. J. Friedrich*, p. 356).

¹² Goetze, *RHA* I 19, n. 10 and following notes, as Bo 4814; Garstang–Gurney, p. 64, n. 2.

¹³ *RHA* 61, 91–103.

¹⁴ *RHA* XIV/59 (1956) 88, No. 159.

¹⁵ Read Sanahpuna *RHA* I 19, n. 10; I thought of Sanah[huitta].

¹⁶ Apparently with -[t]a for -ša as *KBo* IV 13 i 24, cf. *RHA* I 21, n. 19.

¹⁷ If my restoration of Sanah[huitta] in line 1 (cf. n. 15) were correct, this town would be still more displaced, appearing in *KBo* IV 13 i 26 and *VBoT* 68 iii 6 (? by emendation, cf. *RHA* I 19, n. 8, with p. 21).

⁹ For discussions of its geographical implications of I. J. Gelb, *OIP* XXVII, p. 10; Bilgiç, *loc. cit.* 30.—for Ankuwa see below.

¹⁰ *RHA* 61, 93.

the outline tablet of the *nuntarriyaššaš* festival¹⁸ states that during the ceremonies of the twelfth day food and drink are provided from “three great houses,” namely, that of Ninassa, that of [Tuwanuwa],¹⁹ and that of Hupisna. We thus must assume that such cities of the empire had establishments, probably in Hattusa²⁰ rather than in the town where the ceremony of that day takes place, and that the *abarakkū* who administered these storehouses were listed along with those of central Anatolian towns. If this is so, however, any names in any of these lists may have been entered for such or similar reasons, a possibility which further reduces the usefulness of these lists for the reconstruction of itineraries.

At this point we may adduce a new text, *KBo* X 24, the second tablet of the EZEN.KI.LAM of which *KUB* X 1 is the third. Here we have a ritual performed by the king and queen in the capital. As the royal couple moves from one place in the city to another, provisions are said to come forth from the houses of various cities; the herald (LÚ ^{giš}PA) then calls each *abarakku* by his Hattic gentile name. Thus we find in *KBo* X 24 iv 22, where this procedure begins,²¹ the house of Ankuwa, its *abarakku* called *Ḫanikkui* (30);²² after a gap between columns iv and v, the house of Tuwanuwa (v 1) and ^{uru}*Tuwanuwail* (8); the house of Hupisna (11) and [^{uru}*Hupi*]*šnail* (18); there follows another large gap (column vi is lost). Into either of these gaps belongs *KBo* X 21, a small fragment containing the gentile

term ^{uru}*Karahñail*. The series ends at the beginning of the third tablet, where *KUB* X 1 i 4 has [^{ur}]*uKattilail*.

This new text confirms the misgivings voiced on the basis of *KUB* XXVI 2 alone. Significant is (1) that the sequence is again different: Ankuwa occurs only in the “Sacrifice List” (*KBo* IV 13 i 22); Tuwanuwa and Hupisna only in *KUB* XXVI 2; Karahna only in *KBo* IV 13 i 36; and Kattila appears in neither list. And (2) that these men appear during a ceremony in the capital. It is obvious that in *KUB* XXVI 2 the towns of Nenassa, Hupisna, and Tuwanuwa are not part of an itinerary but that their *abarakkū* were only listed, probably, as in *VBoT* 68, introduced to the king. It follows that in the latter text the presentation may well have taken place in Hattusa or at any one place. Thus the introduction of “List II” (*VBoT* 68 ii 15 f.) “When the king goes from Arinna to Hattusa” can easily be reconciled with the observation, made by Goetze²³ and Gurney,²⁴ that the list starts with near-by Tawiniya and leads away from the capital. No emendation is needed: on the occasion of a trip from Arinna to Hattusa, either at its start there or at its termination here, the *telipuri* of six towns were called by their gentile names. These towns may, as in the KI.LAM festival, have contributed offering material and need not be situated between Arinna and Hattusa.

Indeed, another new text shows that Arinna cannot have been situated as far away from Hattusa as the arrangement in “List III” (p. 9) makes it appear. This is the outline of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival.²⁵ The section covering the span from the end of the 8th through the 10th day makes

¹⁸ *KUB* X 48 ii 6–8; for the nature of the text see below, ad “Festival List.”

¹⁹ Restored by Forrer, *Forsch.* I 20.

²⁰ Cf. the *É duppaš* of the Hulaya River Land in Hatti, *KBo* IV 10 obv. 43 with dupl. *ABOT* 57 obv. 14 f.

²¹ A duplicate is *KUB* II 10 a; *Bo* 127 d. The ritual preceding this point in *KBo* X 24 is similar to *KUB* XXVI 2 col. i.

²² Does that mean that *Ankuwa* comes from **Ḫanikkwa*?

²³ *RHA* I 29.

²⁴ P. 9, “We have here inverted the order” only applies to the order of Hattusa and Arinna: the intervening names follow the order of the text.

²⁵ *JNES* XIX 80–89; in cuneiform, *KBo* X 20. See col. ii 1–10 on pp. 81 and 85.

it quite clear that the distance could be covered in one day, even with ceremonies being performed during part of that day. This shows that Arinna cannot have been at the end of a long itinerary, and certainly not as far away as Terzili Hamam (p. 20).

Another journey is described in col. iv of the same outline text, beginning with the 32d(?) day. It includes Haitta, Mt. Piskurunuwa, HARranassa, Zippalanda, and Ankuwa, where the festival ends.

We may now turn to the "Festival List" (p. 10).

1. First a word about the reconstitution of the text.²⁶ There are two main copies: A = *KUB* IX 16, B = *KBo* III 25 + *KUB* X 48, and one copy with different numbering of the days, C = *IBoT* II 8.²⁷ As to *KUB* XX 80 (whose contents are outlined in the present book, pp. 20 f.), I not only share the doubts concerning its belonging to the same festival expressed by Goetze²⁸ but think that it definitely has to be kept apart.²⁹

2. The outline of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival just quoted (*KBo* X 20) makes it clear that this "Festival List" is nothing but the corresponding outline of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival.³⁰

3. I wonder whether the festival journey really started from Hattusa (pp. 10, 19). Just as in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival the king could, in the spring, take off either from Hattusa or from any town where he

had spent the winter,³¹ so he may, upon his return from a campaign in the fall,³² have started the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival in Katapa if this town served as winter quarter for the army, as indeed it did at the end of one of Mursili's campaigns (*AM*, p. 170, 37 f.). This question is, however, complicated by the next section of the text discussed below under 5.

4. The trip of the god Zithariya to Hakmara and Tatasuna (col. i 9–11) is indeed a side-trip of the god, accompanied only by the prince (p. 20). The text *KUB* XXII 27, to which Goetze drew attention,³³ speaks of a variant of this festival (EZEN *nuntarriyašhaš*, iv 2) according to which "the god (4; his name in 14) comes down from Hattusa and goes to Tat-[asu]na," then proceeds (8 f.) from there to Istuhila, a station not mentioned in the main text, and from there (10 f.) to Hakmara. For each station the provenience of the offerings is stated. Then (12 f.) "they celebrate in the grove the Thousand Gods [and] Tashapuna." Immediately following this we read (14 f.): "Thereafter Zithariya [joins(?) His Majesty ([IT-TI(?)^d]UTU-ŠI paizzi) when His Majesty comes back [u]p ([ša-ra]-a) to Hattusa." This, then, is a trip of (an image of) Zithariya alone, starting from and returning to the capital and going in the direction opposite to that of the main text. Similarly, the divine Fleece or Shield³⁴ makes a separate journey while other ceremonies are going on in the capital according to the outline tablets of both the EZEN.AN.TAḪ.ŠUM and the EZEN.MEŠ SAG.UŠ.³⁵

5. In the light of the text adduced above

²⁶ Cf. Laroche, *Catalogue*, No. 481, 1 (1957).

²⁷ There is an unpublished fragment found in 1958, 99/q, whose day count seems to fit that of C better than that of A and B; since it only covers ceremonies in the capital, it has no bearing on the geography.

²⁸ *RHA* 61, 100, n. 9.

²⁹ I rather follow Riedel, *Bemerkungen*, pp. 9–10, in taking *KUB* XX 7, 80, and 81 + XXVIII 90 as one group.

³⁰ As in *JNES* XIX 88 f., we may try to identify some of the performances of individual days. So far I found: for the 4th day, *KUB* XXV 13 and *KUB* II 7: Hisurla, river; for the 5th, *Catalogue* 482, 1: A = *KUB* II 9, B = *IBoT* III 39; for the 12th, unpublished 139/r, where the king enters the É.ḪIŠ "stables."

³¹ *KBo* X 20 i 1–10, *JNES* XIX 80, 85; already *KUB* XXX 39 obv. 1–8.

³² *KUB* IX 16 i 1–2 and iv 13.

³³ *RHA* 61, 100, n. 13.

³⁴ *kuškuršaš*, cf. H. Otten, *Festschrift J. Friedrich*, pp. 351–59.

³⁵ *KBo* X 20 i 24–35, *JNES* XIX 81, 85, 3d to 6th days, with parallel "S" = *KUB* XXV 27 i 5–21.

(*KUB* XXII 27) one may ask whether in the main text (*KUB* IX 16) the journey of Zithariya on the third day did not also start from Hattusa. It would indeed make good sense if on the second and at the beginning of the third day the scene were in the capital. "Zithariya goes *INA É[...]*" (4) could then be "into [his] tem[ple]," namely, in Hattusa; the palace (6) would also be the royal palace in the capital, and the celebration, by the king, of the Mighty Storm-god (8) would likewise take place there. The king's journey would then begin only on the morning of the 4th day with his trip to Tahirpa (*sc.*, from Hattusa). Against this interpretation may be held the entry for the first day: "In Katapa great congregation," because the king's personal presence seems to be essential for this kind of ceremony (especially since we considered the possibility that the whole festival began at Katapa, point 3 above) and the text says nothing about his return to Hattusa at this point. But this omission may be due to the brevity of the text, and the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival knows of a "great congregation" held in the king's absence.³⁶ However that may be, the question is of no great importance, since it makes little difference whether Tahirpa alone or both Katapa and Tahirpa were touched twice (see presently).

6. The fact (taken from the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM text) that Arinna was an easy day's distance from Hattusa also affects the itinerary of the *nuntarriyašhaš*. As both Goetze and Gurney have, of course, seen, it touches (Katapa and) Tahirpa twice. That Tahirpa, too, was near the capital has long been known from the 15th and 16th days of this festival as well as from others. Thus we are within a one-day radius of the capital in both Tahirpa and Arinna, i.e., on the 4th and 5th days; we

then describe a loop which starts on the 6th day in Tatisga and leads, after a gap in the text, to HARRana and Ziplanta on the 12th and 13th before (re-)gaining Katapa on the 14th. (This sequence reminds us of the journey adduced above, p. 90, from the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM text which includes HARRanassa and Zippalanda.) There then follows the return via Tahirpa (15th) and Tippuwa to Hattusa (16th day). Since at each place elaborate ceremonies take place (*cf.* n. 30 above for texts giving details), each journey must have taken less than a full day.

7. Concerning HARRana, Gurney has (p. 29, n. 5) pointed to a difficulty arising from the equation of this town with Hurna,³⁷ proposed by Goetze. I would prefer a solution different from his: the localization of Hurna in the north is quite correct as we shall see when discussing that of Nerik and the places associated with it. This location is, however, not only unlikely for the starting point of Mursili's campaign (p. 29; *AM*, p. 126), but also much too far north for the festival itinerary just described. I would therefore give up the equation of HARRana with Hurna and rather posit one town, Hurna, in the Gasga zone near Nerik, and another town, whose name may well have been Harrana (as read in *AM*), perhaps with a variant form Harranassa (*cf.* Paragraph 6 above), somewhere much nearer to Boğazköy.

8. I do not think that the festival itinerary included Nerik (in one of the lost sections). *KUB* IX 16 col. iv dates the text to the reign of Mursili, a time when Nerik was still in the hands of the Gasga. It seems significant that the Storm-god of Nerik receives an offering at Katapa (B ii 11 f.) and that the ceremony called "The Festival of the Nerik Road" is

³⁶ On the 9th day, *ibid.* ii 5-7.

³⁷ In this name the vowel is certain because of *KUR* ^{uru}*Hu-ur-na-az*, *KUB* XVII 21 ii 23.

performed immediately upon the return to the capital.³⁸ I would take this as a kind of “Ersatz,” precisely because the real town of Nerik was out of reach at the time.

As stated above, the sequence HARrana–Ziplanta of the 12th and 13th days of the *nuntarriyašhaš* Festival (following a gap)

is paralleled by that of the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM Festival, where we have (Hattusa–Haitta–Mt. Piskurunuwa–)HARranassa–Zippalanda–Ankuwa. For the general direction in which to look for these towns the following text is of importance.³⁹ Its colophon reads:

- (1 + 7) DUB.3.K[AM] *Ú-UL QA-TI*
 (2 + 8) *ma-a-an* ^{ŠE₁₂}*-an-ti I-NA* ITU.12.KAM
 (3) *d.kuškur-ša[-aš]*
 (4 + “9”) *ŠA dU uruZi-pa-la-an-da*
 (5 + “10”) *A-NA KASKAL.IM.GÁL.LU pa-iz-zi*

“Third tablet, (text) not complete. If in the [wi]nter, in the twelfth month, the divine Shield of the Storm-god of Zippalanda goes on the South Road (or: the Shield goes on the South Road of the Storm-god of Z.?).”

The only station preserved in the fragmentary text is in col. i:

- (10 + 5) *d.kuškur-š[a-a]š i-ia-at-ta*
 (11 + 6) *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an[-ma]* *d.kuškur-ša-aš*
 (12 + 7) *uruAn-k[u-wa] ma-ni-in-ku-wa-an a-ri*

“The Shield travels. But when the Shield arrives near Ank[uwa], (then certain offerings are made).”

The restoration is virtually certain according to the traces and the space. This, then, means that Ankuwa was in a—roughly—southerly direction from Hattusa (or from Zippalanda?). Accordingly, Haitta, Mt. Piskurunuwa, HARranassa, and Zippalanda should be in the same general direction. The “service trip” (*KUB* XXV 28, above, p. 88) has two different stations between Hattusa and Ankuwa, presumably, as already stated, because it followed the shortest road.

After this survey of the various “lists” and of some additional, and in part new, material bearing on the localization of towns in the neighborhood of Hattusa, we may now turn to the problem of locating Nerik. Neither Goetze nor Gurney have used a most important text, *KUB* XXXVI 89, perhaps because it was not available at the time of their writing.⁴⁰ This text is a ritual aimed at bringing the Storm-god of Nerik back to his city. It contains the following mythological section (rev. 11–14):

- (11) *zik-ma-wa id[Mara]šša[ntaš ANA]* *dU uruNerik ZI-ni maninkuw[anza]* (12) *idMaraš-santaš-wa annallaza :ipattarmayan aršaš* (13) *dU-aš-ma-war-an waḫnut nu-war-an dUTU-i AN.ŠI.AN*⁴¹ *aršanut uruNe-ṛ[i-ki-war-an]* (14) *manninkuwan aršanut*

³⁸ I understand UD.16.KAM *ŠA* [KASKAL] *uruNerik* (B ii 23) as “sixteenth day, (called that) of the Nerik Road,” on the analogy of similar captions in the Ritual for the Dead (H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* [Berlin, 1958], pp. 28, 36, 46).

³⁹ *KUB* X 78 + XX 25; Laroche, *Catalogue*, 512, 1, quoting Riedel for the “join.”

⁴⁰ Allowing for the time necessary to digest new material. The printed dates are: 1955 for *KUB* XXXVI; 1957 for *RHA* 61; and 1959 for the book under review.

⁴¹ In taking these three signs as DINGIR-*LIM-an* (*šiuṇan*) “of the gods,” I now follow Ehelolf, *ZA* 43 (1936) 177, who already used this text.

"Thou, o Marassanta, art close to the heart of the Storm-god of Nerik! Formerly the Marassanta flowed astray(?),⁴² but the Storm-god turned it and made it flow toward the Sun(-god), of the gods(?), he made it flow near Nerik."

This passage, then, locates Nerik "near"—perhaps even on—the Halys river. It is obvious from all other indications that this can only be the lower course of the river; for the upper Kızılırmak is too far east, and the middle part, south of Kırşehir, would bring the Gasga, who held Nerik for centuries, still deeper into the heartland than Garstang's localization on the Kanak-su does, and is thereby ruled out. It is also evident that the story is etiological in that it serves to explain a sudden turn in the course of the river by saying that, whereas it would otherwise not have touched Nerik, it was brought there by divine intervention. There is one point where the Kızılırmak takes an abrupt turn, near Kargı: having run west to northwest from Osmancık to the point where the Devrez joins it, it suddenly takes the direction of this affluent and flows east. If we could follow Laroche's suggestion that the terms discussed in notes 41 and 42 refer to points of the compass, we would boldly say "formerly to the west, now to the east." Even with the reservations made, a phrase containing the word "sun" may well amount to "east" (but could also mean "west"); and if all this is of no avail, the fact remains that the sharp bend near

Kargı is the one such striking change of direction in the whole course of the river, so that we may safely conclude that this turn is what the Storm-god was believed to have effected, in other words, that we may look for Nerik somewhere near the Kızılırmak downstream from Kargı.

Information about the neighborhood of Nerik can be obtained from the two oracle texts briefly mentioned above (p. 88), *KUB XXII 25* (adduced by Goetze) and *KUB V 1* (the Oracle Text of Garstang-Gurney, p. 8). Both texts contain questions about the details of campaigns to be conducted against the Gasga people in the region of Nerik. Whereas the former text is concerned with the question of how, and by what military operations, the king should enter Nerik in order to rebuild it, and whether, when this was achieved, priority should be given to the pursuit of the enemy or to the celebration of the *purulli* Festival, the latter presupposes that Nerik is already in the king's hands and thus pertains to a later phase. That the time lapse cannot be too great is indicated by the fact that a certain Temete is mentioned in both texts. Since it is known that it was Hattusili III who reconquered Nerik, one may date both oracle texts to his reign, and this finds support in the mention (*KUB V 1* iv 86) of "the king of ^dU-ša," i.e., of the town elsewhere written ^dU-tašša (and commonly read Dattassa); for we know that this sub-kingdom was only created after the reign of Muwatalli.

The former text (*KUB XXII 25*) has already been utilized by Goetze.⁴³ The latter text (*KUB V 1*) is mainly concerned

⁴² My tentative rendering of this "Glossenkeil" word is based on Luwian *ippattareššata*, *KUB XXXV 45* ii 22 and 48 ii 15 (*LTU*, pp. 46 and 49; cf. E. Laroche, *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite* [Paris, 1959], p. 83 for *ša(h)haneššata*): "Whoever contaminated him, whoever led him astray(?)." The oracle birds in *KUB XVI 57* obv. 4 and 6 may also be flying "astray." In *OLZ* 1956, 423, Laroche thought of points of the compass both for this word and the enigmatic phrase with "sun" (see n. 41 above). While this would make excellent sense here, it seems not to fit the Luwian verb, unless one would assume that "to lead a person west(?)ward" had a symbolic implication like "to the grave" or the like, or that the basic meaning of **ipatar-* was "down," from which "sundown" and, for the verb, a meaning like that of Hittite *katterahh-* could be derived.

⁴³ *RHA* 61, 93.

with the mountain Haharwa.⁴⁴ The following geographical indications can be gleaned from it:

1. As bases for operations against Hurna and Tasmaha, both Ha(n)hana and Nerik can be used (i 15 ff. and 19 ff., respectively; cf. ii 28 ff., 39 ff.); from Nerik, also Tanizila can be attacked (i 19 f.). In ii 53 f. we read: "Shall His Majesty return from Nerik to Hahana and attack Hurna and, proceeding (from there), attack Tanizila?" This question would make no sense if the first three towns were located as shown in Garstang's map (p. 15). Hanhana is the base for an attack on Hurna also in i 86 f.

2. Tanizila is situated on a mountain (UGU, i 24, 72, 87; v 1 f.; vi 1); Zihhana is near it (i 24; ii 29, 35). One can ascend to Tanizila (a) from a town whose name I cannot read (i 71) after a side(?) trip from Nerik to Pikainaressa; (b) from Zikapalla (i 78 f.; v 1); (c) from Hurna (i 87; ii 53 f.); (d) from Sarkattasena (vi 1).⁴⁵ I translate the question of i 86 ff.:

When he (His Majesty) campaigns against the people of the Haharwa mountain, shall he enter Hanhana and attack Hurna? Shall he attack Tanizila upward from behind Hurna? And (regardless of) how many days he spends up there, shall he come down in front of Nerik?

From this I conclude that the mountain on which Tanizila is situated is Haharwa (cf. iii 28 ff.); that the four towns from which one could march up to Tanizila are at or near the foot of Haharwa; and that (e) Nerik, too, was at the foot of the same mountain.

3. Other towns at the foot of the Haharwa are: (f) Astigurka (i 54; 59 f.; iv 65), reached from Nerik via Pikaina-

ressa as (a) above; (g) Talmalia, which can be attacked "downward from Mt. Haharwa" (i 65; ii 55; iii 61; iv 66 near Astigurka). This location of Talmaliya is of decisive importance as we shall see. Talmaliya was, however, not quite at the bottom of a valley or in a plain, but rather on the slope itself, as we conclude from the following set of alternative questions (i 65 and 68): "Shall he attack Talmalia downward from Mt. Haharwa? Or shall he attack it upward from below?"

4. The Haharwa is not a simple peak but rather a mountain range or mountainous area, a "Gebirge" rather than a "Berg." Beside Tanizila (and probably its neighbor, Zihhana) we find on it Iupapaena (ii 46 f.), where the king considers spending a night before his descent. The frequent mention of the "people of Mt. Haharwa," of whom some are *salmūti* "at peace" (i 55, 59), points in the same direction, as does the question (i 95): "When I destroy the face (IGI) of the mountain Haharwa, will I thereby propitiate the mind of the Storm-god of Nerik?" Since the war against the inhabitants of the Haharwa mountain is the main theme of the text one may ask whether other towns mentioned in it were not situated in the same mountain range, although this is clear only for those few just discussed.

The Haharwa range is also a holy mountain, worshipped at Nerik. We have a reference to its deity in iv 83 of our text, and we find it listed in Muwatalli's prayer as one of the deities of Nerik.⁴⁶ Another holy mountain worshipped in that city is, as is well known, Zaliyanu. Whether this is one peak in the larger Haharwa range or rather a separate mountain remains open. For Haharwa we have to look on the right bank of the Kızılırmak, since none of our oracle questions implies a river

⁴⁴ It was probably mentioned also in *KUB XXII* 25 obv. 15 f.: "Temettiš-ma-kan ANA EREM.MEŠ. 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 ŠA [bur.s]^{ag} 𐎶𐎵[-har-wa] (16) karu anda "T. was already among the people of Mt. H."

⁴⁵ The pronoun, -an, here refers to Tani<zila> of v 1.

⁴⁶ *KUB VI* 45 i 71 = 46 ii 36; Gurney, p. 117.

crossing,⁴⁷ no matter from what direction the mountain is approached. Having located Nerik on the eastward stretch of the Kızılırmak below its junction with the Devrez, we would then identify the Haharwa with the range, called Ada Dağ on the Turkish map, around which the river makes its sharp bend.

It has, of course, been recognized by Goetze as well as by the authors of the present book (p. 27) that the region just discussed is the same that was crossed by both Suppiluliuma and Mursili on their way to Pala and Tumana. It goes without saying that our localization of Nerik and the places around the Haharwa range fully agrees with the view of Goetze, who puts Pala and Tumana in Paphlagonia.⁴⁸ This means, then, that I cannot agree with Garstang's theory that the Devrez should be the Kumesmaha river and that the town of Tiliura should be near the junction of the Devrez with the Kızılırmak (pp. 24, 101). For one, it is hard to imagine how Tiliura, if it were situated as far west as that, could have been in the orbit of the Old Assyrian colonists; the letter translated on p. 36 speaks of quite a different region. Furthermore, the interpretation of Mursili's Annals given on p. 23 is, in my opinion, inaccurate.

As correctly stated there, the people of the Kumesmaha river country came to the

help of Mursili's enemies while the king was operating not far from Taggasta (*AM* 150); and in another part of the Annals⁴⁹ the king reviewed his troops at the Red River (*KBo* II 5 ii 2) for a fresh campaign against the Gasga and first conquered Taggasta (5). It is also correct that later (*KBo* II 5 ii 53 ff.) he dispatches some one to Mira and the land of the Seha river, and that in the preceding, fragmentary section (47 ff.) some one is being dispatched shortly after a mention of the Kumesmaha (42). But it does not follow that the persons alluded to in 47 ff. and 53 ff. are the same or that Kumesmaha was on the way to Mira and Seha. On the contrary, at the end of the year we find (col. iii 12 ff., *MIO* III 172) the Dahara river (cf. n. 48) mentioned in connection with the general Nuwanza (who may have been the one sent westward), while, in contrast, the king himself (*LUGAL-uš-ma*, new line 18) returns to Hatti-land (see below) via Marista and takes winter quarters in the town of Marassantiya. Thus the king himself was much farther east than Garstang assumed. To combine the information contained in the Annals with that provided by the Hattusili text (rendered on p. 22) is quite to the point; but the combination of these sources leads to an entirely different conclusion.

Those Gasga people who had taken Marista and crossed the Marassantiya attacked Kanis (among other countries), that is, they crossed the upper Kızılırmak, approaching Kayseri from the north. The "bulge" created by these inroads, said to have surrounded Karahna and Marista (which are both mentioned by Mursili, *AM* 146, in connection with his operation near Taggasta), extended from Taggasta "on that side" (*apez*) to Talmaliya "on this side" (*kez*). The interpretation (p. 24)

⁴⁷ A river is mentioned once in connection with Tanizila (iii 65 f.), but the passage is not clear, and the river may be a local stream.

⁴⁸ *JCS* XIV 45 f.—The double equation of Pala and Tumana with Classical Blaëne and Domanitis, once proposed, I think, by Forrer (I cannot now find a reference), has always appealed to me because it is double. The textual evidence has independently led us in the same direction. Blaëne and Domanitis were in Paphlagonia around the mountain Olgassys (Turkish Ilgaz) according to Strabo, quoted by Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, s. vv. Forrer (*Glotta* 26 [1938] 181) equated Olgassys with Hittite Kassû, mentioned by Suppiluliuma and Mursili in the same region. The Amnias river which, according to Strabo, flowed through Domanitis and, according to Ruge, is the Turkish Gök Irmak, would then be the Hittite Dağara, which Suppiluliuma reached from Tumana (ref. in *JCS* X 126 f.).

⁴⁹ *AM*, pp. 182–88, supplemented by *MIO* III 171–74, fragment 6 (1041/f.).

according to which “the Kaskans . . . (had) . . . Taggasta as their boundary on the west and Talmaliya on the east of the newly invaded territory” is hard to understand if, as we have seen from the texts used by the authors (pp. 22–23), the supposedly “western” Taggasta is connected with Marista from where Kanēs was attacked: how far east would that put the eastern boundary? Now that we have located Nerik on the lower Kızılırmak and seen that Talmaliya was at the foot of the near-by Haharwa range, it is evident that east and west have to be interchanged: the Gasga “bulge” extended from Talmaliya in the west (*kez*) to Taggasta in the east (*apez*). In this way the deixis of the two terms is easily understood as seen from Hattusa, where the text was meant to be read: the lower Kızılırmak, lying due north, was nearer, an easterly region, from which the Gasga had reached Kanēs, was farther away.

To return to the Kumesmaha river (and, by implication, to Tiliura), we conclude that, if its inhabitants came against Mursili while he was at Takkuwahina, one day’s march from Taggasta (*AM* 150), this river stands a good chance of being the Yeşilirmak (Iris) or its affluent, the Çekerek (Scylax). Tiliura thus falls within a reasonable distance north of Kanēs.

While Taggasta was the eastern boundary of the Gasga “bulge,” it was by no means the easternmost point ever reached by their invasions. As far as the towns can be located at all, the most easterly place reached by them seems to be Pittiyarik (*Hatt.* ii 20). The localization of this town is connected with that of Samuha by the well-known text mentioning river traffic between the two (pp. 35 f.). Garstang, who previously had located Samuha on the Euphrates near Malatya, would rather put it on the upper Kızılırmak in the present book (p. 36).⁵⁰ I must confess that the

reasons given for this change do not convince me, and that I would still prefer the Euphrates to the Halys. In addition to the points enumerated by Alp,⁵¹ my main reason is the Hurrian nationality of the cult of Samuha: it seems hard to accept Hurrians on the upper Kızılırmak. Whether Samuha was near Malatya or rather more upstream on the Murad Su, as Alp proposed, may be left open; either location is preferable to that on the Halys. Now, if Hattusili met those Gasga who had reached Pittiyarik at Hahha, this may still be the Hahhum of the Old Assyrian sources—again leaving its exact location open. The clause *uruHattušan-ma kuin pe ħarta* (*Hatt.* ii 26) does not necessarily refer to the city of Hattusa; as repeatedly stated,⁵² the name Hattusa is also used for the country, so that the clause simply means “the Hittite territory which he (the enemy) held.” The argument against the equation of Hahha with Hahhum (pp. 25 f.) thus is no longer conclusive.

To sum up, we have tried to show that the lists taken as basis for geographical systems ever since Goetze’s article in *RHA* I cannot be used as such. This is not to deny that they may group some names together which belong in the same region; but they are no itineraries! Combining some new festival texts with those previously known we have found indications for a general, but by no means specific, localization of such central places as Arinna, Zippalanda, and Ankuwa. For the region affected by the inroads of the Gasga we found ourselves in general agreement with Goetze regarding its northerly position, with the difference that we put Nerik farther to the northwest with the help of the Marassanta story. Relying on

⁵⁰ Accepted by Goetze, *JCS* XIV 47.

⁵¹ S. Alp, “Die Lage von Šamuha,” *Anatolia* I (1956) 77–80.

⁵² Last, *JCS* X 98, note o, with addendum p. 122.

sources that deal with military operations rather than on an assumed arrangement of the list of countries under Hattusili's command, we were led to invert the east-west sequence of the regions discussed as against the book under review.⁵³

In concluding, however, I would like to stress my indebtedness to this book. It is always easier for the critic to revise a

picture once it has been drawn than it is to draw it fresh from the raw material of the sources. By collecting the material and presenting the evidence the authors have rendered invaluable service to all who are interested in Hittite geography.

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⁵³ Returning to "Hattusili's Command" (p. 6 of the book; above, p. 87) at the end of this investigation, we find that our placing Marista north of Kayseri, Hanhana near Nerik, and Pala-Tumana west of the lower Halys, results in a listing of these countries roughly from east to west. Durmitta, however, interrupts this sequence, since one would look

for this town, frequently mentioned as Durhumit in the Old Assyrian texts (cf. E. Bilgiç, *Afo* XV 37; *ibid.* p. 21, n. 152, as provenience of copper), about as far east as the authors do. Since we do not presuppose a linear arrangement of Hattusili's list (and propose no fixed location for Tarahna and Hattena), we do not consider this "jump" as an obstacle.

Further Notes on the Hittite Laws

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FURTHER NOTES ON THE HITTITE LAWS

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The classification of the various manuscripts of the Hittite Laws given by the present author in a review of J. Friedrich's edition, JCS XV (1961) 62–64, as well as the parallel listings of A. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII (1961) 78–82 and 124–127, can now be supplemented and in part modified on the basis of an inspection of the originals in Istanbul and Ankara carried out in the autumn of 1961.

It was found that copies D and E of the First Series (KBo VI 6 and 7, in Istanbul) are indeed parts of the same tablet. Reverse col. iv of No. 6 (Hrozný: "Zu Nr. 6 gehört als Rückseite Columne IV höchstwahrscheinlich das folgende Fragment") joins the obverse back-to-back, preserving the upper edge of the obverse = lower of the reverse; cf. the photographs in Neufeld,¹ figs. 12–13. No. 7 is the lower end of col. iii of the same tablet, its lines 1–4 just touching the broken protrusion visible to the right of the colophon, *ibid.* fig. 13.

It seemed to me on the basis of clay and handwriting that copies O and Q are in all likelihood parts of one tablet, as tentatively suggested by Ehelolf, KUB XXIX, Vorwort, ad Nos. 18 and 20 (Bo 6186 and Bo 1923, in Istanbul).

Copies L and P (KUB XXIX 14 and 19, 39/e and 266/c, in Ankara) have the same clay and the same handwriting; thus they form tablets I and II, respectively, of one two-tablet manuscript.

The fragments N and V (248/f = KUB XXIX 17, and 170/q, both in Ankara) join each other: N is the end of col. i, V the end of col. ii, the lower edge with "Randleiste" running through. In addition, there is a dividing line at the end of col. ii after only two lines, indicating that §71 in this copy was split in two sections, probably after *nan LUGAL-an aška unnai* of Friedrich's main text, lines 63f.

Concerning the old ductus, it was seen that copy A of Series I (KBo VI 2 = Bo 2097, in

Istanbul) has it quite clearly, just as copy M (KUB XXIX 16 = Bo 1789, in Istanbul). Copy K (KUB XXIX 13 = 2627/c, in Ankara) may also be in the old handwriting, although the bad state of preservation (cf. phot. Neufeld, figs. 24–25) makes a decision difficult.

Of the old manuscript of Series II, the eight fragments listed by Friedrich as q₁–q₈ are indeed all parts of one tablet. A hand copy of this text is presented below.

However, inspection of the originals (in Ankara) of the fragments subsumed under Friedrich's siglum o (o₁–o₇) showed that instead of one copy we are here dealing with fragments of three different manuscripts, since the handwriting differs. Fragments o₁ + o₂ + o₃ (KUB XXIX 21+22+23) are one copy, for which the siglum o may be retained; another copy is represented by o₄ (+) o₅ (No. 26 on the right, No. 27 on the left, with a gap between them); a third copy is formed by o₆ + o₇ (Nos. 34+37). New sigla, v and w, respectively, are proposed here for these two additional one-tablet copies.²

Copies k and m (KBo XIII 14+16) were joined in Istanbul by H. Otten.³

Copies e₁ and e₂ (KBo VI 14 and 18) join each other back-to-back (see already Hrozný in KBo VI). Copy i (KBo VI 19) belongs to the same tablet according to the clay and ductus;⁴ its column iii must have contained §47 bis of Friedrich between the break and the lower edge, before §163/48 of e, col. iv, top.

Concerning the combination of fragments of tablets I and II of the Second Series in two-

2. Friedrich's sigla run up to t; u was proposed JCS XV 63 for KUB XIII 31.

3. Cf. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 126 n. 3; my own footnote, JCS XV 64 n. 9a, referred to the only mention of this "join" available to me at the time, but failed to bring out Otten's priority. R. Haase, ZA 54 (1961) 104; the same, *Der privatrechtliche Schutz der Person und der einzelnen Vermögensrechte in der hethitischen Rechtssammlung* (Diss. Tübingen, 1961), pp. 155f.

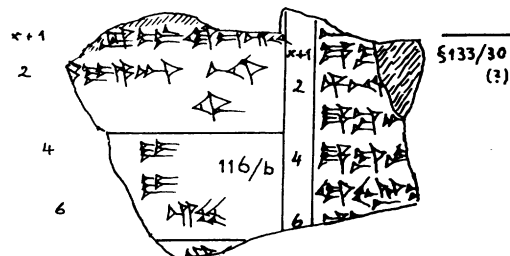
4. Cf. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 125 under 6.

1. E. Neufeld, *The Hittite Laws*. London, 1951.

§106/6 Col. I

§107/7

38 (q₈) Col. II



Col. II cont.
next page

§118/15

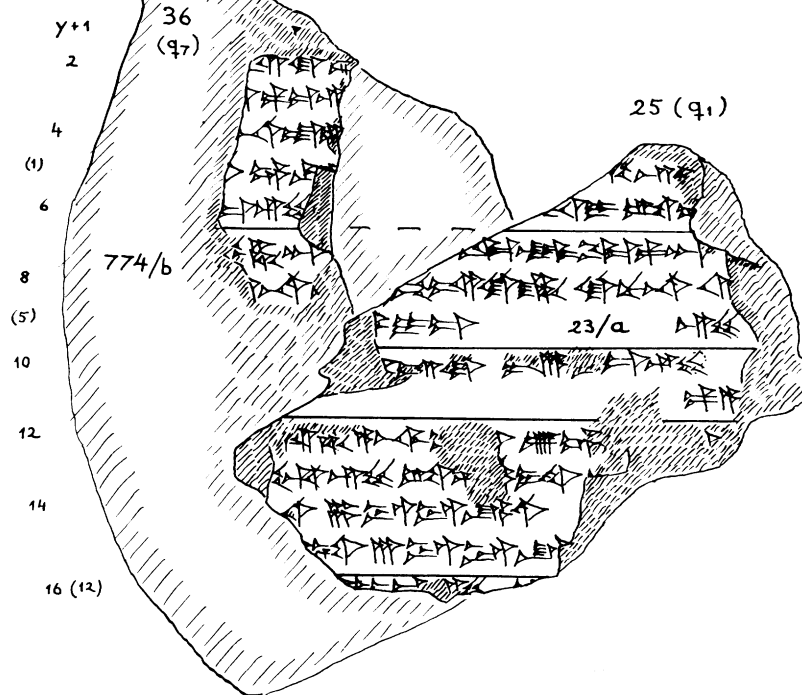
§119/16

§120/17

§121/18

§122/19

below middle



§125/22

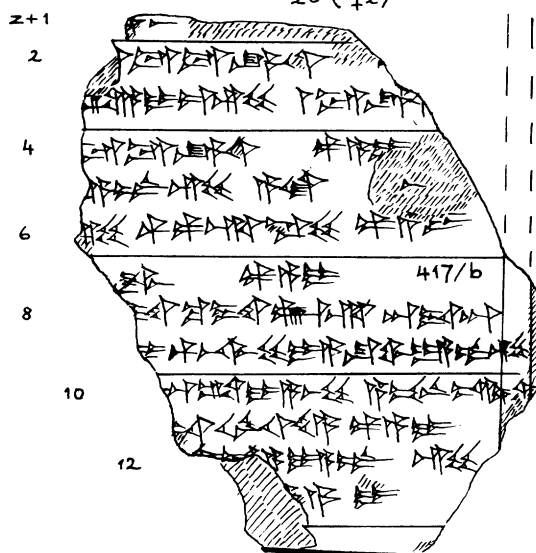
§126/23(a)

(b)

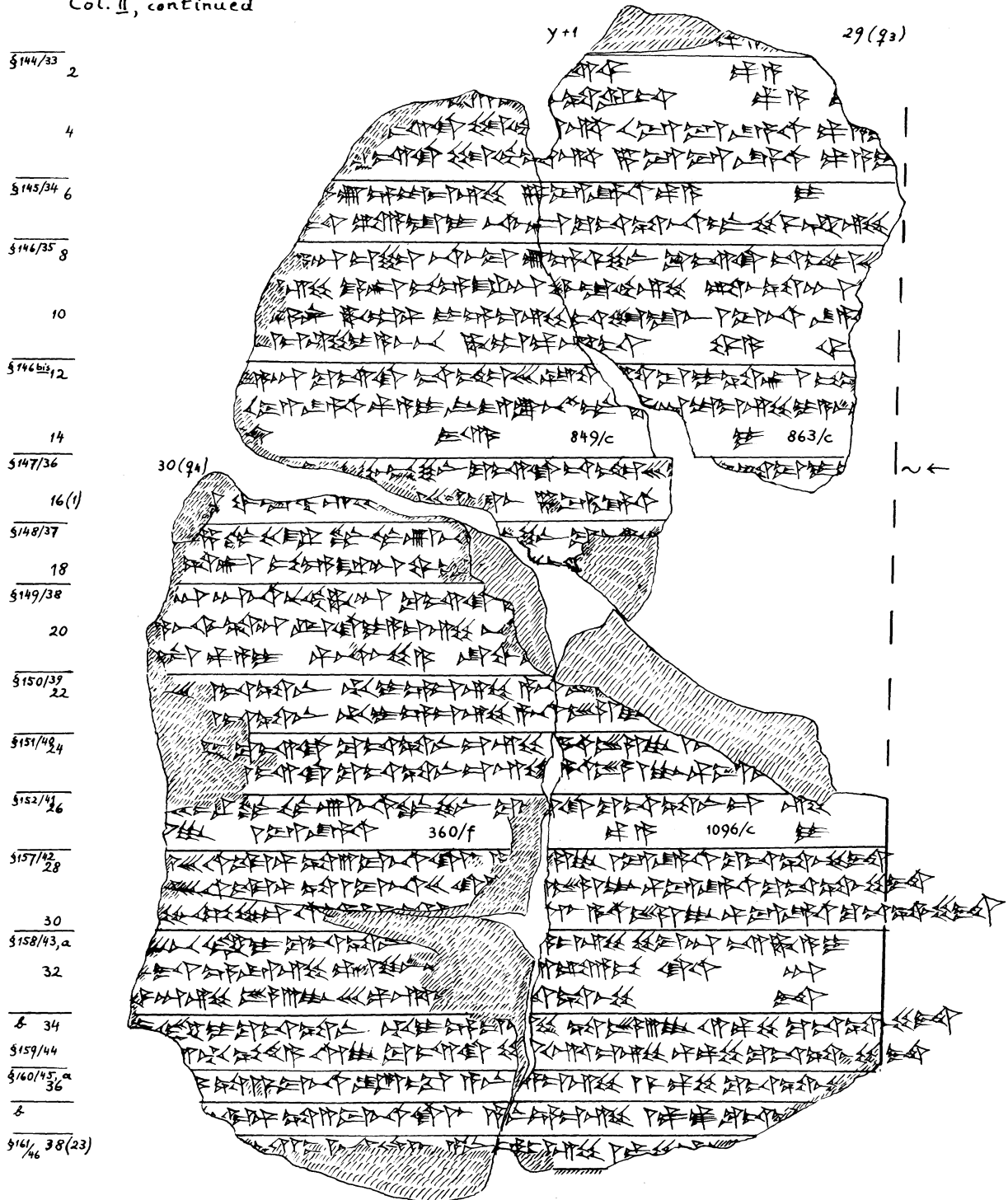
§127/24

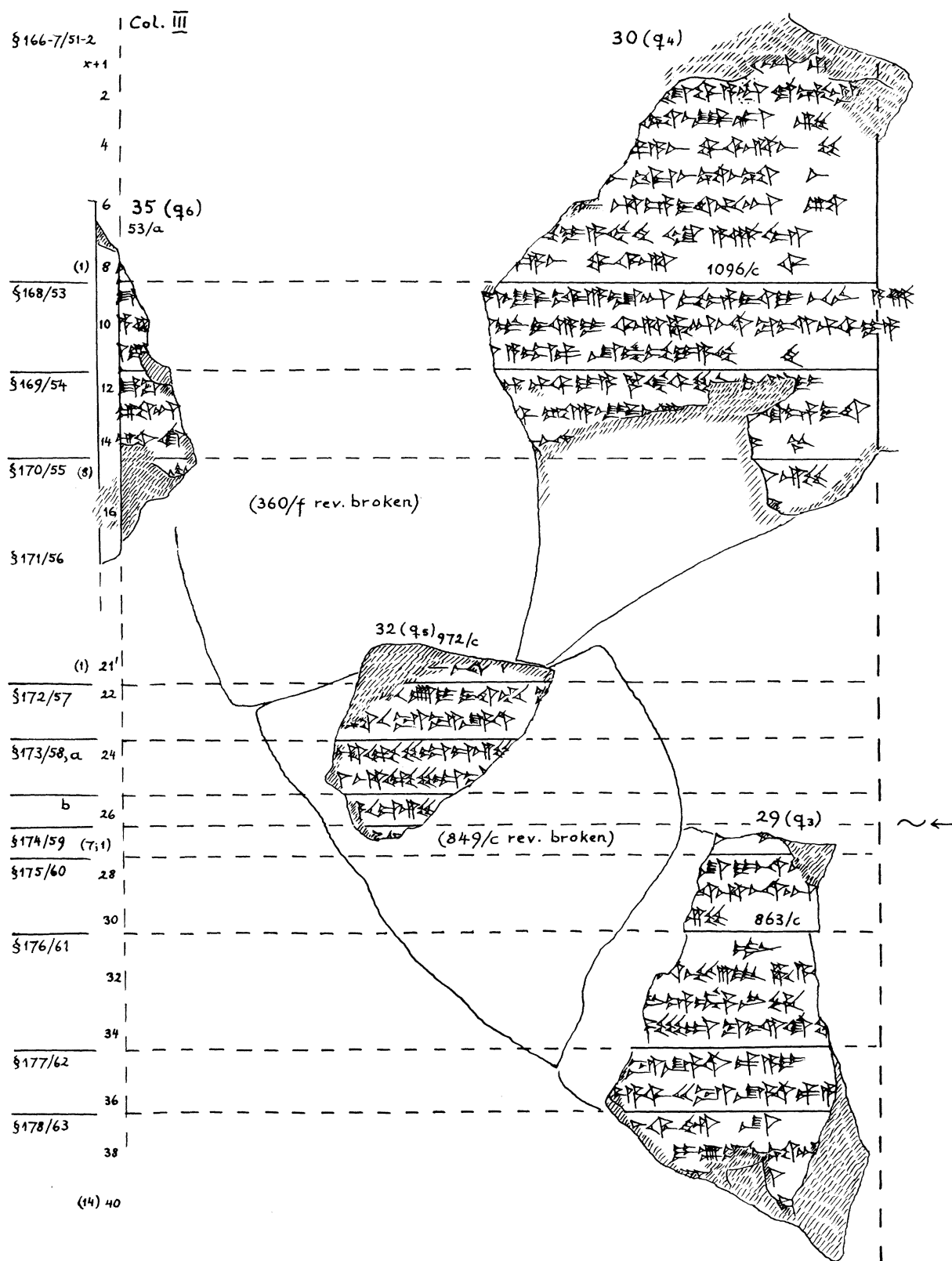
§128/25

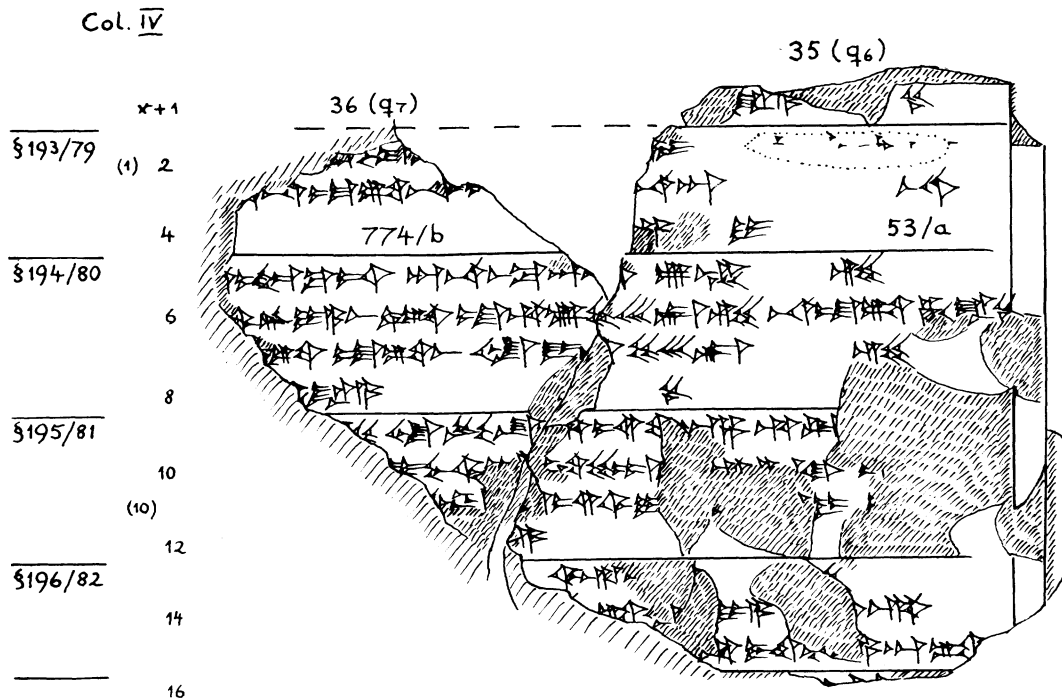
28 (q₂)



Col. II, continued







tablet manuscripts, the combination of b (KBo VI 11) as tablet I with d (+) n (KBo VI 13 and KUB XIII 30) as tablet II, proposed JCS XV 64, was confirmed by the identity of handwriting.⁵

Also according to the ductus, copies h (KBo VI 17) and j (KBo VI 26) are parts of the same manuscript, as tablets I and II, respectively. Here again, as in b and d, one law is repeated at the end of the first and the beginning of the second tablet, in this case §157/42 (in h this must have been followed in the break by only the colophon or — as in j — an empty space). In my copy of Neufeld I noted that the handwriting of p (KUB XXIX 24 = Bo 1619) is the same as that of h, so that p would also be part of tablet I of this copy; unfortunately I failed to check this point in Istanbul, or, in other words, the similarity did not strike me when I looked at the originals.⁶

In contrast to the existence of two-tablet manuscripts written by the same hand *within* each of the two series, I did not see any identity of handwriting *between* any copies of Series I

5. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 125b under 2, overlooked the fact that overlaps of the last/first paragraph are well attested; for some examples see JCS XV 64 n.10.

6. Cf. Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 125 under 7.

and II. This may be oversight, but at least I did not notice a clear case in which the same hand had written a copy of *takku* LÜ-aš and one of *takku* GIŠ.GEŠTIN-aš.

On the basis of the above observations the following table can now be presented.⁷

First Series

A. One-tablet manuscripts

- (1) A (KBo VI 2) old
- (2) M (KUB XXIX 16) old
col. iii = §§58–63, middle of col. in §61
- (3) K (KUB XXIX 13)⁸ perhaps old
- (4) B (KBo VI 3)
- (5) J (KUB XXVI 56)
col. ii top = §§26a–27

B. Two-tablet manuscripts

a. Both tablets preserved

- (6) L (XXIX 14) and P (XXIX 19):⁹
L = tbl. I col. iii = §§39–41

7. The laws preserved in each manuscript are listed below only where this is of interest for the arrangement. For the rest, see Friedrich's list. Find spots of tablets found since 1931 are given in footnotes; all other tablets are from Winckler's excavations.

8. From Büyükkale, north of Building E.

9. Both from Archive A on Büyükkale.

- col. iv = §§49–50
 P = tbl. II col. iv = §§95–96
- b.* Tablet I alone preserved
- (7) C (KBo VI 5) youngest; end broken
- c.* Tablet II alone preserved¹⁰
- (8) D+E (KBo VI 6+7)
 began with restored §50
- (9) F₍₁₋₃₎ (KBo VI 8 + XXIX 15¹¹ (+) KUB XIII 11)
 col. i begins with §53
 col. ii begins with §64
 col. iv ends with §100 and colophon¹²
- (10) G (KBo VI 9)
 begins with §51
- (11) H (KUB XIII 12)
 beginning broken; cols. ii and iii
- (12) I (KUB XIII 13)
 beginning broken; cols. ii and iii
- (13) N+V (XXIX 17 + 170/q)¹³
 beginning broken;
 N = end of col. i = §§59–60
 V = end of col. ii = §§70–71a
 very short lines
- (14) R (KBo VI 21)
 beginning broken
- (15) W (96/q)¹⁴
 beginning broken
- C.* Undetermined
- (16) O(+)Q (XXIX 18 and 20)
 O [iv] = §§94–95
 Q [iv] = §§97–98
- (17) S (KBo VI 21)
 col. ii(!) = §§72–74
 col. iii(!) = §§77–78(?)
- (18) T (KBo IX 70)¹⁵
 col. [iv] = §94
- (19) U (Bo 6292)¹⁶
 §60 (col.?)

Second Series

A. One-tablet manuscripts

- (1) q₍₁₋₈₎ (see hand copy)¹⁷ old
10. None of these has the same handwriting as C;
 cf. already Kammenhuber, BiOr XVIII 81b, top.
11. From Temple I.
12. The reading DUB.2.KAM (JCS XV 63 n. 5)
 confirmed by collation.
13. From Büyükkale, stray finds.
14. Found near Archive A.
15. From Lower City, square K/20 of city plan.
16. Unpublished, in Berlin, not seen.
17. From Archive A. Previous publication numbers
 (in KUB XXIX) noted in the hand copy.

- (2) o (Fr. o₁+ o₂(+) o₃ = XXIX 21–23)¹⁸
 col. i = §§101/1–112/12
 col. ii traces
 col. iii = §§176/61–180/65
- (3) v (Fr. o₄(+)o₅ = XXIX 26, 27)¹⁹
 col. i = §§123/20–127/24
- (4) w (Fr. o₆+o₇ = XXIX 34+37)²⁰
 col. iv = §§186/72–198/84
- (5) t (134/q)²¹
 col. i = §122/19(?)
 col. ii = §§149/38–157/42
- B.* Two-tablet manuscripts
- a.* Both tablets preserved
- (6) b (KBo VI 11) and d(+)n (KBo VI 13,
 KUB XIII 30)
 b = tbl. I, col. i = §§105/5–113/13
 col. iv = §168/53
 d = tbl. II, col. i = §§168/53–172/57
 col. ii = §§182/67–183/69(?)
 d(+)n, col. iii = §§194/80–196/82
 d, col. iv = colophon
- (7) h (KBo VI 17) (+?) p (XXIX 24)
 and j (KBo VI 26)
 h = tbl. I, col. i = §§106/6–109/9
 p = tbl. I, col. i end = §§112/12–113/13
 h = tbl. I, col. iv = §157/42
 j = tbl. II complete = §§157/42–200/86

b. Tablet I alone preserved

- (end lost in all)
- (8) a₍₁₊₂₎ (KBo VI 10+20)
- (9) c (KBo VI 12)
- (10) e₍₁₊₂₎ (KBo VI 14+18) (+) i (KBo VI 19)
 e₁ col. i end = §§118/15–122/19
 i col. ii = §§124/21–126/23
 i col. iii = §§162/47–[47bis, restored]
 e₂ col. iv top = §§163/48–165/50
- (11) f (KBo VI 15)
- (12) l (KUB XIII 15)

c. Tablet II alone preserved

- (beginning broken in all)
- (13) k+m (KUB XIII 14+16)
- (14) s (KBo IX 71 + XXIX 33)²²

C. Undetermined

- (15) g (KBo VI 16)
 §§109/9–111/11
18. From Archive A.
19. From Archive A.
20. From Archive A.
21. Found near Archive A.
22. From Büyükkale, region of Buildings C and D.

- (16) r (XXIX 31)
left col. = §§159/44–162/47
(17) u (KUB XIII 31)
probably §114/14f.

Some collations of details may be added here.

JCS XV, p. 68 ad §44a: The traces in C = KBo VI 5 iv 17 permit only the reading \llcorner DUMU.NITA-*an* \llcorner (Friedrich in the text), not \llcorner SAG.DU-*an* \llcorner (Friedrich's alternative reading in n. 26, preferred by me).

P. 70 ad §119/16: For the relative position of q_7 and q_1 and the resulting interpretation of line 8 as [1 M]A.NA K[Û.BABBAR] *pí-iš-(ki-)kir* see now the hand copy.

P. 70 ad §121/18: See now line 13 of the combined copy of q. Accordingly I would now read *ta* GU[D.Ĝ]I.A-*it* x[...], where x cannot be *a*.

P. 70 ad §146/35: [...*še*]- $\lceil e \rceil$ -*ir* is quite clear on the original in q ii 10 (see hand copy); the small verticals of *ir* simply are not visible in the photograph from which Ehelolf had to copy.

P. 71 ad §166/51, the numeral in j = KBo VI 26 i 35: After the break a simple vertical; the oblique “wedge” is only a scratch. In the break there may have been another vertical, so that the reading “[I]I” is quite possible.

P. 72 ad §187/73, j iii 21: Two small oblique wedges that may indeed be the beginning of *t[e]*.

P. 72 ad §191/77, j iii 33: Between *ka-a-aš* and *ta-ki-ia* there is only an erasure, no “*ma*”.

Ibid. line 35: Numeral 2 quite clear, no need for the hatching given in KBo.

P. 72 ad §193/79, j iii 43: Before ŠEŠ no trace of a vertical, and enough space for [DUMU]; however, the small portion of surface preserved here does not show any of the traces of the end of DUMU that one would expect.

P. 72 ad §200, reference to Friedrich, RHA XVIII 33ff.: I was unable to confirm Otten's²³ reading \tilde{U} -UL, but also unable to interpret the traces. At the end of this line (j iv 30), the sign *ra* is in the intercolumnium, and nothing can be restored after it, that is, in col. iii. There is a sign written vertically upward, not in the intercolumnium but rather to the left of it, above the *ša* (cf. the photographs Hrozný, CH, Pl. XXVI, and Neufeld, fig. 55). It could be *iz* although the lower horizontal is longer than the upper. Thereafter (i.e. above it) there is a break. This is another example of the low quality of copy j.

P. 78, discussion of MÁŠ/ÛZ: Mr. Souček kindly put at my disposal an unpublished passage that clearly shows that the two signs are different. Bo 3648 reads in part:

(2) ... 1 GUD.MAĜ 1 GUD.ÁB *gi-im-ra-aš*
1 UDU.NITÁ [...]

(3) x 1 MÁŠ.GAL (sign Forrer 179,1) 1 ÛZ
(179,2) ...

Here the pairs “one bull, one cow;” “one ram, [one ewe];” and “one he-goat, one she-goat” show that the shape 179,2 is meant as ÛZ.

Collation of Bo 5585 (Otten, Heth. Totenrit. 118) revealed the shape 179,2 also here in a context clearly referring to a female.

23. Cf. references in n. 3.



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RITUALE FÜR DIE GÖTTIN HUWAŠŠANNA

von

Hans G. Güterbock

Chicago

Hellmut Ritter zum 70. Geburtstage

Nachdem E. Laroche bereits die auf den Kult der Göttin Huwaššanna bezüglichen Texte zusammengestellt ¹ und auf die in ihnen enthaltenen Luwismen hingewiesen hat, ² soll hier etwas auf ihren Inhalt eingegangen werden.

Das Material hat sich durch neuere Funde etwas vermehrt. Ausser zwei kleinen Bruchstücken, KBo IX 120 und 139, ³ sind mir noch die folgenden bekannt, die in Kürze in KBo XIV veröffentlicht werden sollen: 45/q + 172/q, 53/q, 74/q, 86/q, 133/q, 147/q, 27/r, 208/r, 236/r, 245/r und wohl auch 54/q (zu diesem s. weiter unten). [KBo XIV 87-97].

Die Identität der Gottheit Huwaššanna mit der meist ⁴GAZ-BA-A-A geschriebenen Göttin, von Laroche ⁴ als bekannte Tatsache erwähnt, ist durch den Wechsel der beiden Schreibungen in Schwurgötterlisten erwiesen; dort erscheint die Göttin der Stadt Hupišna, d.i. Kybistra (Konya Ereğlisi), einmal mit ihrem einheimischen Namen statt in der sonst üblichen babylonischen Schreibung. ⁵ Wegen dieser Verknüpfung der Göttin mit ihrer Kultstadt hat denn auch Laroche mit Recht das ihrem Kult gewidmete Kapitel (s. Anm. 2) „Note sur les cultes de Hubešna“ überschrieben. Der Name der Stadt erscheint auch in KUB XXV 30, einem Text (*Cat.* 463), der verschiedene für Huwaššanna und ihren Götterkreis gefeierte Feste aufzählt. Dort heisst es in Kol. i Z. 7 f.:

IS-TU É GAL URUHu-pi-iš-na [EZEN . . .] (8) i-ja-an-zi. Nach dem über das Bestehen eines „Hauses von Hupišna“ an anderem Orte Ausge-

¹ RHA XV/60, 1957, 63 f. „Catalogue des textes hittites“ (im folgenden abgekürzt *Cat.*), Nr. 463-467. Für die gängigen Abkürzungen s. das Verzeichnis in J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* mit den Ergänzungsheften.

² *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite* (Paris 1959), 175-177.

³ Von Laroche (s. Anm. 2) schon berücksichtigt.

⁴ *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites* = RHA VII/46, 1947, 81 und 97; *Dictionnaire* 175.

⁵ J. Friedrich, *Staatsvertr.* II 112, Anm. 3 zum Hukkanas-Vertrag; ebd. S. 219 im Index. Vgl. auch URUHupiššanaš ⁴Huwaššannaš in der Götterliste KUB XXXII 92 Vs.(?) 3.

führten¹ habe ich Bedenken, die Zeichen É und GAL hier als É.GAL „Palast“ zu verstehen; ²ich möchte daher übersetzen: „Von dem ‚Grossen Haus‘ von Hupišna aus veranstaltet man [das . . .-Fest].“ Aus demselben Grunde muss es unentschieden bleiben, ob die in KUB XXV 30 aufgezählten Feste in Hupišna oder nicht vielmehr doch in der Hauptstadt gefeiert wurden.

Die Namen der in den wenigen erhaltenen Tafelunterschriften genannten Feste kommen in der eben erwähnten Aufzählung (KUB XXV 30) nicht vor. Aus den Unterschriften kennen wir:

1. EZEN *witaššiyaš*, von Laroche (*Cat.* Nr. 464) etwas kühn „Fête de l'année“ übersetzt. Erste Tafel ist nach der Unterschrift KUB XXVII 59 (*Cat.* 464,1). Derselbe Festname ist wohl auch in 86/q zu ergänzen,³ wo aber die Tafelnummer verloren ist.

In der ersten Tafel waren nach Unterschrift der (erste und) zweite Tag sowie ein Teil des dritten Tages behandelt. Übergang vom zweiten zum dritten Tage eines Festes ist erhalten in KUB XXVII 66, Kol. ii.⁴ Ausserdem wird der Name des Festes, EZEN *witaššiyaš*, in KUB XVII 24 genannt.⁵ Nach dem, was von den vier Kolumnen in den eben erwähnten Fragmenten erhalten ist, erscheint es — wenigstens auf dem Papier, d. h. vorbehaltlich einer Kollation der Originaltafeln in Istanbul — nicht ganz ausgeschlossen, dass sie zusammen die erste Tafel des Festes bildeten, wobei vorläufig offen bleibt, wie die Stücke auf die durch *Cat.* 466, 4, A und B bezeugten zwei Exemplare zu verteilen sind.⁶

2. EZEN *šahhanaš*: 45/q + 172/q, Tafelnummer „4“ oder „5“. Darf der Name des Festes „Fest der Lehenspflicht“ übersetzt werden?

3. [EZEN (?) . . .-a] *liyaš*: *Cat.* 466, 5, A = KUB XXVII 49, B = ebd. 54. Tafelnummer nicht erhalten. Das Fest wird in der zweiten Zeile des Kolophons als „Grosses Fest“ bezeichnet.

4. EZEN x[. . .]: *Cat.* 465 = KUB XX 16 (+) 75; vierte Tafel. Der allein erhaltene Rest des ersten Zeichens (š[al-] oder u[a-] oder u[d-]) passt weder zu *witaššiyaš* (oben 1) noch zu *šahhanaš* (oben 2). Allenfalls könnte er den Anfang des vorn zerstörten Namens (oben 3) oder des

¹ JNES XX, 1961, 88 f., bes. [IŠTU] É uruHupi <š> na KBo X 24 v 11.

² Vgl. „3 É.MEŠ GAL“ KUB X 48 ii 7; danach werden zwei dieser Häuser É GAL, eines aber einfach É genannt.

³ [. . . ŠA EZEN ú-i-t]a-aš-ša[. . .]. Für diese kürzere Form vgl. KUB XXVII 59 i 21.

⁴ *Cat.* 466, 4: A = KUB XXVII 66 (+) 64; B = ebd. 60; C = KUB XXXII 55.

⁵ Daher schon als Nr. 464,2 im *Cat.* gebucht.

⁶ C stammt ebenso wie das *Cat.* 464,3 als „analogue“ aufgeführte KUB XXXII 105 und das oben erwähnte Fragment einer weiteren Tafel, 86/q, wahrscheinlich von einem anderen Fundort.

Adjektivs *šalli* „gross“ (ebenfalls 3) bilden, doch deutet im Inhalt der beiden Texte nichts auf ihre Zusammengehörigkeit, und die Bezeichnung „Grosses Fest“ (wenn so zu ergänzen) kann sich auf jedes Fest beziehen.

Die übrigen Fragmente lassen sich einstweilen keinem der mit Namen bekannten Feste zuweisen. Da unter den mir nicht zugänglichen unveröffentlichten Boğazköy-Tafeln sich vermutlich noch weitere Fragmente von ̕uwaššanna-Ritualen befinden, ist die obige Zusammenstellung nur als vorläufig zu betrachten.

Was mich veranlasst, trotzdem hier schon auf diese Textgruppe einzugehen, ist die eigentümliche Verwendung des Ausdrucks EZEN „Fest“ in den meisten der bis jetzt bekannten ̕uwaššanna-Rituale. Der Ausdruck bezieht sich normalerweise auf die offiziellen Kultfeste, die vom König oder einem Mitglied der Königsfamilie ausgeführt werden oder doch, wenn königliche Teilnahme nicht erwähnt wird, öffentlicher Natur sind.¹ Unter den ̕uwaššanna-Texten zählt die bereits erwähnte Liste (KUB XXV 30) wohl offizielle Feste auf, was der wiederholte Vermerk „vom Tempel der ̕uwaššanna aus“ (Z. 12, 14, 16, 18, 20) und der oben besprochene Vermerk „aus dem ‚Grossen Haus‘ von ̕upišna“ (Z. 7) nahelegen. Und unter den Einzelfragmenten nennt 53/q die Königin (Kol. iii Z. 6 und 10) und vielleicht auch den König.²

Alle anderen Fragmente aber sprechen vielmehr von einem EN.SISKUR (akkadisch *bēl niqē*), meist „Opfermandant“ übersetzt. Das ist die in Beschwörungsritualen übliche Bezeichnung für die Person, in deren Auftrag und zu deren Nutzen das Ritual ausgeführt wird. Normalerweise schliessen sich die Begriffe EZEN und EN.SISKUR gegenseitig aus. Wir sind daran gewöhnt, nach einer Art Faustregel solche Fragmente, in denen ein EN.SISKUR erwähnt wird, als Beschwörungsrituale im Gegensatz zu Festritualen zu betrachten. Umso auffälliger ist es daher, dass hier ein EN.SISKUR ein EZEN ausführt. Der folgende Textabschnitt lässt keinen Zweifel an dieser Tatsache zu und zeigt zugleich, dass der EN.SISKUR wirklich eine Privatperson ist und nicht etwa der König (der ja an sich mit dem „Opfermandanten“ gemeint sein könnte). KUB XXVII 59 i 26-28:

(26) [*nu ma*]-a-an EN.SISKUR.SISKUR *ha-aṣ-pi-na-an-za na-aš-ta* ^{DUG}*har-šī-al-li* (27) [*a-pé-e-da*]-ni UD-ti *šu-un-na-a-i* EZEN-*ia-az a-pé-e-da-ni* U[D-ti] (28) [*i-ia-u-ua-an-z*]ⁱ³ *e-eṣ-zi-pát ma-a-na-aš* ^{LÚ}MAŠ.EN.DÙ-*ma* [...]

¹ Vg. CAD s.v. *isinnu*; Laroche unter „Fêtes“ im *Cat.*, RHA XV/60, 65; A. Goetze, *Kleinasien*², 1957, 165 f. Vgl. unten, S. 349, Anm. 1 am Ende.

² Ebd. Z. 9, wo vor LUGAL ausser dem notwendigen A-NA kein Platz für SAL zu sein scheint.

³ Ergänzt nach Z. 25.

„Wenn der Opfermandant reich ist, dann füllt er das Vorratsgefäß an eben diesem Tage und beginnt das Fest an eben diesem Tage für sich zu feiern. Wenn er aber arm ist, [.].“

In den folgenden, stark beschädigten Zeilen ist von der „Bereitstellung der Opferzurüstung“ und von „vier Tagen“ die Rede, was wohl so zu verstehen ist, dass dem weniger begüterten Opfermandanten ein gewisser zeitlicher Spielraum gelassen wird. Ein ähnlicher Unterschied zwischen einem armen und einem reichen Auftraggeber wird auch in KUB XVII 24 ii 16-18 gemacht, u. zw. ebenfalls im Zusammenhang mit dem EZEN *witaššiyaš*, und Entsprechendes ist wohl auch in KUB XXXII 105, Z. 5-7, und KBo IX 139, Z. 3-5, zu ergänzen.

So wie in den bekannten Festritualen die zentrale Kulthandlung darin besteht, dass der König „den Gott So-und-so trinkt“ (so wörtlich, was immer der Sinn dieses viel-diskutierten Ausdrucks auch sei), so vollzieht diese Handlung in den *Īḫuwaššanna*-Ritualen der Opfermandant zusammen mit der ^{SAL}*alḫuitra*.¹ Das Grundscheema der häufig wiederkehrenden Szene lautet:

nu ANA ^{SAL}*alḫuitra* EN.SISKUR-*ia akuuanna pianzi nu* ^{AN}*akuuanzi*
 „Dann gibt man der *alḫuitra* und dem Opfermandanten zu trinken, und sie ‚trinken‘ den Gott NN.“

Im Gegensatz dazu wird in dem „Grossen Fest [. . . -*a*]*lliyaš*“² dieselbe Handlung von der Herrin des Hauses und einer Braut zusammen ausgeführt; aber auch hier handelt es sich offenbar um Privatpersonen. Ob das hier beschriebene „Grosse Fest“ ein Hochzeitsfest ist, bleibt unsicher, obwohl darin eine Szene vorkommt, die darauf hindeuten könnte:³ Hier wird ein aus Brot hergestellter Götterkopf mit dem Kopftuch und anderem Kopfputz der Braut geschmückt, unter Musikbegleitung „aus dem Schlafzimmer ins Haus heraus“ geschafft und aufs Bett gesetzt. Dabei könnte der Kopfschmuck der Braut als Hinweis darauf gedeutet werden, dass sie ihren Hochzeitsschmuck trägt. Aber die Situation braucht nichts mit Hochzeit zu tun zu haben, besonders da ein Bett in zerstörtem Zusammenhang auch 86/q iii 22 in einem Text vorkommt, dessen Unterschrift, [. . . -*t*]*a-aš-ša*[. . .], wir oben mit dem EZEN *witašš(iy)aš* zusammengestellt haben.

In dem sicher zum EZEN *witaššiyaš* gehörigen Fragment wird mehrfach das ^{DUG}*ḫaršiyalli* „Vorratsgefäß“ erwähnt: in KUB XXVII 59 i 3, 5

¹ KUB XVII 24 iii 18-24; XXXII 126 ii 10-iii 1; ergänzbar KUB XXVII 51, 4 f.; 55 iii(!) 15 f.; 56 ii 8 f.; iii 4 f.; 61 ii(?) 4 f.; 62 Rs.; 64 i 12 ff.; IBoT I 18 ii 4 f.; 147/q; 245/r.

² KUB XXVII 49 mit Duplikat, *Cat.* 466, 5.

³ Kol. iii 16-30; Z. 16-22 in Oriens X, 1957, 357 übersetzt.

und 6 in leider zerstörtem Zusammenhang, dann in Z. 26 in dem oben schon übersetzten Absatz, nach dem der Opfermandant es füllen muss. Nun wissen wir aus anderen Quellen, dass das Füllen des Vorratsgefäßes den Hauptinhalt der Herbstfeste bildete.¹ Man gewinnt somit den Eindruck, dass ein Privatmann sein eigenes Herbstfest begehen konnte, bei dem die Göttin Huwaššanna als Hauptgottheit verehrt wurde. Ob man weiter folgern darf, dass diese Art privater Jahreszeitenfeste aus Hupišna-Ereğli stammte und auf diese Gegend beschränkt war, muss zunächst offen bleiben. Eine weiter unten zu besprechende Stelle könnte darauf hindeuten, dass es Ähnliches auch in der Stadt Kuliwišna gab, über deren Lage nichts Näheres bekannt ist, die aber immerhin mit Hupišna das gleiche Suffix teilt.

An Ritualtexten, in denen die Göttin Huwaššanna unter ihrem mesopotamischen Namen erscheint, sind mir zwei bekannt. Der eine ist das kleine Fragment 54/q, das den Namen ^aGAZ-ZA-BA-A-A schreibt,² im übrigen aber nichts Charakteristisches enthält ausser den Wörtern „Becher“ und „*takarmu*-Brot“, die beide auch in den Huwaššanna-Ritualen vorkommen, sich aber auch in anderen (Fest-)Ritualen finden.

Der zweite Text ist ganz anderer Natur.³ Ausser dem Namen der Göttin verbinden ihn nur die Luwismen mit unseren Texten. In der zweiten Kolumne werden an einer Weggabelung(?)⁴ Riten ausgeführt und Beschwörungen gesprochen, die dem Mandanten Krankheit und Gegner fernhalten sollen.⁵ In der dritten Kolumne aber lesen wir folgendes (KUB XVII 12 iii 2-15):

¹ Stellen bei O. R. Gurney, AAA 27, 1940, 120 ff. *šunna*- „füllen“ kommt noch KUB XXI 17 iii 15-17 vor. Sonst ist das gewöhnliche Verbum „schütten“, *išhuwai*- oder *šuhḫai*-. L. Rost, MIO VIII, 1961, 172 übersetzt „ausschütten“, was m.E. unzutreffend ist, weil das „Schütten“ im Herbst dem Öffnen der Gefässe im Frühling gegenübersteht und deshalb nur das Auf- oder Einschütten, also synonym mit „füllen“ (*šunna*-) sein kann. Über die einschlägigen Texte liegt jetzt eine Chicagoer Dissertation vor: Ch. W. Carter, *Hittite Cult Inventories*. Dort auch der Hinweis auf Nicht-Beteiligung des Königs an lokalen Festen, auf die oben kurz angespielt wurde.

² Weitere abweichende Schreibungen ausser dem hier vorliegenden ^aGAZ-ZA-BA-A-A: ^aGAZ-BA-IA KUB VI 45 ii 15 // 46 ii 56; anscheinend ^aGAZ-ZU-[BA]-A-A-aš KUB VI 4 ii 6, nach Spuren und Raum; ^aGAZ-BA-A-E KBo I 1 Rs. 49, wenn richtig kopiert. ^aGAZ-A-A 254/t wohl einfache Auslassung.

³ KUB XVII 12, im *Cat.* 456, 1 schon unter „rituels contenant des louvismes“ gebucht.

⁴ KASKAL-aš *ḫatarnišašḫaš*, Dat.-Lok. Pl.; im Zusammenhang damit „rechts“ und „links“. Also entweder die beiden Strassenränder oder die beiden Zweige einer Weggabelung.

⁵ Hier Z. 15 ^aGAZ-BA-A-A GAŠAN-IA „meine Herrin“, klarer Beleg für das Geschlecht der Göttin. — Z. 16 LÚ.MEŠ MA-ḪI-RI-IA „die, die mir entgegenkommen, meine Gegner.“

- (2) [. *na-aš*]-*ta an-da* (3) [*ki-iš*]-*ša-an* [*me-ma-a*]-*i*
ku-iš-ya ŠA DINGIR-LIM (4) [TUKU.TU]KU-*an-za ša(!)-a-u-ya-ar*
 (5) [*nu-u*]*a-ra-aš* ANA DINGIR-LIM *pi-ra-an ar-ḥa ya-ra-a-nu*

- (6) [EGI]R-ŠU-*ma* Ì LĀL ^{GIŠ}MA ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN.UD.DU.A (7) *pi-r*[*a-an ar-ḥ*]*a*
ya-ra-a-ni
 (8) *nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i*
ki-i ^{GIŠ}MA (9) *ma-aḥ-ḥa-an LI-IM* NUMUN ŠÀ-*it ḥar-zi*
 (10) ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN.UD.DU.A-*ia ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ŠÀ-it* (II) GEŠTIN *ḥar-zi*
 DINGIR-LIM-*ia-ya GAŠAN-IA* (I2) EN.SISKUR QA-TAM-MA *aš-šu-li ḥar-ak*
 (I3) Ì-*ia-ya LĀL ma-aḥ-ḥa-an :ya-aš-ša-a-ri*
 (I4) EN.SISKUR-*ia-ya-kán A-NA* DINGIR-LIM QA-TAM-MA (I5) *ya-aš-ša-a-ru*

(Im verlorenen Anfang verbrennt der Beschwörer etwas)

(2-3) Dabei spricht er folgendermassen:

(3-4) „Was immer der Zorn und Groll der Göttin ist,

(5) der soll vor der Göttin verbrennen!”

(6-7) Dann werden Öl, Honig, Feigen und Rosinen vor ihr verbrannt,

(8) und er spricht folgendermassen:

(8-9) „Wie diese Feige tausend Samen im Innern hält,

(10-11) und wie die Rosine im Innern Wein hält,

(11-12) so möge auch die Göttin, meine Herrin, den Opfermandanten
 in Freundschaft halten!

(13) Und wie Öl und Honig angenehm sind(?),

(14-15) so möge auch der Opfermandant der Göttin angenehm sein(?)!”

Dass diese Art der Magie genau dem entspricht, was aus den Ritualen zur Versöhnung des Verschwundenen Gottes seit langem bekannt ist, ist evident. Für die Göttin *Huwaššanna* ergibt sich daraus, dass auch sie — wie andere Götter und Göttinnen — zürnen konnte. Allerdings können wir nicht behaupten, dass sie auch verschwunden wäre; davon lesen wir — wenigstens in den erhaltenen Texten — nichts.

Immerhin rückt der (lokale? s.o.) Kult der *Huwaššanna* von *Hupišna* damit näher an den des lokalen Wettergottes von *Kuliwišna* heran. Unter den diesem Gott gewidmeten Texten ist einer,¹ nach dem sich ein „Hausherr” an einem für ihn günstigen Tage zur Begehung eines

¹ KUB XII 19 (*Cat.* 342, 1) ii 13-21.

Festes nach Kuliwišna begeben soll; kurz danach wird auch hier das Vorratsgefäß erwähnt, leider in zerstörtem Kontext. Ein anderer Text, in dem ebenfalls der „Hausherr“ auftritt,¹ enthält die üblichen Riten zur Beilegung des göttlichen Zornes, ebenso wie auch weitere Fragmente.² Über diesen Wettergott von Kuliwišna besitzen wir jetzt aber auch einen Teil der Erzählung, die von seinem Zorn und Verschwinden handelt. Das aus drei Stücken zusammensetzbare Fragment³ bildet den Anfang und das Ende der „Zweiten Tafel vom Wettergott von Kuliwišna“. Diese Tafel beginnt mit einem Ritus an „Wegen“, die der Gott gebeten wird zu wandeln. Es folgt die Erzählung von seinem Zorn, der typischen Verwechslung der Schuhe, der Notzeit und dem Suchen.⁴

Dass sowohl die Göttin Huwaššanna als der Wettergott von Kuliwišna in zwei Rollen erscheinen, als zürnende Gottheit und im Mittelpunkt von *haršiyalli*-Festen, ist nichts Neues, da es ebenso auch von Telipinu und anderen Wettergöttern gilt. Neu ist bei den beiden hier besprochenen Gottheiten nur die Begehung der Feste durch Einzelpersonen. Das bedeutet nicht, dass wir die Bindung an eine Jahreszeit, die für das Füllen der Vorratsgefäße gegeben ist, nun auch auf die Riten zur Besänftigung des Zornes übertragen dürften. Die zuerst von H. Otten gewonnene Erkenntnis, dass die Mythen vom Verschwundenen Gott nichts mit Jahreszeiten zu tun haben, vielmehr nach Bedarf im Zuge von Ritualhandlungen rezitiert wurden, die den Gott besänftigen und zurückführen sollten, wann immer das Bestehen seines Zornes angenommen wurde, bleibt nach wie vor bestehen und soll durch die obigen Ausführungen nicht in Zweifel gezogen werden. Immerhin ist aber die Kluft zwischen den für ein Individuum — königlicher oder gewöhnlicher Herkunft — ausgeführten Besänftigungsriten vom Typus „Telipinu-Mythus“ und den gewöhnlich von der Allgemeinheit gefeierten Jahreszeitenfesten dadurch etwas verringert worden, dass, wie wir gesehen haben, auch der Einzelne solche Feste veranstalten konnte.

¹ KUB XXXIII 62 (*Cat.* 342, 3) ii 8, 18.

² *Cat.* ebd., 2, 4, 5: KUB XXXII 138, XXXIII 64 und 65.

³ 189/q (KBo XIV 86) + 2512/c (KUB XXXIII 17) + 140/n (KBo IX 109). KUB XXXIII 17 allein schon *Cat.* 264, 3; der Gottesname findet sich in den beiden Zusatzstücken.

⁴ Für die Rituale und Mythen vom Verschwundenen Gott sowie für die weiter unten zu berührenden prinzipiellen Fragen s. die grundlegende Arbeit von H. Otten, *Die Überlieferungen des Telipinu-Mythus*, MVAeG 46, 1, 1942. Eine analoge Erzählung vom Zorn einer Göttin hat neuerdings Laroche, RHA XIX/68, 1961, 25 f. rekonstruiert.



Urartian Inscriptions in the Museum of Van

Author(s): Hans G. Güterbock

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URARTIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF VAN

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THE Archeological Reconnaissance Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, under the direction of Professor Pinhas Delougaz and including Professor Helene J. Kantor, Mr. James E. Knudstad, and the writer, visited Van briefly in October 1961. In Van there is a so-called "museum dépôt," which houses, *inter alia*, a number of Urartian stone inscriptions. Professor F. W. König of Vienna, the author of a *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften*,¹ was able to identify most of them on the basis of photographs submitted to him by Professor H. Gamerith of Villach, who had visited Van in 1954; König published his identifications in 1956 in an article² and incorporated some new inscriptions among the stones in Van in the second part of his *Handbuch* (pp. 164–66). Mr. Peter Hulin, who visited Van in 1956 and 1957, collated the stones themselves and published an important amplification of König's list in 1958.³ As can be seen from these articles and especially from the

¹ Published in two parts, 1955 and 1957, as Beiheft 8 to *AfO*; abbr. *HChI*. Other abbreviations used in this article: *AfO* = *Archiv für Orientforschung*; *Anatolia*: *Revue annuelle d'archéologie* (Univ. d'Ankara, Faculté des Lettres, Inst. d'Arch.); *AnSt.* = *Anatolian Studies*: Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara; *Belleten*: *Revue publiée par la Société d'Histoire Turque*; *CICH* = C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum* (1928, 1935; not completed); "Hulin" with number refers to the article quoted in note 3; *JAOS* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; *JCS* = *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*; *TAD* = *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* = *Turkish Review of Archaeology*, published by the Department of Antiquities, Ankara; *WZKM* = *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*; *ZDMG* = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

² "Chaldische Inschriften im Freiluftmuseum zu Van," *AfO*, XVII, 2 (1956), 359 f.

³ "Urartian Stones in the Van Museum," *AnSt.*, VIII (1958), 235–44.

sketches in *AfO*, XVII, 360, the stones were at that time kept in the open courtyard and crowded closely together.

At the time of our visit in 1961 this situation had changed. There now was a roof on wooden supports running along one side of the yard, with a concrete floor; and the stones were lined up along the sides of this roofed gallery.

Since our time was limited and since most of the identifications had already been made by our predecessors, we only took quick photographs of all the stones.⁴ It was only after our return that I had the opportunity to compare these photographs with the evidence available through the above-mentioned works. Owing to the fact that the stones are now better visible and accessible, and also because a few stones were added after Mr. Hulin's visits, we are in the position to supplement the earlier lists in a few points.⁵

The following notes are arranged according to the numbering in König's *Handbuch*. For the sake of completeness all stones are included, even those to which nothing is added.

HChI 5b = Hulin 32, from Patnos; Išpuini. The stone now stands upright. The part which "appear(ed) to be embedded in the ground" (H.) is actually missing. A comparison of our photograph

⁴ In the name of the Expedition as well as in my own I wish to express our sincere thanks to Mr. Rüstem Duyuran, Director General of Antiquities, for the permission to take photographs, and to Mr. Muhittin Toprak, Curator of the Van museum, for his kind help and co-operation throughout our stay in Van.

⁵ I am indebted to Mr. Hulin, who read a draft of this article and made some valuable suggestions and additions.

with that of the squeeze in Tiflis⁶ shows clearly that it is the same stone. Our photo confirms the description given in *CICH* sub No. 9, except that the missing part is more than one-eighth and seems closer to one-third of the circumference. The beginning of *šidauri* in line 2 is exactly beneath that of *ḥaldinini* of line 1. The signs are more widely spaced in line 2 than in line 1. As a result we get:

- (1) *ḥal-di-ni* *uš-m[a-ši-n]* *i^miš-pu-ú-i-ni-še* *m.ḏSār-d[u]-ri[-* (long gap) *][...]-iš- [...]*^a
- (2) *ši-da-ú-ri* *m.ḏiš-pu-ú-i-ni-še* *m.ḏSār-du[-* (long gap) *][ši-di-iš-tú-ni*

The restorations of König and of Melikishvili (*loc. cit.*) should be revised accordingly.

HChI 7 = Hulin 3, from Karagündüz; Işpuini and Menua. According to the museum inventory the stone, No. 42, entered the museum in 1939.

HChI 16 = Hulin 31, from a church in Van; Menua.

HChI 46 (from Anzaf; Menua) is in the Tiflis museum; but a newly found duplicate (with a variant reading), also from Anzaf, published by Hulin, *AnSt.*, X (1960), 205–207, No. 1, and Pl. XXVII (b), is now in the museum of Van.

⁶ *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, 1953, fasc. 1, quoted by König, *WZKM*, LII (1955), 297 f., is missing in Chicago. In the book edition of G. A. Melikishvili, *Urartskie Klinobraznye Nadpisi* (Moskva, 1960), this is Photo 7 of inscription No. 16; cf. *ibid.*, p. 122.

⁷ Although our photograph does not show this section clearly, I prefer this restoration, given by Lehmann-Haupt and adopted by Melikishvili, to König's proposal *u[š-gi-ni]*; for (1) in Melikishvili's photo I see the heads of two horizontals, which is for *ma* but against *gi*; and (2), contrary to *HChI*, p. 38, n. 1, the space is not too small for *-ma-ši-* in view of the closeness of signs in the following word.

⁸ The brackets before and after *-iš-* indicate broken surface of the existing stone, in contrast to the lost part in the "long gap." They represent the "plus etwas mehr als 12 cm" and "etwa 14 cm" of *CICH* No. 9, notes 1 and 2, respectively; König's different attempt at interpreting these measurements, *WZKM*, LII, 298 ff., thus becomes unnecessary. The entire section, *iš* with breaks before and after, must be above the *šidištuni* of line 2, but is not visible in our photograph.

HChI 48 = Hulin 18, from Kobanis (formerly Kohbants); Menua. The ends of lines, restored in *HChI*, are preserved.

HChI 49a = Hulin 40, from Kobanis; Menua. Republished by E. Bilgiç, *TAD*, IX, 1 (1959), 47 f. and Pl. XLIII, A and B. Bilgiç quotes from the inventory that the stone, No. 25, was brought on November 25, 1936, from Kobanis, four kilometers east of Van, where it had been on the inner face of a wall of the church. Bilgiç thought that this inscription was only a duplicate, with variants, of *HChI* 49a; but the seeming variants are in fact a corrected reading of the last sign of line 3, which was not visible in the church, and an extra sign at the end of the last line of a repetition of the same text, this time arranged in six lines instead of five, on the right-hand narrow face of the block, which was also hidden in the church. The latter was published by Hulin under No. 40 and by Bilgiç, *loc. cit.*, as B. Thus we are dealing not with a duplicate (with variants) of *HChI* 49a, but with No. 49a itself.

HChI 49d(!) = Hulin 27. Corner stone with three-line inscription of Menua, running around the corner; right-hand face broken about middle. Text after our photograph:

- (1) *ḥal-di-ni-ni* / *uš-ma-a[-ši-ni]*
- (2) *m.ḏMe-nu-a-še* *a* / *ḥal-di-ni[-li ...]*
- (3) *ši-i-di-i-* / *[iš-tú[-a-li]*

The right-hand face corresponds to the hand copy given in *HChI* as No. 49d (after Lambrino); it does not seem to fit No. 49c (combination of *CICH* 106 and 107).⁹ Both c and d are from Şuşans.¹⁰

HChI 53 and 137: column bases of

⁹ *CICH* gives Nos. 106 and 107 as two separate stones corresponding to separate numbers, 96 and 97, in the *Bericht*. Nor do the signs given there as extant and restored, respectively, fit our stone. For Lambrino's text see A. D. Mordtmann, *ZDMG*, XXVI (1872), 533, No. XVI.

¹⁰ This spelling (for former Şuşanths) is taken from the Turkish map, scale of 1:800,000, edition of 1936.

Menua from Patnos. *HChI* has the following inscriptions under No. 53: a, from church of "Vosgepag" near Van, *CICH* 74 (Pl. 42); b, from a house in Van, *CICH* 77, now in Tiflis; c, from church in Patnos, *CICH* 99 (Pl. 52) [and *CICH* 8]; d, two stones from church in Patnos, only one of them published as *CICH* 100 (Pl. 63). Later, König added three column stones kept in the Van museum according to the Gamerith photographs; he published them in the second part of *HChI* under No. 137, a-c, matching them with the stone numbers introduced by him (*AfO*, XVII, 359 f.), which were retained by Hulin, as follows:

HChI 137 a = "Stein 38" (Hulin 38);

HChI 137 b = "Stein 15" (Hulin 15);

HChI 137 c = "Stein 10" (Hulin 10).

Although König, *HChI*, p. 164 *sub* No. 137, b and c, rejects identification of the "new" with any of the "old" stones, I think that such identifications are indicated on the basis of the following observations:

(1) Our photo of Hulin 15, on which the signs ...^m*Iš-pu-ú-i-ni-e-* ... are visible, shows exactly the same signs destroyed or partly damaged in line 1 as the squeeze of *CICH* 99 (Pl. 52); this means Hulin 15 = *HChI* 137b = *HChI* 53c.

(2) Our photo of one of the other two round stones, showing the signs ... *Me-nu-ú-a-še* ^m*Iš-pu-ú-i-* ... (which were not visible in the photographs available to König) shows the same slight damage above *še* and the personal determinative after it as does the squeeze of *CICH* 100, Pl. 63 (in addition to new damage farther to the left). According to information kindly supplied by Mr. Hulin, this is his No. 10 = *HChI* 137c. Thus, *HChI* 137c is one of the two stones represented by *HChI* 53d. The other was never published; but since the two stones were once used as counterparts at the church door, it is safe to assume that the other is Hulin 38 =

HChI 137a. We thus get: Hulin 10 and 38 = *HChI* 137 c and a, respectively, = (both) *HChI* 53d = *CICH* 100 and its unpublished duplicate.

Note that just the three stones listed under *HChI* 53 c and d were once in the church of Patnos; it seems plausible that the three stones now in the museum should be just these.¹¹

HChI 55b = Hulin 33, from Yedi Kilise; Menua.

HChI 56 = Hulin 12, from Kobanis; Menua.

HChI 64 = Hulin 2, from Yedi Kilise; Menua.

HChI 65 = Hulin 19, from Yedi Kilise; Menua.

HChI 102, part, = Hulin 22, from a church in Van; Sarduri III.

HChI 103, the stela of Sarduri III from the niche, called Hazine Kapusu, on the north slope of Van Kalesi. Six fragments of different size are in the museum, as recognized by König and Hulin (Nos. 4, 11, 23, 25, 35, and 37). The sketch, Hulin, fig. 2 (*AnSt.*, VIII, 243), which shows to what parts of the original stela the individual fragments belong, can be supplemented in a few points now that the stones are better visible. For convenience we number the four faces of the stela as i to iv from left to right as they appear in Hulin's sketch (following *HChI*, Pl. 78 f.). Our photographs show the following additional parts:

(1) Face i of the large piece Hulin 25, from lines 7 to 32 (possibly a few more at left bottom, not covered by photo). This confirms Hulin's impression that the front face might also be preserved (p. 243 under No. 37, parenthesis at end).

(2) Face i of the small fragment Hulin 35, from lines 33 to 42.

¹¹ After the above was written I noticed that K. Balkan made the same identification; for in *Anatolia*, V (1960), 106 with n. 20 he states that *HChI* 53 c and d are in the Van museum.

(3) Face ii of the fragment Hulin 37 runs to the right edge. Although our photograph does not show that side, it seems likely from the shape of the edge that part of face iii is also preserved.

As a result it seems that all the gaps left in the sketch are filled, so that a physical restoration of the stela should be possible.

HChI 135, the fragment of a Menua inscription from Patnos, first published by R. Werner, *JCS*, VIII (1954), 96 f., as (b) with fig. 3, is now in the Van museum.

HChI 136 = Hulin 17; stela of Menua. Republished, with reverse added, by Hulin, pp. 238–41, with fig. 1. Provenience not given.

HChI 137: see above under No. 53.

HChI 138 = Hulin 36 does not appear in our photographs.

HChI 139 = Hulin 39, partly defaced inscription of Menua; provenience not given.

HChI 140, pedestal with inscription of Menua, from Kamışvan, published by Werner, *JCS*, VIII, 96 as (a) with figs. 1–2, is also in the museum.

The museum also houses some inscriptions not yet included in the *Handbuch*:

1. Hulin 8, fragment mentioning Menu[a].
2. The Rusa inscription from Adilcevaz published by Hulin, *AnSt.*, IX (1959), 189–95, No. 1.

Our photographs do not include the small fragment published *ibid.* as No. 2. For other stones from Adilcevaz see below.

The two Anzaf inscriptions published by Hulin in *AnSt.*, X (1960), 205–207 are both in the museum; they are:

3. A Menua inscription (*loc. cit.* No. 1) duplicating *HChI* 46, mentioned above under that number, from the slope of the Upper Fortress.
4. A column base with inscription of

Işpuini (*ibid.*, No. 2), from the vicinity of the Lower Fortress.¹²

In Adilcevaz we learned from Mr. Fuat Bayrakçı, district inspector of public education, that the authorities were just in the process of transporting stones to the Van museum. That one of the recently found inscriptions is in the museum was stated above, *sub* 2. We saw two inscribed blocks outside the schoolhouse, *HChI* 128 (“jetzt im Schulhaus”) and “Incerta 1” in the *Handbuch*.¹³

Of the Adilcevaz relief, discussed and reconstructed by C. A. Burney and G. R. J. Lawson in *AnSt.*, VIII (1958), 211–16, one block (the lowest in the reconstruction) has been in the museum for some time (Hulin, *AnSt.*, VIII, 235 f., No. 1). Three more parts were taken to the museum a few days before our visit; they are the first, third, and fourth from the top in the reconstruction (*loc. cit.*, fig. 2). Only the second fragment, showing the right shoulder and arm, was seen by us still in Adilcevaz.

It is likely that this fragment and the two inscriptions at the schoolhouse have now been—or will soon be—also taken to the museum.

To this list of the stones now in the museum of Van, a few notes on other inscriptions may be added, concerning modern official place names and additional bibliography. They follow again the arrangement in the *Handbuch*.

HChI 1: Three blocks with duplicate copies of the Assyrian inscription of Sarduri I are situated in the east wall of “Sardur’s Buttress,” locally called Madır Burcu. They were uncovered about 1938 by the expedition of Professor Kirsopp

¹² For the two fortresses near Anzaf see below, *ad HChI* 46, with ref. to *AnSt.*, X, 181 f., notes 7–8.

¹³ In *Belleten*, XX (1956), 353 f. with figs. 7–8, M. Kalaç published photographs taken by Prof. Bossert of the two inscriptions kept at the school of Adilcevaz. His fig. 8 is *HChI* 128 (as seen, *loc. cit.*, n. 13); the other, fig. 7, on the narrow face of a block, is Inc. 1.

Lake and published by E. Bilgiç in *TAD*, IX, 1 (1959), 44 f. and Pl. XLII f. as Nos. 1^d–1^f (to follow 1^a–1^c, which are in the west wall).

HChI 2–4: The place is now called Zivistan. For the Urartian fortress there see C. A. Burney and G. R. J. Lawson, "Measured Plans of Urartian Fortresses," *AnSt.*, X (1960), 177 ff., esp. p. 178 with n. 5.

HChI 9, Kel-i-šin: A new edition based on the latex squeezes made by the University of Michigan expedition under G. G. Cameron was published by W. C. Benedict in *JAOS*, LXXXI (1961), 359–85.

HChI 29–30: "Artamid" is now Edremit.

HChI 39: For Bostankaya see Burney and Lawson, *AnSt.*, X, 194–96 with n. 16.

HChI 44: Hasankale is now officially called Pasinler.

HChI 46: For the two fortresses near Anzaf see Burney and Lawson, *ibid.*, pp. 178–82, with reference to the inscriptions in notes 7 and 8 (cf. above, our Nos. 3 and 4).

HChI 104: New editions of the Izoli inscription were published by M. Kalaç in *Belleten*, XX (1956), 349–54, and by Th. Beran in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, VII (1956), 133–45.

HChI 109–110: For ruins of an Urartian town in the vicinity of Erciş (so now instead of "Ardjis") see Burney and Lawson, *AnSt.*, X, 185–88 (with n. 12).

HChI 111b: For the name of the place see below, n. 14.

HChI 122, Topzawa: About the University of Michigan latex copy see the brief (and rather discouraging) note of Benedict, *JAOS*, LXXXI, 359, n. 2.

HChI 140: For a nearby fortress, Kancıklı, see Burney and Lawson, *AnSt.*, X, 189–92 (with n. 14).

HChI, Inc. 3: See n. 14 below.

New inscriptions from Anzavurtepe near Patnos were published by K. Balkan, *Anatolia*, V (1960), 99–131.

More Urartian inscriptions have been found in recent Turkish excavations at Patnos (Raci Temizer and K. Balkan), Altıntepe near Erzincan (T. and N. Özgüç), and Asbaşın¹⁴ or Çavuştepe, as it is now being called (E. Bilgiç and A. Erzen).

¹⁴ For a plan of Asbaşın before excavation see C. A. Burney, "Urartian Fortresses and Towns in the Van Region," *AnSt.*, VII (1957), 45–47 with fig. 4 and Pls. IV c, V a. The village of Asbaşın is the former "Astwadzašen (cf. *HChI* 111b), and its fortress was called "Haikapert" (cf. *HChI* Inc. 3; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt*, II/1 [1926], 60–64 with sketch-plan on p. 63).



A View of Hittite Literature

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A VIEW OF HITTITE LITERATURE*

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IN ATTEMPTING TO GIVE an outline of Hittite literature we shall try to take the term "literature" in its specific sense, considering as literary mainly such compositions as myths, epics, prayers, and what little exists of poetry. We shall have to include historiography, because historical narrative was a field in which the Hittites excelled from early times on and because many historical texts have their merits also as literary compositions. We are, however, aware of the fact that our definition of "literature" is not that of the ancients. Professor Oppenheim in a recent article¹ pointed out that the great majority of the texts forming what he calls "the main stream of tradition" of Babylonia—others have called it the "canon" because of the standardization it underwent around 1000 B.C.—is scholarly literature in the sense that it consists of the material the scribes considered essential for their training, and that its bulk is made up by word lists, omens, and prescriptions for exorcistic rites. The preference given to these kinds of texts reflects an encyclopedic approach, as Professor Landsberger was the first to point out, insofar as the word lists aim at covering the entire vocabulary, the omens consider all possible occurrences that could be taken as portentous, and the magic rites also aim at complete coverage.

As far as the Hittites are concerned, we shall see that their scribes used this "main stream of Babylonian tradition" as syllabus in their training, too. But they also produced other classes of texts that from our point of view are non-literary, while they themselves treated them as part of their literature. This last statement is based on an observation of the contents of the various tablet

collections found in different locations within the Hittite capital, Boğazköy.

Such a study is rendered difficult by the fact that unfortunately the tablets found before World War I in three different locations were hopelessly mixed after they had reached the museum. In contrast to this, the find spots of all tablets found after the First War have been carefully recorded. Some notes of the first excavator, Hugo Winckler, were recently rediscovered by Professor Otten; they give the find spots of a little over one hundred texts²—out of 10,000 fragments found in those early excavations! Taken together with what was later found in the same buildings as well as in some others, and also taking into account what texts were absent in the places recently excavated, one can get a rough, though incomplete, picture of the contents of the various collections.

It would seem that one building in particular deserves the name "library." This is a building situated on the slope of the acropolis, above the main temple of the city, partly excavated by Winckler in 1911 and re-investigated in recent years including the campaigns of 1960 and 1961.³ Most of what may be called "scholarly" and "literary" texts seem to have been kept there: vocabularies, omens, epics, and texts of the "historical tradition"—categories to which we shall return. On the other hand, the largest number of state treaties was found by Winckler in the temple precinct; this fits the statement contained in some treaties that they were deposited in the temple.

However, the majority of the texts found in each

* Presidential address, read at the 172nd meeting of the Society at Cambridge, Mass., on April 4, 1962.

¹ *Current Anthropology* 1 (1960) 409–423.

² Cf. H. Otten, *MIOF* 5 (1957) 26. I am indebted to Prof. Otten for a copy of his list of texts thus identified.

³ Tablets found in and near this building are published in vols. XII and XIII of *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (KBo).

of the six or seven buildings that contained tablets, are rituals; that is, detailed prescriptions, on the one hand, for the performance of the cult festivals and, on the other, for magic or exorcistic rites. These texts, then, must have been considered part of the literature deemed worthy of being kept in a library. This is borne out by the colophons or scribal subscripts and by the Hittite catalogues of tablets, which clearly show that all the categories so far mentioned, whether they are for us "literary" or "non-literary," as well as some others not enumerated here, were registered and catalogued in the same way.⁴

Apart from this approach based on the local distribution of texts, there is the possibility of a diachronic study. Hittite history can be roughly divided into an Old Kingdom, beginning in the 17th century (according to the "middle" chronology), and a New Kingdom or Empire period, covering most of the 14th and all of the 13th century B.C. That the language underwent a development over this long time span has long been seen, and historical texts, containing the names of rulers and often written in the name of a certain king, are immediately dated. In recent years the observation of a special, old form of handwriting, found only in texts that are old also on linguistic grounds, has made possible the recognition of original Old Kingdom manuscripts as opposed to later copies of Old Kingdom texts. Thus we know that old manuscripts were kept until the end of the Empire (shortly after 1200 B.C.) and that some old texts were copied in the New Kingdom.

Concerning the problem of when and where the Hittites learned the cuneiform system, I still think—despite other theories—that it was during the early part of the Old Kingdom, around 1650 B.C., and in Syria; for it seems more than accidental that the details of orthography have their

closest analogies in Syria,⁵ and the oldest texts preserved date from the reign of king Hattusili I, who was also the first Hittite king to extend his activities into northern Syria.

On the analogy of later civilizations it may be assumed that the Hittites at first used the newly acquired script to write the language for which it had been used by their teachers, that is, Akkadian, and only secondarily proceeded to write their own language as well. This assumption finds some support in the fact that the annals of Hattusili I were written in Akkadian and only centuries later, during the New Kingdom, translated into Hittite.⁶ A literary composition about events taking place during the siege of the Syrian town of Urshu also is in Akkadian.⁷ The step to writing Hittite was, however, already taken during Hattusili's own reign; for we have fragments of an elaborate account of his war against the town of Hassuwa and its ally, the king of Aleppo, written in the Old Hittite language and in the old handwriting.⁸ The political testament of the same king⁹ is a bilingual, Akkadian and Hittite, in which the Hittite version shows the characteristics of the old language (although the preserved manuscript is late), so that we may assume that it was composed in both languages from the outset. Yet, the fact that it was also written in Akkadian seems to indicate that this was still regarded the proper means of written expression. The same is true of the famous Proclamation of Telipinu,¹⁰ of which an Akkadian version exists although this king lived several generations later and although this regulation of the succession to the throne is a purely internal affair (in contrast to international treaties which were written in Akkadian because this was the language of diplomacy).¹¹

Another observation also points in the same direction. The Old Hittite texts contain some

⁴ A classified list of Hittite texts with bibliographical references was published by E. Laroche, "Catalogue des textes hittites," *RHA* 14-16 (1956-58); hereafter *Cat.* with number. For ancient tablet catalogues see there, No. 188, and E. Laroche, "La bibliothèque de Hattuša," *Arch. Or.* 17/2 (1949) 7-23; cf. also H. Otten, "Bibliotheken im Alten Orient," *Das Altertum* 1 (1955) 67-81.

⁵ Th. V. Gamkrelidze, "The Akkado-Hittite Syllabary and the Problem of the Origin of the Hittite Script," *Arch. Or.* 29 (1961) 406-18.

⁶ KBo X 1-3; H. Otten, *MDOG* 91 (1958) 75-84.

⁷ *Cat.* 29.

⁸ *Cat.* 7; photograph in *MDOG* 86 (1953) 60 Abb. 28.

⁹ *Cat.* 6.

¹⁰ *Cat.* 21.

¹¹ *Cat.* 20, a, by the same king, and many later treaties.

Akkadograms (that is, words written syllabically in Akkadian in a Hittite context and read in Hittite) that later fell into disuse. This phenomenon, too, can best be explained under the assumption that the stage at which writing Akkadian was considered natural was not yet forgotten.

What, then, are the Old Hittite texts?¹² We already mentioned the annals of Hattusili I written in Akkadian. Since his reign can be dated to about 1630 B.C., they are the oldest known example of annalistic writing, antedating the Assyrian annals by about three centuries. While these annals are written in a rather dry, enumerative style, other historical compositions of the Old Kingdom are very elaborate and detailed. Some of these, like the above-mentioned text about the war against Hassuwa and others, must have been written shortly after the events. Others, which contain motifs belonging to the realm of myth or fairytale, may reflect a popular tradition about the remote past. A fragment found in 1960, which mentions a certain Anum-herwa¹³ (probably identical with king Anum-hirbi of Ma'ama whose letter, in Old Assyrian, was found in the city of Kanesh)¹⁴ and also speaks of the troops of Zalpa, seems to belong in this category if the badly mutilated text is correctly understood. The mention of a boy who grew up, of cattle and a sack filled with chaff, as well as the phrase "he notices [no]thing" seem to point in this direction. In addition, there are other Old Hittite texts mixing history with myth, one of them again dealing with the history of the Anatolian town of Zalpa.

The figure of Anum-hirwe takes us back to the latest phase of the age of the Assyrian merchant colonies, a time that preceded the foundation of the Hittite kingdom. The events told in the inscription of king Anitta of Kussar¹⁵ belong to a

period slightly after Anum-hirwe but still earlier than the Hittite kingdom. This text is in Old Hittite, and one of the manuscripts is old, that is, both the language and the handwriting would point to the Old Kingdom. It seems to me that the most likely theory about the origin and age of this inscription still is that it was originally written by Anitta in Old Assyrian, and translated into Hittite in the early part of the Old Kingdom, that is, some 150 years after the events. But in contrast to the partly legendary Anum-hirwe story this is the translation of an authentic historical account.

In order to gain an impression of the scope of writing during the Old Kingdom we may briefly list other texts of which old manuscripts exist, although the list will contain genres that we would not call literary by our modern standards. In addition to the historiographic texts already mentioned, there are:

An elaborate ritual for the purification of the royal couple¹⁶

fragments of festival rituals¹⁷

(it will be noticed that these belong to the two categories of ritual texts mentioned before as worthy of inclusion in the "libraries");

the Laws¹⁸ and two treaties¹⁹

some land deeds, which still use Akkadian for their legal stipulations²⁰

some texts in the Hattic language, that is in the language of the indigenous, pre-Indo-European inhabitants of the land of Hatti.

Some of these Hattic texts are literary in the proper sense: they are even poems, since they are written in stanzas of a fixed number of verses.²¹ Since they cannot as yet be understood I refrain from giving examples. But it is significant that the

¹⁶ *Cat.* 324; both copies are in the old handwriting.

¹⁷ *Cat.* 531, 12, A.

¹⁸ Cf. *JCS* 15 (1961) 64 f.; 16 (1962) 17-23.

¹⁹ The Hapiru treaty, Otten, *ZA* 52 (1957) 216-23 (KUB XXXVI 106 and KBo IX 73 are parts of one tablet!), and *Cat.* 18 by king Zidanda.

²⁰ *Cat.* 154; 156; edited by K. Riemschneider, *MIOF* 6 (1958) 321-81. *Cat.* 156, 1 and 3 (Riemschneider Nos. 3 and 4) are the oldest.

²¹ KUB XXVIII, p. iv f., "Gruppe II;" No. 24 is in old handwriting.

¹² Cf. A Kammenhuber, "Die heth. Geschichtsschreibung," *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 136-55, esp. 136-44 on the Old Kingdom.

¹³ KBo XII 3.

¹⁴ K. Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-hirbi of Mama* . . . (Ankara, 1957).

¹⁵ *Cat.* 5; copy A in old writing.

Indo-European-speaking Hittites began already in the old Kingdom to write down the religious litanies of their predecessors, whose gods they also took over. In the poetic passages we may very well have before us the first record of a poetry that was until then transmitted orally.

To the still unintelligible Hattic poems may be added the only example of a Hittite poem discovered so far. It is contained in one of the partly legendary, partly historical Old Hittite texts mentioned before.²² In this story someone sings as follows, referring to Nesa, the old capital:

*Nesas waspas, Nesas waspas
tiya-mu tiya
nu-mu annas-mas katta arnut
tiya-mu tiya
nu-mu uwas-mas katta arnut
tiya-mu tiya*

A tentative translation may be offered although some details remain problematic:

Clothes of Nesa, clothes of Nesa
put on me, put!
Bring down to me those of my mother—
put (them) on me, put!
Bring down to me those of my ... —
put (them) on me, put!

Before leaving the Old Kingdom we should mention the historical introduction to the Proclamation of Telipinu, a text already alluded to. In order to justify his regulation of the succession to the throne and of jurisdiction over the royal house, this king tells the entire history of the Old Kingdom under the motto that unity makes strong while disunity leads to disaster. This is a remarkable achievement, unique in its period (sixteenth century), since it is historiography from a definite viewpoint.

After a dark period from which texts are lacking there follows the New Kingdom or Empire which lasted from shortly after 1400 to shortly after 1200 B.C. The great majority of all Hittite texts belong to this period. Apart from very few Akkadian texts in a kind of Old Babylonian writing

of which it is hard to tell whether it is genuinely old or merely archaizing, the texts of the “main stream of Babylonian tradition” mentioned earlier were written during the New Kingdom.^{22a} The main categories of this learned Babylonian literature are: vocabularies, omens, hemerologies, medical texts, rituals and incantations, hymns and prayers, and proverbs. The Gilgamesh Epic may also be included, at least its Akkadian version. Such texts were copied in the schools in their original languages, Sumerian and Akkadian, and often provided with Hittite translations, either on the same tablet or on separate tablets. The main reason for this activity must have been that this was the way in which learning was organized in Babylonia and that the knowledge of Akkadian was necessary not only for those scribes who were to serve in the foreign office but even for the writing of Hittite.

It would be wrong to judge the Hittite scribes only on the basis of their—admittedly not always very successful—Assyriological endeavors, or to regard the literature of the Hittites as an offshoot of that of Babylonia. Already what we have said about the Old Kingdom shows that this people developed a literature of its own. And therein lies the value of the discovery of the Hittite tablets, in contrast to contemporary Greece, from where so far only administrative documents are known but no literary texts. The achievement of the Hittites is just this: that they learned the Babylonian writing and put it to good use in writing down their own literature.

Even in some fields in which Babylonian models were used, the Hittites freely changed and adapted them. This has been shown for two categories of texts: hymns and the Gilgamesh Epic. Professor Otten was able, on the basis of new fragments, to reconstruct a large part of the first tablet of the Hittite Gilgamesh Epic and to show that it is very much abridged, leaving out some of the episodes taking place in Uruk, the Sumerian town of the hero, and concentrating on his adventure

²² *Cat.* 27, a, lines 13–15; cf. B. Hrozný, *Arch. Or.* 1 (1929) 297.

^{22a} However, the discovery, in 1964, of a fragment of Hittite omens in the old writing now pushes the date back at least for this class of texts.

in the Cedar Mountain, situated in a region in which the Hittites were more interested.²³ About hymns to the Sun-god I published a paper some years ago in the *Journal of this Society*, showing how the author had made free use of Babylonian motifs without following a Babylonian model as a whole, and adding some details of his own.²⁴

One of the most prolific authors of the Hittites was king Mursili II, who reigned around 1330 B.C. When I call a king an author I am aware of the fact that kings in general were illiterate and had to rely on the services of the learned scribes. But sometimes we are told by the scribes that they took down one or the other text "from the mouth of the king." And although none of these statements refers specifically to Mursili, his personality speaks so vividly from the texts that go under his name that it is obvious that he must at least have given directions for their formulation, if he did not actually dictate them.

Mursili wrote his own annals in two versions. As an example I read the introduction to one of them:²⁵

Even before I sat down on the throne of my father, all the neighboring enemy countries began hostilities against me. When my father became god, my brother Arnuwanda ascended to the throne of his father, but afterwards he fell ill. And when the enemy countries heard of the illness of my brother Arnuwanda, they began hostilities.

But when my brother Arnuwanda became god, then even those enemy countries that had not been hostile before began hostilities. And they said,

"His father, who was king of Hatti, he was a mighty king and kept the enemy countries subdued; but he became god!

"His son who ascended to the throne, he, too, formerly was a hero, but he fell ill and became god, too!

"But he who now sat down on his father's throne is a child and will not be able to save Hatti-land and the frontiers of Hatti!"

Now, while my father sojourned in Mitanni-land, he tarried on that sojourn, so that the festivals of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, were neglected.

Therefore, when I, My Majesty, ascended to the throne of my father, even before I went against any of those neighboring enemy countries that had opened hostilities against me, I first took care of the regular festivals of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and performed them. And I lifted my hands to the Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, and prayed thus:

"O Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady! Those neighboring enemy countries that called me a child and belittled me and tried to take thy territory away—thou, o Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, stand by me and smite those neighboring enemy countries for me!"

And the Sun-goddess of Arinna listened to my word and stood by me. And from the time when I ascended to my father's throne, I defeated those neighboring enemy countries within ten years, and smote them.

The text then gives the detailed account of the campaigns of these first ten years of Mursili's reign. The piety expressed in the introduction is not an empty phrase; we shall see more of this king's religious feelings.

Mursili also wrote a detailed work about the deeds of his father, the great conqueror Suppiluliuma, in which he repeatedly stresses his father's personal courage. For lack of time I refrain from quotations. The most famous episode is also the one told with the greatest skill; this is the story of the request of the widow or Tutankhamon for a son of Suppiluliuma whom she wanted to become her husband and king of Egypt.²⁶

Mursili had no easy life. Apart from the constant wars in which he had to face many difficult situations, there was trouble at home. The dowager queen, his stepmother, who was a Babylonian princess, caused trouble in the palace by introducing foreign mores and by her hostility toward Mursili's wife. When the latter died, the king ascribed her death to the curses of the old lady, whom he therefore banished. This act weighed on his conscience, and he addressed several prayers to the gods in order to justify this harsh treatment of the old queen.²⁷

The request of the Egyptian queen had led to the assassination of the Hittite prince by those

²³ H. Otten, in P. Garelli, ed., *Gilgameš et sa légende* (1960) 139-43, and in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 8 (1958) 93-125.

²⁴ *JAOS* 78 (1958) 237-45.

²⁵ The so-called Ten-year Annals, *Cat.* 48, I.

²⁶ Güterbock, "The Deeds of Suppiluliuma," *JCS* 10 (1956); this episode on pp. 94-98.

²⁷ *Cat.* 283, E, reverse; *Cat.* 284; *JAOS* 78 (1958) 244 n. 56.

Egyptians who opposed the marriage plan, and Suppiluliuma had to take revenge by a campaign into Egyptian territory from which his troops brought home an epidemic that lasted long into Mursili's reign. The prayers which Mursili wrote on that occasion are among the most outstanding works of Hittite writing because of the personal piety expressed in them.²⁸

The concept underlying these prayers is that the epidemic is the punishment for some transgression. In Mursili's prayers one may discern a development of his approach. In an early prayer he asks the gods to reveal the cause of their anger and not to let the good perish with the evil, but rather to punish the culprit alone, whether he be one town, one house, or one person.²⁹ In another prayer, he sees in the pestilence the result of a transgression of his father, who broke the oath he had sworn to his older brother and even killed that brother. The gist of this prayer³⁰ is: "All those responsible have died, but I together with my family shall make amends." Still later he mentions the fact that the epidemic came in the wake of his father's Egyptian campaign, but complains that its real cause was not found out by the oracles.³¹ In the next prayer he states that he learned from an old tablet that a treaty had existed between Hatti and Egypt and that in spite of it Suppiluliuma had attacked Egyptian territory, but he stresses his own ignorance of these happenings of the past generation.³² Then in the final prayer he assumes the responsibility as his own.³³

I found two old tablets. One tablet about the offerings to the river Euphrates (neglected since the time of his father).

The second tablet about Kurustamma. (It tells) how the Storm-god of Hatti led the people of Kurustamma into Egypt, how the Storm-god made a treaty between

them (i.e., the Egyptians) and the Hittites and they took an oath by the Storm-god.

But the Hittites proceeded to disregard the fact that the Hittites and the Egyptians had been taken under oath by the Storm-god, and the Hittites suddenly broke the oath. My father dispatched troops and chariots, and they attacked Amka, (which was) Egyptian territory. And again he dispatched, and again they attacked.

And so on. There follows the well-known story of the Egyptian request for a prince, his assassination upon arrival, Suppiluliuma's punitive expedition, and the beginning of the epidemic. After this we read:

"When I had found this tablet about Egypt, I asked the gods through the oracles."

The gods answered that indeed this breach of an oath was the cause of their anger. Mursili then says:

"Behold, I have confessed my sin in front of the Storm-god. It is so, we did it!" Later he says:

"O gods, thus it happens: people always sin! My father sinned and transgressed the command of the Storm-god, but I did in no way sin. (However,) thus it happens: The father's sin comes upon his son, and so my father's sin came upon me. And behold, I have confessed it to the Storm-god of Hatti and to the gods, my lords: it is so, we did it! Now since I have confessed the sin of my father, . . . have mercy upon me!"

Apart from the true religious feeling that speaks out of this prayer, it is also interesting because it shows that historical records kept in the archives were read and used by later generations.

Prayers exist of many rulers and members of the royal family, but there is no time to follow this one type of religious literature here. Let me only mention a recently published prayer of Muwatalli,³⁴ the son and successor of Mursili II, which was, according to the colophon, taken down "from the mouth of His Majesty." In it the king confesses the sins of the people to Teshub, the Storm-god, as well as to other deities. The occasion for this prayer seems to be the calamity that befell the Hittite kingdom at his time: the loss of the capital which forced the king to take the gods to Kummanni (as this new text puts it).

²⁸ *Cat.* 279.

²⁹ *Cat.* 283; Gurney's Section III; A. Goetze in *ANET*, p. 396, "b."

³⁰ *Cat.* 279, first version: A. Götz, *Kleinas. Forsch.* 1 (1930) 164-77.

³¹ *Cat.* 279, fourth version: *ibid.* 242-51.

³² *Cat.* 281; Güterbock, *RHA* 18/66 (1960) 57-63.

³³ *Cat.* 279, second version; *Kleinas. Forsch.* 1 (1930) 206-19; *ANET* 394-6, Plague Prayer "a."

³⁴ KBo XI 1.

A great part of the prayer consists of sections of the following type:

If any god of the country has enraged the Storm-god, let the Anunnaki reconcile the Storm-god with that god! Thou, O Storm-god, look again at the country with a peaceful eye and cause good peace, well-being, growth, prosperity, and strength to be in the country!

Anunnaki is the Babylonian term for the gods of the Netherworld. Like other Mesopotamian names of deities it came to the Hittites through the Hurrians.³⁵

At this point we may turn to the Hurrian elements in Hittite literature.

It is well known that Hurrian texts were found in Boğazköy. They are religious in nature, but very little can be said about their contents. Among them there is a ritual for the "Mouth Washing,"³⁶ a rite known from Babylonia. The majority of the Hurrian texts belongs to the New Kingdom; one of the earliest names mentioned in Hurrian texts is Taduḫepa, the wife of Suppiluliuma.³⁷ One ritual text, written in Hittite but containing Hurrian terms, is ascribed to king Palliya of Kizzuwatna,³⁸ probably to be identified with king Pilliya of about 1500 B.C. The text describes purification rites for Teshub of Kizzuwatna initiated by Palliya. Relations with Kizzuwatna, that is, South-east Anatolia including the Cilician plain, were strengthened in the thirteenth century. The above-mentioned transfer of the gods to Kummanni, which is another name of the same region, under Muwatalli may have been a factor in this development, and during his reign his brother, Hattusili, married Puduḫepa, the daughter of a priest of Lawazzantiya, a town in Kizzuwatna. Later on, as queen, Puduḫepa sent a mission to Kizzuwatna to collect tablets, and a large description of a purification rite, in Hittite but full of Hurrian elements, was written as a result.³⁹ The

Storm-god of Aleppo, in this period a Hurrian Teshub, was worshipped even in the Hittite capital already under Muwatalli.⁴⁰

In connection with Babylonian gods we already mentioned the rôle of the Hurrians as intermediaries between Mesopotamia and Anatolia. The same rôle can also be seen in literature. There is a Hurrian version of the Gilgamesh Epic and a Hurrian composition about the kings of Akkad.⁴¹ Thus it is a fair assumption that these Babylonian literary works came to the Hittites through the Hurrians. There are other literary works that can be traced to the same source, either because fragments of Hurrian versions exist or because of the names of gods and heroes contained in them. For example, the action of the Gurparanzaḫ epic is located in Akkad, and the essentially Babylonian concepts underlying the Kumarbi myth are well known.

Having thus reached such literary compositions in the narrowest sense as epics and myths, and before entering into their contents, we should stress a few points.⁴²

First, regardless of the origin of the stories, the Hittite versions of the epics in question contain a great amount of Luwian words. Thus they must have been written by scribes of Luwian background but familiar with Hurrian and other foreign stories. The region of Kizzuwatna, for which both the Hurrian and Luwian languages are attested, would be a likely place of origin for the authors of these Hittite versions.

Second, not all epics have a Mesopotamian-Hurrian background. There are also some that come from Canaan, dealing with El and Ashertu or with a Syrian deified mountain. Ugarit, a Hittite vassal kingdom, was close to Kizzuwatna. One Ugaritic myth, the victory of Hadad over Yam, the Sea, is at least alluded to in one of these Hittite fragments.

³⁵ Cf. H. Otten, *ZA* 54 (1961) 114-57, esp. 115.

³⁶ *Cat.* 389 f.

³⁷ *Cat.* 389, 4; 6; 390, 6.

³⁸ *Cat.* 426; for duplicates see KBo XIV, Introd. ad Nos. 125-6.

³⁹ *Cat.* 433 with bibliography.

⁴⁰ Cf. Güterbock, *Journ. of World History* 2 (1954) 390 with notes 61-63.

⁴¹ *Cat.* 230; 381.

⁴² Myths and epics are listed in *Cat.* under Nos. 227-256 (of south-eastern origin) and 257-271 (Anatolian). Cf. Güterbock, "Hittite Mythology," in S. N. Kramer, ed., *Mythologies of the Ancient World* (1961) 141-79.

Third, the Hittite versions of these foreign myths and epics are the only ones that have a fixed literary form and are—to some extent at least—written in bound language or verse. This is in contrast to the Anatolian myths, which lack standardization and metric form. We shall try to illustrate the difference between the foreign and the Anatolian myths by a few examples. The meter, of course, is lost in translation. But there is also a difference in the sophistication and the involved plots of the foreign myths as compared to the Anatolian ones, which are simpler both in plot and style.

The stories themselves are well known and available in translations, so we can limit ourselves to short samples. I choose one from the Ullikummi Epic, which is of Hurrian background. Ullikummi is a stone monster, begotten and raised by Kumarbi, the dethroned king of the gods, as a rival to Teshub, the new ruler. The Sun-god is the first to see the monster as it grows in the sea. He approaches the house of Teshub to break the news to him.

When he saw the Sun-god coming
Tashmishu began to speak to his brother Teshub:
“Why does he come, the Sun-god of Heaven, the king
of the lands?

The matter about which he comes,
that matter is grave,
it is not to be cast aside!
Strong is it, the struggle,
strong is it, the battle!
Heaven’s uproar it is,
the land’s hunger and thirst it is!”

Teshub began to speak to Tashmishu:
“Let them set up a chair for him to sit,
let them lay a table for him to eat!”

While thus they were speaking,
the Sun-god arrived at their house.
They set up a chair for him to sit,
but he did not sit down;
they laid a table for him to eat,
but he did not reach out;
they gave him a cup,
but he did not put his lip to it.

Teshub began to speak to the Sun-god:
“Is the chamberlain bad who set up the chair,
so that thou sattest not down?
Is the steward bad who laid the table,
so that thou atest not?

Is the cupbearer bad who gave thee the cup,
so that thou drankest not?”

As a common feature of these foreign myths it can be said that they belong into the great tradition of Near Eastern epic literature, whether the motifs are Canaanite, Hurrian, or Mesopotamian.

In contrast, no Mesopotamian motifs are found in the Anatolian myths. The stories are relatively simple: the fight of the Storm-god with the Dragon, and the God Who Hides. Both are recognizable as nature myths. These myths were not transmitted as literary works in their own right but rather as stories told in the course of a ritual: the Dragon Fight on the occasion of the spring festival, and the myth of the Hiding God in a ritual aimed at bringing him back and reconciling him with the person afflicted by his anger. Nor do these myths have a fixed form. The Dragon Fight is told in two different versions in the same ritual text. And there are many gods in the rôle of the Vanishing or Hiding God: the great Storm-god; Telipinu, who also belongs to the type of Storm-gods; and the local Storm-god of the town of Kuliwisna. Also goddesses: Inara and Anzili, appear in the same rôle. Even rituals dealing with one single god contain different versions of his story.

Most of the deities have Hattic names. Thus it seems that we are here dealing with “oral literature” in the sense of myths living in the oral tradition of Hatti since pre-Indo-European times, from which the authors of the individual rituals could freely draw, adding a detail here, leaving one out or changing one there.

We find a similar situation with regard to the other two Indo-European languages of Anatolia, Luwian and Palaic. All texts written wholly or partly in these languages are rituals; many consist of litanies or magic spells, but inserted in the spells some mythological tales are found which, as far as they can be understood, are close in content and form to Anatolian stories written in Hittite.

As example of an Anatolian myth I choose an episode from the Vanishing God type of stories. The beginning of the story, broken in most ver-

sions, has recently been reconstructed by Professor Laroche for the version concerning the goddess Anzili.⁴³

The midwife speaks as follows:

" (first line not clear, perhaps referring to an offering)

Anzili was enraged. [. . . . (one sentence lost again)]

Her left shoe she put on her right foot,

her right shoe she put on her left foot.

Her dress [she].

She pinned her pectoral on the back of her dress,
of her veil she let the rear part come down in front
and the front part in back.

She rose and left the bed-chamber.

Fog seized the house,

smoke seized the window.

On the pedestal the gods were afflicted,

in the fireplace the logs were afflicted,

in the fold the sheep were afflicted,

in the corral the cows were afflicted,

[the were afflicted],

his wife [. . . . was afflicted]."

The mention of the wife—presumably the wife of the man for whom the ritual was performed—is of interest, since it is new here. In view of the fact that the person reciting this particular story is a midwife, we may safely say that in this case the ritual for appeasing the angry goddess was performed for a woman who had difficulties in giving birth. Other versions of the Vanishing God myth

were probably used for other occasions, but there is no hint at any connection with the seasons.

We have tried to give a picture of the scope of Hittite literature. If I may briefly sum up the points that seem essential, I would repeat the following:

- 1—What the Hittites considered literature includes categories that for us are non-literary.
- 2—Most categories of texts are found in all tablet collections with a preference for scholarly and truly literary works in the "House on the Slope."
- 3—The most common types of texts, including rituals, begin in the Old Kingdom.
- 4—Historiography was highly developed, also beginning in the Old Kingdom.
- 5—The personality of individual rulers vividly speaks from their historical accounts and particularly from prayers.
- 6—Hittite literature contained many different elements: The "main stream of Babylonian tradition" in the school; Hattic, Luwian and Palaic liturgies and tales; Hurrian epics, myths, and other religious compositions; some Canaanite myths.
- 7—All these diverse elements were controlled by a class of learned men who wrote in the language which we call Hittite. It is to these ancient scholars that we owe our knowledge of Hittite literature.

⁴³ *RHA* 19/68 (1961) 25 f.

SOUTHEAST SEMITIC COGNATES TO THE AKKADIAN VOCABULARY. II.

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IN A PREVIOUS ARTICLE¹ I suggested some Southeast Semitic² cognates to the Akkadian vocabulary published by Wolfram von Soden,

Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, fascicles 1-3.³ The

¹ *JAOS* 82 (1962) 1-4.

² For Southeast Semitic, see W. Leslau, *JAOS* 63 (1943) 4-14.

³ The books and languages are abbreviated as follows. Dillmann = A. Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*. Languages: Amh. = Amharic, Ar. = Arabic, G. = Geez, Hebr. = Hebrew, Mh. = Mehri, Šh. = Šhauri, Soq. = Soqotri, Te. = Tigre, Tna. = Tigrinya.



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SARGON OF AKKAD MENTIONED BY ḪATTUŠILI I OF ḪATTI

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In this paper I shall comment on the concluding section of the bilingual annals of the Hittite king Ḫattušili I of the Old Kingdom (c. 1640 by the 'middle' chronology).¹ In doing so I am taking up a suggestion made by A. Goetze,² which coincides with an idea I had independently, and shall go on to dwell on the implications of this reading.

The starting point for both Goetze and myself was the observation that the negative statement in §19 (H iii 33–36 = A rev. 21–22), according to which someone *did not* destroy and burn the town of Ḫaḫḫa, cannot have the same subject as the next section (§20: H iii 37–42 = A rev. 22–25), according to which king Tabarna, *i.e.* Ḫattušili, *did* destroy and burn this same town together with Ḫaššu(wa). This view is supported — as Goetze also observed — by the fact that H, at least, uses the third person in the former but the first in the latter (in A this distinction is not consistently made). The subject of the first section seems to be Sargon, the famous king of Akkad. This was deduced by Goetze from A rev. 20, which reads LUGAL-*ki-ni-šu i-bi-ir-šu*. The sign *ki* is quite clear in the hand copy in KBo X as well as on the photograph;³ the form of the name, *Šarru-ki-ni-šu* instead of the normal *Šarru-ki-in* or the like, may be explained as scribal error, since the text, and especially A, is full of mistakes.⁴ For me, the first hint at the identity

of the person came from the Hittite version, which has (H iii 32) LUGAL followed by the beginning of a sign, one horizontal followed by two verticals, which, in addition to *r[i]* (thus Goetze, *l.c.*), can also be *z[i]* and *g[i]*, so that this last possibility recalled the common Hittite spelling of the name, LUGAL-*gi-na-aš*. Once I had thought of LUGAL-*g[i-na-...]* as a possible restoration of H, the LUGAL-*ki-ni-šu* of A came as a welcome confirmation. The omission of the personal determinative is standard for this name in Hittite and Hurrian⁵ and is also found in Akkadian.⁶

The Hittite text of the last two paragraphs of the annals is as follows, based on H = KBo X 2 iii 29 ff. with its duplicates, KUB XXIII 20, 10–17, and XXIII 31, rev. (quoted as “20” and “31”, respectively; A refers to the Akkadian version, KBo X 1):

- (29) ^{1D}Ma-a-la-an(-na)⁷ Ū-UL [(ku)-i-š-ki za-a-iš]⁸
(30) na-an ū-uk LUGAL.GAL Ta[-ba-ar-na-aš GİR-i]⁹ (31) zi-iḫ-ḫu-un
KARAŠ.Ḫ[(I).A-YA-an-mu(?) EGIR-an(?)]¹⁰
(32) GİR(.MEŠ)¹¹-it za-a-iš
LUGAL-*g[i-na-ša-an za-a-iš]*¹²
(33) ERİN.MEŠ ^{URU}Ḫa-aḫ-ḫi-aš¹³ ḫu-ul[-li-il]
[(^{URU})Ḫa-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma]¹⁴ (34) Ū-UL ku-it-ki
i-ya[-at]

5. References in ZA 44 (N.F.10, 1938) 146; *cf.* Goetze, p. 26, n.2.

6. In the texts listed by H. Hirsch, *Afo* 20 (1963) 1 ff.

7. *na* omitted 20, 10.

8. Restored after A rev. 18; *ku* in 20.

9. Restored after A; 31, 2: *La?-ba?*[-...].

10. Restored after A 19 EGIR-*šu*; ḪI[.A] in 20, 11.

11. MEŠ om. 31, 3.

12. Restored after A 20, see above; pronoun *-an* according to context.

13. Or ḪA-AḪ-ḪI-aš, Akkadogram plus pronoun, since the normal Hittite form is an *-a-* stem; but *cf.* note 20 below.

14. Restored after A 21; URU in 31, 5. Or ^{URU}Ḫa-aḫ-ḫi-ma, dative instead of accusative?

1. Akkadian version (hereafter “A”): KBo X 1; Hittite version: KBo X 2 (hereafter “H”) with the fragmentary duplicates KBo X 3 and those identified by E. Laroche, *OLZ* 57 (1962) 28, *viz.*, KUB XXIII 20; 31; 33; 41 (+) IBoT III 134; VBoT 13. In some places the fragments have a better text than the best preserved copy of H.

2. In his review of KBo X, *JCS* 16 (1962) 24–30, hereafter quoted as Goetze with page reference. P. 26b: “Emendations are necessary at any rate; so, why not read (or restore) ⁽¹⁾Šarruki-ni/nu/na and find here the famous Akkad king?”

3. *MDOG* 91 (1958) p. 77, fig. 67b, as against H. Otten’s tentative rendering, *ibid.* p. 83, which implies a reading **di*; *cf.* Goetze, p. 26b.

4. *Cf.* Goetze, p. 26, n. 2, for his explanation of the final *-šu*.

[*Ū-UL-an IZI-it?*]¹⁵ (35) *ar-ḥa wa-ar-nu-uz-zi*
(var. 20,13: *lu-uk-ki-it*)

[*tuh-ḥu-wa-in-na*]¹⁶ (36) *ne-pí-ša-aš* ^DU-*ní*¹⁷
*Ū-UL (-in-ta)*¹⁸

(37) LUGAL.GAL *Ta-ba-ar-na-aš* ^{UR}[^U*Ḥa-aš-šu-wa-an*]¹⁹ (38) ^{UR}*Ḥa-aḥ-ḥa-an-na*²⁰ *ḥar-ni-í[n-ku-u(n)]*²¹

(39) *na-aš IZI-az kat-ta-an [tar-na-aḥ-ḥu-un(?)]*²²

(40) *tuh-ḥu-wa-in-ma ne-pí[-ša-aš* ^D.²³

(41) *nu* (LUGAL)²⁴ ^{UR}*Ḥa(-a)*²⁵-*aš-šu-wa*
LUGAL ^{UR}*Ḥa-a[ḥ-ḥa-ya]* (42) *A-NA*
^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA *tu-u-ri[-ya-nu(-un)]*²⁶

§19. "No-one had crossed the Mala (A: Purattu),

(but) I, the Great King Tabarna, crossed it [on foot],

and my army crossed it [after me(?)] on foot.

Sarg[on (also) crossed it];

he defeated the troops of Ḥaḥḥa,

[but] did nothing to [Ḥaḥḥa]

and [did not] burn it down (var.: set fire to it),

15. *UL* restored from A; word order proposed by Goetze.

16. Restored after A 22 and H 40; instead of *-na* (= *a* "and") also *-ma* possible, as in 40.

17. 31, 7: [^{PU} *Š*]A-ME-E.

18. I cannot restore the verb ending in [...]-*in-ta*, 20, 14, which is probably 3rd. pers. sing. pret. rather than Luwian 3rd. plur. "He showed," corresponding to A **ul ukallim* (Goetze, p. 26b), would be *tekkuššanul*. For a different phrase with "smoke" cf. the Waršama Letter (note 53 below), 28 f.: *qutram ubta'iš* "created evil-smelling smoke."

19. 31, 8: [LUGAL.GA]L(?)*-ma* LUGAL ^{UR}*Ḥ*[*a*...]. Goetze, p. 26b, adds [GIM-*an*] in the break because of *ki-i*, A 23. For the context of H this is not necessary, though possible.

20. 31, 9: ^{UR}[*Ḥa-aḥ-ḥi-in-ma*, *-ma* marking the beginning of a new sentence.

21. *-i[n-...]* in H (cf. Goetze, p. 26b); [...-*u*]*n* in 20, 15.

22. This restoration after H i 43 is uncertain since the situation is not quite the same. A differs: *i-ša-tam it-ta-dì* here (rev. 23) "he(!) threw fire," corresponding to *i-ša-tam ul it-ta-dì* rev. 21, but *it-ta-dì-in* (sic!) obv. 22 for H i 43.

23. 30, 10: [*QŪ-U*]T-RU A-NA [^D. . .]; the restoration of the divine name is not certain, since A 24 has *a-na* ^DUTU *ša-me-e ù* ^DU in contrast to §19, where H iii 36 ^DU-*ní* (above) corresponds to A 22 *a-na* ^DU. For the verb cf. A 24 and n. 18 above.

24. Thus correctly 20, 16; in H omitted by mistake, cf. Goetze, p. 26b.

25. *-a-* in 20, 16.

26. [...]-*un* in 20, 17.

nor did he show(?) the smoke to the Storm-god of Heaven."

§20. "I, the Great King Tabarna, destroyed Ḥ[aššuwa] and Ḥaḥḥa (var.: But [I], the Great King, [...-ed] the king of Ḥa[-...], but Ḥaḥḥi(sic!) [I destroyed])

and [burned(?)] them down with fire

and [showed] the smoke to the ...-god of Heaven.

And the king of Ḥaššuwa and the king of Ḥaḥḥa I harnessed to a wagon."

The introduction of the name of Sargon yields a satisfactory sense, as Goetze also has seen. Ḥattušili contrasts the deed of Sargon, who also crossed the Euphrates but did no harm to Ḥaḥḥa, with his own, which included the destruction of both Ḥaššuwa and Ḥaḥḥa.

Concerning the nature of these concluding two paragraphs²⁷ it seems clear to me that they form a summary. Ḥattušili's wars, first against Ḥaššuwa and later against Ḥaḥḥa, are dealt with in detail in §§10–13 and 15–17, respectively,²⁸ including long lists of the divine images and precious objects taken from each of them. The brief statement about the same two towns in §20 can only be a summary of the deeds described before, linking them (in §19) with the crossing of the Euphrates. In this connection, Goetze (*l.c.*28b) warned against drawing conclusions from this river crossing concerning the geographic position of either of the two towns. It seems to me, however, that the summary would make no sense if that crossing were not part of Ḥattušili's deeds, that one therefore expects it to be also mentioned in the detailed account, and that it is indeed mentioned there.

The section on Ḥaššuwa in H reads in part as follows (H §10 = ii 12 ff.; no duplicate here):

(12) . . . *nu I-NA* ^{UR}[^U*Ḥa-aš-šu-wa*]²⁹ (13)

pa-a-un

nu-mu LŪ.MEŠ [^{UR}^U]*Ḥa-aš-šu-wa za-aḥ-ḥi-ya*

(14) *me-na-aḥ-ḥa-an-d[a ū-e]-er*³⁰

27. Cf. Goetze, p. 27a.

28. H ii 11–44 (45) = A obv. 31–45; H ii 54 (iii 1)–iii 24 = A rev. 1–15.

29. Name restored after A obv. 32 ^{UR}^U*Ḥa-aš-šu*.

30. Free restoration. There is some confusion in both H and A concerning this phrase; cf. Goetze, p. 25a ad §6. Note the variant *ū-it*, IBoT III 134, 1 (which is the base for our *uer*) for *a-ū-er* of H i 35, where A

ERÍN.MEŠ-*ya-aš-ma-aš* (15) ŠA KUR
^{URU}[*Hal-pa šar-di*]³¹-*an-ni kat-ta-an e-eš-ta*

(16) *na-aš-mu* [MĒ-*ya*] *ú-it*
na-an hu-ul-li-y[a-nu-un]

(17) *nu kap-p[u-u]-wa-an-da(-aš)* UD.KAM.

HI.A-aš ^{1D}*Pu-u-ru-n[a-an]* (18) *zi-iḫ-hu[-un]*
^{URU}nu KUR ^{URU}*Ha-aš-šu-wa* UR.MAH GIM-an

(19) GĪR.HI.A-*i[t a]r-ḫa ša-ak-ku-ri-ya-nu-un*

“I went to Haššuwa,
 and the people of Haššuwa came against me for
 battle,
 and the troops of Halab were with them for help.
 They came to me [for battle],
 and I defeated them (A adds: on Mt. Adalur).³²
 In (only) a few days I crossed the Puruna
 (A: Puran),
 and the country of Haššuwa I struck down like
 a lion with (my/its) feet.”

According to this passage Hattusili first fought
 the combined forces of Haššuwa and Aleppo³³ on
 the near side of a river (on Mt. Adalur according
 to A), but then crossed that river in order to reach
 the country of Haššuwa.

The name of this river, Puruna, occurs else-
 where in Hittite texts: once in fragmentary con-
 text in a text dealing with Kizzuwatna;³⁴ once as
 a deity worshiped in the temple of Tešub of
 Manuziya, which was also in Kizzuwatna; and

finally in a prayer of the *evocatio* type,³⁵ where the
 list of rivers from which the gods are asked to
 return includes the two names Puru[na] and
 Uratta.³⁶ Because of this juxtaposition the Pu-
 runa has been taken to be different from the
 Uratta; and since the latter seems to be the same
 as Uruttu, given as ‘Subarean’ name of the
 Euphrates in a synonym list,³⁷ the Puruna would
 be different from the Euphrates.³⁸

It seems to me, however, that the *evocatio* text
 should not be taken as evidence against the equa-
 tion of the Puruna with the Uratta/Euphrates.
 This is the same text which, in another passage,³⁹
 lists KÁ.DINGIR.RA and Šanḫara side by side,
 a listing that was thought to preclude the equa-
 tion of Šanḫara with Babylonia until new evi-
 dence proved this very equation.⁴⁰ The point is
 that in a magic invocation an effort is made to
 cover every possibility and that therefore two
 different names of the same locality may be enu-
 merated just for the purpose of leaving no loop-
 hole.

Also in favor of taking Puruna as the name of
 the Euphrates is the similarity between the forms
 Sum. Buranun(a),⁴¹ Puruna (H), Puran (A),
 Hurrian Purana⁴² and Puranti,⁴³ Akk. Purattu,
 ‘Subarean’ Uruttu, and Uratta of the *evocatio*.
 It supports the conclusion which, as intimated
 above, must be drawn from the inner logic of the
 text, namely, that the Puruna/Puran of the

obv. 16 has *kakka ana panīya ubla*; in H i 32 the photo-
 graph (MDOG 91, fig. 68a) looks rather like [e]-*ri-ir*,
 whereas H ii 6 has *a-[-...]* (both passages omitted in A).
 Here in H ii 14 only [x-x]-*ir* is preserved, with room for
 only two signs: A obv. 32 has *ana panīšu it-ta-zi-iz-zu*.

31. Name after A 32 ^{URU}*Ha-la-ab*. The shorter form
 here restored to accommodate the beginning of the
 next word, cf. Goetze, p. 25b.

32. A obv. 33 *i-na* ^{HUR.SAG}*A-da-lu-ur* (cf. Goetze,
 p. 28 a with ref.) *da-AN-TA-šu-nu a-du-uk* (as against
 TA-WA-TA-*šu* = *dá-wi-dá-šu* in the same phrase A
 obv. 16).

33. This must be the war described in KBo VII 14
 etc. (E. Laroche, “Catalogue des textes hittites,”
 RHA XIV/58 (1956) p. 34 No. 7); for different views
 concerning the chronological problems posed by the
 mention of this war after the destruction of Alalah
 (§4) see Goetze, p. 27a, and M. B. Rowton, “Chro-
 nology,” CAH Vol. I, Chapter VI (1962), pp. 42 and 44 f.

34. Bo 4889 obv. 8 in A. Goetze, Kizzuwatna (1940),
 p. 60.

35. KUB XX 52 iv 5 and KUB XV 33a iii 7 = 34 iii
 11, respectively, quoted by Goetze, Kizzuwatna, p. 69.
 In the latter text, the gods are summoned in lines 13–15
 from all the rivers enumerated by name in lines 9–12.

36. That is, they are both listed if the reconstruction
 of the passage from the two fragmentary copies is cor-
 rect, which is indeed likely.

37. Series *malku*, text published by W. von Soden,
 ZA 43 (N.F. 9, 1936), 236, line 48.

38. Thus H. Otten, MDOG 91 (1958), 82, n. 24, and
 Goetze, p. 28a.

39. KUB XV 34 i 57.

40. E. Laroche in Ugaritica III (Mission de Ras
 Shamra VIII, 1956), p. 103.

41. ŠL 381, 270; MSL III, p. 152, S^b II 370a.

42. *ši-i-ya Pu-u-ra-na* 1967/c 28 (Otten, MDOG 91,
 82, n. 24) and *ši-ya Pu-ra-a-na* Bo 6255 i 9 (C.-G. von
 Brandenstein, ZA 46 [N.F. 12, 1940] 92). The listing
 from Bo 4889 by von Brandenstein, l.c. 88 n. 1, is con-
 tradicted by Goetze’s rendering of that text (n. 34
 above).

43. von Brandenstein, ZA 46, 90: KUB XXVII 46 +
 Bo 3613 (now IBoT II 51) i 7 (= 3); iv 4.

Ḫaššuwa section is the same river, Euphrates, that is mentioned in the summary. Concerning the texts according to which the Puruna is mentioned in connection with, and as worshiped in, Kizzuwatna (notes 34 f.), there is no difficulty in identifying it with the Euphrates since Kizzuwatna probably extended eastward to that river. That the summary uses the normal Akkadian form Purattu (A rev. 18) and the completely different sacred name Mala (H iii 29 above)⁴⁴ is no obstacle; it may be explained by the desire of either the author or perhaps a later copyist⁴⁵ to use the more familiar names here where the greatness of the achievement was to be stressed.

Turning now to the geographic implications of our interpretation, the first question that arises is that of the direction of the two river crossings. The text only dwells on the feat itself: the crossing of that great river — on foot, *i.e.*, by fording, in the case of Ḫattušili.⁴⁶ For this feat the direction is of no importance; it is the crossing as such which counts. But it is obvious that Sargon would have had to cross the Euphrates from east to west, while the Hittite king would have crossed it from west to east. How does this affect the location of Ḫaḫḫa and Ḫaššuwa?

As can be seen from the text (H iii 32–36 above = A rev. 20–22), only one of them, Ḫaḫḫa, is mentioned in connection with Sargon. Ḫattušili, on the other hand, mentions no river crossing in connection with Ḫaḫḫa (H iii 1 ff. = A rev. 1 ff.), but says that he crossed the Puruna/Puran in order to reach the country of Ḫaššuwa (H ii 17–19 above = A obv. 34–35). If the Puruna is the Euphrates — as we tried to demonstrate above — and if the text may be taken to mean what it says (and we must at least try to take it so), this indicates that Ḫaḫḫa was on the western, Ḫaššuwa on the eastern side of the river.⁴⁷ For Ḫaḫḫa this agrees with the common view.⁴⁸

44. For this equation see Otten, *MDOG* 91, 83, n. 28.

45. One may be tempted here to apply 'textual criticism' and to ask whether the summary, because of this 'modernization' of the name, might be a later addition. But such speculation may at present better be left aside.

46. On this feat *cf.* O. R. Gurney, "Anatolia c. 1750–1600 B.C.," *CAH* Vol. II, Chapter VI (1962), p. 18.

47. The "KUR" of H ii 18 (omitted in A) does not mean that only (part of) the territory of Ḫaššuwa, in contrast to the city, was situated there. Note that the

For Ḫaššuwa, however, most scholars have assumed a location west of the Euphrates.⁴⁹ The only scholar, as far as I can see, who has argued for a location of Ḫaššu(wa) east of the Euphrates, is Sidney Smith.⁵⁰ His view seems now to be confirmed by our interpretation of Ḫattušili's annals. The only obstacle to the location of Ḫaššuwa east of the river that I can see is the order given by the Hittite king in the 'Siege of Uršu' text:⁵¹ "Cut a battering ram from the mountain of ^{URU}Ḫa-aš(!)-šu!", since it would be strange if such a beam were to be transported across the river for use at Uršu, which is now firmly localized west of it (or north of its east-west course near Samsat; Goetze, p. 27b with ref.). But the "mountain of Ḫaššu" need not be on the same side as the city of Ḫaššuwa; also in our text the troops of Ḫaššuwa were defeated (on Mt. Atalur) before the Puruna was crossed.

A specific localization of Ḫaššuwa east of the Euphrates is hardly possible with the material on hand. The context of §10 of our text,⁵² which gives the route Zaruna/Zarunti — Mt. Atalur — river Puruna — Ḫaššuwa, points to a relatively southerly position according to what has been deduced from Assyrian sources for the location of Saruna and Mt. Atalur.⁵³ The question arises whether Sargon and Ḫattušili crossed the Euphrates in approximately the same region or not.

looting (lines 21 ff.), which must refer to the city, also comes after the crossing. "I went to Ḫ." in line 12 only gives the direction of the whole campaign, and immediately thereafter the people come to meet Ḫattušili for battle, apparently across the river.

48. See Goetze, p. 28, referring to *JCS* 7 (1953), 68 f. and to M. Falkner, *Afo* 18/1 (1957), 10 f. *Cf.* also Güterbock, *JNES* 20 (1961), 96 with ref. Our text, incidentally, removes the last possible doubts concerning the identity of Hittite *Ḫaḫḫaš* with Akkadian *Ḫaḫḫu(m)*.

49. M. Falkner, *Afo* 18/1 (1957), 11 with references.

50. *Anat. St.* 6 (1956), 35–43, esp. 42 f., and *RSO* 32 (1957), 167 n. 3, based on the strategic situation presupposed for *ARM* I 24.

51. KBo I 11 obv.(!) 16 = ZA 44 (N.F. 10, 1938), 116.

52. H ii 11–19 = A obv. 31–35 (H 12–19 above); *cf.* Goetze, p. 28a.

53. Goetze, p. 28a with ref. Goetze drew my attention to the new throne base inscription of Shalmaneser III: P. Hulin, *Iraq* 25 (1963), 48 ff., esp. lines 11–28 with discussion on pp. 59 f. Note, however, the doubts concerning the connection of Atalur with the Amanus expressed by K. Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish* (TTK Yay. Ser. VII No. 31a, Ankara, 1957), pp. 34–38, esp. 37.

For Sargon's crossing I agree with Goetze (p. 27a) in locating it in the north because of the likely position of Ḫaḫḫa. I am unable to tell where "crossing on foot" might be possible. Moltke says that after the confluence of the Karasu and the Murad the river cannot be forded.⁵⁴ This would bring us, for Ḫattušili's crossing, back to the region which Goetze had in mind when speaking of Sargon's crossing and of the possibility that the Mala might be one of the upper branches (p. 27a). But the text does not say that both crossings occurred in the same region, and what was said about Zaruna and Mt. Atalur is against such a northerly position of Ḫaššuwa. The equation of Ḫaššum (Ḫaššuwa) with Ḫeššum of the Mari texts, which is east of the Euphrates, tentatively proposed by A. Finet⁵⁵ but rejected by M. Falkner,⁵⁶ may now again be considered, since Falkner's main argument, that Ḫaššum was west of the river, no longer stands.⁵⁷

As a result we can only say that our text favors a localization of Ḫaššuwa east of the Euphrates; for a more specific localization one might then, because of the connection with Zaruna and Mt. Atalur, think of the region around Birecik.

Concerning the historical implications of the reading "Sargon," the text as now understood shows that its author was familiar with the tradition concerning Sargon of Akkad. That the Hittites knew stories about the great kings of Akkad has, of course, long been known; and linguistic archaisms in the Naram-Sin legend indicate that at least some of these stories were written during the Old Kingdom. What distinguishes our text from others is its character: the text of Ḫattušili is an annalistic report, in contrast to the literary compositions known so far.⁵⁸ Al-

though the passage deals with events that took place almost seven centuries before Ḫattušili's own time, and although it may, therefore, reflect "historical tradition," it treats these events as known facts and contains specific details: Sargon crossed the Euphrates, defeated the troops of Ḫaḫḫum, but did not destroy the city. It is tempting to look at the well-known epic *šar tamḫāri* "The King of Battle",⁵⁹ the text that deals with Sargon's alleged campaign into Anatolia, to see whether it contains anything that can be connected with the information known to the author of the annals. Actually it seems to contain a reference to a river crossing. Nur-Daggal, the ruler of an unnamed town,⁶⁰ boasts that Sargon will not be able to reach his realm (rev. 4, ironically repeated by Sargon, rev. 17), adding that, among other things, "the river bank and the flood" should prevent him from coming.⁶¹ And in his speech to Sargon, Nur-Daggal seems to mention a river crossing. Although the Amarna version, a school tablet full of mistakes, is not clear while the Assur text is too fragmentary to be of any use, it seems that Nur-Daggal expresses his surprise that Sargon crossed a river, presumably with divine help.⁶² He concludes his speech by acknowledging Sargon's superior power. The name of Ḫaḫḫum, to be sure, does not occur in the preserved parts of the epic, so we cannot claim that the events are the same or that Nur-Daggal was king of Ḫaḫḫum; but the possibility exists that this was indeed the case. Nur-Daggal's ready submission (in the *šar tamḫāri*) would, in this case, explain why Sargon (according to Ḫattušili's version) spared the city.

Strictly speaking, all this does not make the events narrated in the epic and alluded to by Ḫattušili (or his learned secretary) historical, whether they are the same or not; the war against Ḫaḫḫum is not mentioned in the primary sources any more than the expedition against Nur-Daggal. On the other hand, having been blamed for over-

54. Helmuth von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei*, letter of 16 March 1838: "...fließen die beiden Wasser...zusammen und bilden nun einen auch im Sommer nicht mehr zu durchwatenden Strom..."

55. *ARM* 15 (1954), p. 125 n. 2.

56. *Afo* 18, 12.

57. Because of the connection with Zaruna and Atalur one cannot go further and revive the old identification of Ḫaššuwa with Išuwa (Weidner, *BoSt.* 8 (1923), p. 4 n. 5), even though Ḫeššu might be taken as the intermediate form.

58. To those treated in *ZA* 44, 45-90, add now *KBo* XII 1-2.

59. For bibliography see *ZA* 42 (N.F. 8, 1934) 86 n. 1 and H. Hirsch, *Afo* 20 (1963) 6 f.

60. It is by no means evident that his town is Purušhanda; cf. *ZA* 42, 89; 91.

61. *ZA* 42, 89 n. 6.

62. *VS* XII 193 rev. 19 *ú-še-bi-ru-ni-ik-ku* ERÍN.MEŠ DINGIR-ka could, if the last word were emended to read DINGIR.MEŠ-ka, mean "your gods brought your troops over here for you," and line 20 has *e-bi-ra* ÍD in mutilated context.

criticism ever since the publication of my dissertation,⁶³ I would like to take this opportunity to state that I do agree with those who argue that even a legend must be based on some historical fact;⁶⁴ and if I may add a personal impression I

63. "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200": *ZA* 42 (1934) 1-91; 44 (1938) 45-149.

64. *Cf.* the latest and very judicious treatment of

would say that for me a crossing by Sargon of the Euphrates near Ḫabḫum looks less surprising than an expedition to Purušḫanda, which is with some probability localized in the plain south of the Great Salt Lake.

the evidence contained in primary and secondary sources by C. J. Gadd, "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion," *CAH* Vol. I, Chapter XIX (1963), esp. pp. 12 ff. on the "King of the Battle."



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THE HITTITE CONQUEST OF CYPRUS RECONSIDERED

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THE tablet containing the Hittite text of an inscription of Suppiluliuma II dealing with Alašiya, though known for several years and frequently discussed, still poses some problems; a fresh look at the text therefore seems indicated.

The tablet was found at Boğazköy in 1961 in the area of the so-called House on the Slope. It was published in cuneiform by H. Otten as No. 38 in *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Heft XII (1963) (abbr. *KBo* XII 38). A partial transliteration and translation was offered by the same author in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, XCIV (1963), 13–23 (abbr. *MDOG* 94). G. Steiner published his own translation and interpretation in *Kadmos*, I (1962), 130–38. References to the text, mainly on the basis of *MDOG* 94, are found in most recent discussions of the fall of Ugarit and of the Hittite Empire under the attacks of the so-called Peoples of the Sea.¹

Preserved is a large portion out of the middle of a two-column tablet. Top and bottom are lost. The left edge is damaged but partly preserved, so that the space available at the beginning of lines in Columns I and IV can be determined; the right edge is preserved. In other words, portions of all four columns are available, with loss of text at the beginning and between the columns; in Column IV the end of the text is reached. Of these four disconnected portions of the text, Col. I deals with a conquest of Alašiya and the tribute imposed on that country by a Hittite king. In Col. II, Suppiluliuma (II) speaks of an image of his father, Tudhaliya (IV), which he, Suppiluliuma, made and set up in a building called “Everlasting Peak.” After a double ruled line there follows the full title and genealogy of Suppiluliuma. Since he used the same already a few lines earlier, this repetition calls for comment; we shall discuss it presently. Col. III deals with a victory over the ships of Alašiya, and Col. IV returns to the “Everlasting Peak” and speaks of privileges granted that establishment.

This strange moving back and forth between two topics: Alašiya–building–Alašiya–building, has found different explanations. G. Steiner thought that the tablet contained

¹ To mention only a few: J. Nougayrol, “Nouveaux textes accadiens de Ras-Shamra,” *Comptes Rendus, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, année 1960 (1961), pp. 163–71 (abbr. *CRAI*); the same,

“Guerre et paix à Ugarit,” *Iraq*, XXV (1963), 110–23; M. Astour, “New Evidence on the Last Days of Ugarit,” *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXIX (1965), 253–58; cf. note 2 below.

the same story twice, in such a way that the self-presentation of Col. II 22 ff. could be restored also at the beginning of Col. I and that Col. III would supplement the lost part of Col. I (*Kadmos*, I, 131 with fn. 11). The present writer tried to write the text in the manner thus suggested by Steiner but found that this was not feasible with the text portions at hand and in view of the size of the gaps.—H. Otten, on the other hand, took the text as one coherent story of Suppiluliuma's deeds, which led him to ascribe to this king two campaigns against Alašiya: one (Col. I) against its king, the other (Col. III) against an unspecified enemy.—The present writer thinks that this distinction between two wars is correct, but that the former belongs not to Suppiluliuma but rather to his father, Tudhaliya IV. He will try to demonstrate this in the following pages.²

My starting point is the second column with its double rule and its strange repetition of the full self-presentation of the king. A double rule on a tablet normally indicates the beginning of a new text.³ The passage here following the double rule, "I am My Sun, the Tabarna Suppiluliuma," etc., is indeed a beginning. It has been correctly observed that this is not the normal introduction of a (cuneiform) Hittite royal inscription, which begins with Akkadian *umma*, "thus (speaks)," but rather corresponds to the well-known pattern of Semitic inscriptions.⁴ But it is also the normal introduction of inscriptions in Hittite hieroglyphs, where in fact the picture for "I (am)" was one of the first signs understood. We shall return to this similarity between the wording of Col. II 22 and the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

If a new text begins in line 22, the preceding part of Col. II must be the end of another text. The wording of this part is indeed suited for a concluding statement. According to my understanding, the form *Tudhaliyaš* of line 5 cannot be a genitive depending on ALAM, "image," of line 4 but can only be nominative; with the following (damaged but certain) *UL* this leads necessarily to the restoration "[My father] Tudhaliya did not [make] this image." Otten, although considering this interpretation, rejected it (*MDOG* 94, 17) because a negative statement about the king's father seemed incompatible with the general tone of pious devotion manifest throughout the text. However, apart from the grammatical fact just stated, no lack of reverence is involved here; for the son goes on to say that he completed the work of his father by inscribing his father's deeds on the image.⁵ This is a work of filial devotion indeed; and the use of the full title here is justified, first of all in order to introduce the agent of these pious acts, secondly to legitimate him as son and heir, and finally to vouch for the accuracy of the rendition of the father's deeds.

Why should a text conclude with such a statement? Where are the deeds of Tudhaliya which his son dutifully inscribed for him? The obvious answer is that the statement is a

² I have held this view for a long time but postponed publication in the hope that the long-expected full publication of the pertinent texts from Ras Shamra would contribute to the clarification of the historical problems involved. Recently I noticed that A. Goetze must have independently reached the same conclusion, as shown by his brief statement in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, rev. ed. of Vols. I and II, Chapter XXIV, pp. 51 f. of the preliminary edition (1965) with n. 1 on p. 52 (where "§IV, 16, 13" is a misprint for §IV, 10, 13, referring to Otten, *MDOG* 94, 13).

H. Otten now also favors this interpretation. In his contribution to the *Fischer Weltgeschichte*, III

(1966), 173 he writes: "Vermutlich war es Tuthaliya IV., der die Insel erobern konnte," etc.

³ References are hardly necessary; to give just two examples: *KUB* IX 31 (rituals) and *BoTU* 30 (copy of several royal inscriptions).

⁴ Steiner, *Kadmos*, I, 130, n. 8. On the Semitic pattern cf. A. Poebel, *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament*, ("Assyriological Studies," III [Chicago, 1932]). My translation "I am" in our text is based on the presence of the particle *-za*.

⁵ I do not see what else *andan* (line 14; damaged but certain) could refer to!

postscript to the text of the deeds, which is to say that the text of the deeds preceded this postscript; in other words, Col. I is part of the inscription of Tudhaliya which his son set up for him. This is why I think that Col. I refers to a victory of Tudhaliya IV and would restore *his* name and title at the head of Col. I. According to this interpretation, then, the tablet *KBo* XII 38 contains two closely related inscriptions: first, a statue inscription of Tudhaliya IV commemorating his victory over Alašiya, which his son completed and provided with a postscript in which he records how he set the statue up in a special building; and second, an inscription of Suppiluliuma II describing his own victory over Alašiya and granting privileges to the same establishment, mentioned in the postscript to the first, which he had dedicated to the memory of his father.

Before discussing the historical consequences of this interpretation we first offer a new transliteration and translation of the text with the restorations based on the above considerations, and a brief commentary.

TRANSLITERATION

Col. I (top broken)

x + 1 [	]x x x x <i>pa-an-kán</i>
2 [	]x x-un
3 [	]x TA DAM.MEŠ-ŠÚ DUMU.MEŠ-ŠÚ
4 [	e]-ep-pu-un SIG ₅ -u-wa da-pi-da
5 [IŠ-TU KUBABBAR G]UŠKIN	<i>pa-an-qa-u-e-eš-ša NAM.RA.MEŠ</i>
6 [x x hu-it]-ti-i-ya-nu-un	<i>na-aš-za uruPA-ši ar-ḥa</i>
7 [ú-da-aḥ-ḥ]u-un	KUR A-la-ši-ya-an-ma-za-kán pé-de-eš-ši
8 [IR-aḥ-ḥu-u]n	<i>ar-kam-ma-na-aḥ-ḥu-un ar-kam-ma-an-ma-ši-kán</i>
9 [ku-u-u]n(?)	<i>iš-ḥi-ya-nu-un</i>
10 [x]x A-NA LUGAL KUR A-la-ši-ya	Ū A-NA ¹⁴ PÍ-ID-DU [?] -RI
11 [IT-T]I(?) ^d UTU uruTÚL-na	Ū Ta-bar-na LUGAL.GAL
12 [Š]A(?) ^d UTU uruTÚL-na	¹⁴ SANGA ka-a-aš ar-kam-ma-aš e-eš-du
13 [x x]x GUŠKIN 1 GUN URUDU 3 BÁN	GA-YA-TUM
14	A-NA ^d UTU uruTÚL-na
15 [x x x GUŠ]KIN 1 GUN URUDU 3 BÁN	GA-YA-TUM
16	A-NA ^d U uruZi-pal-da
17 [x x x GUŠKIN 1 GU]N URUDU 3 [BÁN]	GA-YA-TUM
18	[A-NA ^d U uru]u [H]a-at-ti
19 [x x x GUŠKIN 1 GU]N URUDU 3 BÁN	GA-YA-TUM
20	[A-NA ^d U uru]u Ne-ri-iq-qa
21 [	]x-ḤAR Ū-NU-TUM
22 [	]x x
23 [	uruHa-at-t]u-ši pé-e ḥar-kán-zi
24 [	] da-pi-ya
25 [	]ta-an-zi
(broken)	

Col. II (top broken)

x + 1 (trace)

2 *iš-pár-za-a-i* x[. . .3 *[n]a(?) -aḥ-ḥa-an-za* [. . .4 *ki-i-ma-za* ALAM [*A-BU-YA*(?)]5 ^m*Tu-ud-ḥa-li-ya-aš* U[*L DÛ-at*(?)]6 *ú-uq-qa-at* ^mKÛ.GA.TÚ[*L-aš* LUGAL.GAL]7 LUGAL KUR *Ḥat-ti* DUMU ^m*Tu-ud-ḥa[-li-ya]*8 LUGAL.GAL DUMU.DUMU-ŠÚ ŠA ^m*Ḥa-at-t[u-ši-li]*9 LUGAL.GAL Û DUMU.DUMU.DUMU-ŠÚ ŠA ^m*Mur-ši-ILI^{LI(M)}*

LUGAL.GAL

10 *i-ya-nu-un*11 *nu A-BU-YA* ^m*Tu-ud-ḥa-li-ya-aš*12 LUGAL.GAL GIM[*-a*]n *a-ša-an-za* LUGAL-*uš*13 *e-eš-ta nu-kán QA-TAM-MA a-ša-an-da*14 LÚ-na-tar^{HI.A} *an-da¹-an gul-šu-un*15 *wa-ak-ši-ya-nu-nu-un ku-it UL*16 EGIR-an-ma-kán UL *tar-na-aḥ-ḥu-un*17 ^{na₄}*ḥé-gur* SAG.ÚŠ *ú-e-da-aḥ-ḥu-un*18 ALAM DÛ-nu-un *na-an-kán [I]-NA* ^{na₄}*ḥé-gur* SAG.ÚŠ19 *an-da pé-e-da-aḥ-ḥu-un*20 *na-an da-ni-nu-nu-un*21 *wa-ar-ši-ya-nu-nu-un*22 *ú-uk-za* ^aUTU-ŠI *Ta-bar-na-aš*23 ^mKÛ.GA.[TÚ]L-*aš* LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR ^{uru}[*Ḥa*]t-ti24 UR.SAG DUMU ^m*Tu-ud-ḥa-li-ya*25 LUGAL.GAL LUGAL KUR *Ḥat-ti* UR.SAG26 [DUMU.D]UMU-ŠÚ ŠA ^mPA-*ši-ILI^{LI(M)}* LUGAL.GAL U[R.SAG]27 [*A-BU-YA*] ^m*Tu-ud-ḥa-li-ya[-aš*

28 (traces, then broken)

Col. III (top broken)

x + 1 *nu A-BU-Y[A*. . .2 *ú-uk :ti-eš-ša-iš[-ki-nu-un]*3 *nu a-ru-na-an ḥu-da-ak* [?]4 *ú-uk* ^mKÛ.GA.TÚL-*aš* LUGAL.GAL [*zi-i*]ḥ[-*ḥu-un*(?)]5 *nu-mu-kán* ^{is}MÁ.ḤI.A ŠA KUR *A-la-ši-ya*6 ŠÀ A.AB.BA 3-ŠÚ *za-aḥ-ḥi-ya ti-i-ya-at*7 *na-aš-kán ḥa-aš-pu-un* ^{is}MÁ.ḤI.A-ma8 *e-ep-pu-un na-aš-kán* ŠÀ A.AB.BA9 *lu-uk-ku-un*10 [G]IM-an-ma-kán *ḥa-da-an-te-ya*

- 11 *ar-ḥa ar-ḥu-un*
 12 *nu-mu* ¹⁶KÚR.ḪI.A ŠA KUR A-la-ši-ya
 13 *pa-an-qa-ri[-it za-aḥ-ḥ]i-ya ú-it*
 14 [*n*]a-an-kán za[-.]x x x
 15 [*n*]u-mu x x [. . .
 16 [*u*](?)i-ya[-. . .

-
- 17 []x EREM.MEŠ [xxx]x.MEŠ
 18 []x nu-za x[.-l]i
 19 []^{uru}Ḫat[-. . .
 20 []x-za [x]x x [. . .
-

21 f. (traces, then broken)

Col. IV (top broken)

- x + 1 [.]DÛ-at
 2 []x-x-me-el U[L k]u-it-ki
 3 [x x x(?)x] nu-uš-ši ku-u-un ^{na}ḥé-kur SAG.UŠ
 4 [ú-uk] ^mK]Û.GA.TÚL-aš LUGAL.GAL ú-e-da-ḥu-un
-
- 5 [AL]AM-Š[Û(?)]x da-ni-nu-nu-un
 6 [wa]-ar-š[i-ya-nu-nu-u]n ú-uk
 7 x-x-x x-x SUM-un
 8 URU.AŠ.AŠ.ḪI.A 70 tar-ra-u-wa-zi
-
- 9 nu-uš-ši-kán ku-iš ar-ḥa ME-i
 10 na-aš-ma-at ša-aḥ-ḥa-ni
 11 ti-it-ta-nu-zi nu-uš-ma-aš [. . .
 12 ku-i-e-eš ^mTu-ud-ḥa-li-ya[-an(?)]
 13 [LUGAL].GAL še-ek-k[ir] nu-u[š-. . .
 14 [a]-pu-u-uš š[al?]-li-x[. . .
-
- (end of column blank)

TRANSLATION

Col. I (top broken) (1–2)

(3) [PN (or: The king of Alašiya)] with his wives, his children, [and his] I seized; all the goods, [with silver, g]old, and all the captured people I [re]moved and [brought] them home to Hattusa. The country of Alašiya, however, I [enslaved] and made tributary on the spot; and [thi]s(?) tribute I imposed on it:

(10) [. . ?] for the king of Alašiya and for the *pidduri*, this shall be the tribute (owed) to the Sun-goddess of Arinna and to the Tabarna, the Great King, priest of the Sun-goddess of Arinna:

(13) [(A quantity)] of gold, 1 talent of copper, 3 seah of *gayatum* for the Sun-goddess of Arinna;

(15) [(a quantity)] of gold, 1 talent of copper, 3 seah of *gayatum* for the Storm-god of Zippalanda;

(17) [(a quantity) of gold, 1 ta]lent of copper, 3 seah of *gayatum* for the Storm-god of Hatti;

(19) [(a quantity) of gold, 1 tale]nt of copper, 3 seah of *gayatum* for the Storm-god of Nerik.

(21) [.....]... utensils [.....] in Hattusa they shall present.

(24) [.....] all [.....] they shall [... (broken; gap)]

Col. II (1) (2) emerges [.....] fearing [.....]

(4) This image, [my father] Tudhaliya did not [make (it)]; I, Suppiluliuma, [the Great King], king of Hatti, son of Tudhaliya, the Great King, grandson of Hattusili, the Great King, and great-grandson of Mursili, the Great King, made it.

(11) And just as my father, the Great King Tudhaliya, was a true king, in the same way I inscribed (his) true manly deeds thereon. As I did not neglect (anything), I did not suppress (anything).

(17) I built an Everlasting Peak. I made the image and carried it into the (building called) Everlasting Peak; I installed and ...-ed it.

(22) I am My Sun, the Tabarna Suppiluliuma, the Great King, king of Hatti, the hero, son of Tudhaliya, the Great King, king of Hatti, the hero, grandson of Hattusili, the Great King, the hero.

(27) [My father] Tudhaliya [....]

(broken; gap)

Col. III (1) My father [.....] I mobilized and I, Suppiluliuma, the Great King, immediately [crossed/reached(?)] the sea.

(5) The ships of Alašiya met me in the sea three times for battle, and I smote them; and I seized the ships and set fire to them in the sea.

(10) But when I arrived on dry land(?), the enemies from Alašiya came in multitude against me for battle. I f[ought] them, and [.....] me [.....]....

(17) [.....] troops [.....] And [.....] Hat[ti]....

(broken, gap)

Col. IV (1) [.....] did/became [.....] nothing. And [I], Suppiluliuma, the Great King, built this Everlasting Peak for him.

(5) Hi[s im]age I [.....] installed and-ed (and) gave..... (As for) villages, they will designate seventy.

(9) Whoever will take (it) away from him or subject it to feudal duty, those [gods(?)] who kne[w] Tudhaliya, the Great King, shall [.....] them.

(End of text)

COMMENTARY

Col. I 3: Instead of TA (Sumerogram for “with”) the Hittite sentence connective *ta* seems less likely, especially in a text of this date and nature. In front of TA DAM.MEŠ-ŠÚ *etc.* one expects the person to whom the possessives refer; in all likelihood this is the ruler of Alašiya, whether by name or by his title; [LUGAL KUR A-la-ši-ya-ká]*n* would be a possible restoration.

Lines 7 f.: *arḥa u-da-* is the usual verb in this context, as is *pedi-ši ÌR-aḥḥ-* in the next clause. The space seems to favor the shorter spelling, without additional *-na-*.

Line 10: For ¹⁰*pidduri* I cannot offer more than Otten, *MDOG* 94, 15 with notes 54 f.

For ¹⁰*pidduri* see now the tentative translation “Erbprinz (?)” quoted after E. von Schuler by J. Friedrich, *Heth. Wörterbuch*, 3. Ergänzungsheft (Heidelberg, 1966), p. 51. The proposal is based on our text; the other passages cited by Friedrich do not fit the proposed meaning.

Lines 13, 15, 17, 19: In front of GUŠKIN, “gold,” one expects either a measure (weight) or the word GAL, “a cup,” as in the Ras Shamra tribute lists.⁶ The traces in line 13 rule out GAL, so that some weight (x GÍN) remains the most probable restoration.

For *gayatum* see W. von Soden’s remark *apud* Otten, *MDOG* 94, 15, n. 51. The measure for *gayatum* is, however, not *qa* but BÂN = *sūtu*, “seah.” The horizontal wedge clearly crosses the vertical on the tablet; besides, BÂN is a common measure in Boğazköy while *qa* is not.

Col. II 4–5: For the restorations see the introductory remarks above, p. 74.

Lines 12 f.: The meaning “true” of *ašant-* is well known (cf. J. Friedrich, *Heth. Wörterbuch*, with lit.). Yet, since the form is participle of the verb “to be,” the meaning might be literally “being how . . . being thus,” “qualis . . . talis”: “I wrote his deeds just as he was.” Since this is not far from “true” I prefer the accepted meaning.

Lines 15 f.: Otten’s rendering of the two verbs *wakšiyannu-* and *appan tarna-* as “fehlen lassen” and “auslassen,” respectively, comes close to the mark. From the usage in other texts it can be deduced that *wakšiya(nu)-* refers to omission by mistake, neglect, or oversight, whereas *appan tarna-* literally “leave behind,” refers (among other usages) to intentional omission or suppression.⁷ Our translations “neglect” and “suppress” are an attempt to render these shadings. Instead of saying, as one might expect, that he “neither added nor omitted,” the king stresses that he omitted nothing either by oversight or by intent.

Line 17: For ^{na}*ḫegur* Otten (*MDOG* 94, 18–20) has collected the evidence. The only passage that contains concrete information is the one quoted from *KBo* XIV 20 (Otten, p. 19; cf. now Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *JNES*, XXV [1966], 173 f., 181 f.), according to which it is a mountain peak or summit; the determinative “stone” would characterize it as rocky. While the combination É ^{na}*ḫegur*, “house of the peak,” is more frequent, our text omits É but still says that the king “built” the *ḫegur* and that he transported the image “into it.” Some kind of structure must therefore be meant; if not a regular building then at least a walled, terraced or otherwise built-up summit.

SAG.UŠ is Hittite *ukturi-*, “eternal, everlasting.”

Line 21: I leave *waršiyannu-* untranslated since I am not sure of its meaning even after recent discussions. To accept “besänftigen” with “image” as object is no less difficult than to assume that the pronoun *-an*, which in line 18 clearly refers to the ALAM (*šena-*, common gender), should, in lines 20 f., refer to the deceased king himself. The discussion of the root *warš-* etc. by Laroche, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, LVIII (1963), 59–62, does not help for our text.

Line 27: My restoration [*A-BU-YA*], “my father,” is based on the consideration that here, at the very beginning of the text proper, after the self-presentation, the mention of Tudhaliya’s name should be preceded by this apposition, just as in line 11 (and

⁶ For these see the latest treatment by M. Dietrich and O. Loretz in *Die Welt des Orients*, III/3 (1966), 206–45.

⁷ *appan tarnumaš* in colophons, “(a tablet) of leaving out,” seems to designate abridged versions or excerpts.

restored, for the same reason, in lines 4–5). The three signs, moreover, fit exactly into the available space. (For a parallel from a hieroglyphic text see below.)

Col. III 10: *ḥadanteya* is otherwise unknown. One expects something like “dry land” at this point, and the connection with the verb *ḥat-*, “to dry up,” offers a possibility for arriving at this meaning, although the word formation (derivative from the participle?) is not clear.

Col. IV 1: *DÜ-at* is either *iyat*, “did, made,” or *kišat*, “became.” Is this a reference to his father’s death: “became [god]”?

Line 8: *tarrauwazi*, for *tarrauwanzi*, cannot be infinitive (thus Otten: “[mit dem Auftrag] zur Versorgung”) since the *-u-* belongs to the stem. Therefore it must be 3rd. pers. plur. pres. The meaning will be discussed by C. W. Carter in connection with his edition of cult inventories.⁸

CONCLUSIONS

Historically it seems to me that the new interpretation of the document fits well into the picture. If Tudhaliya IV conquered Alašiya and made it tributary, one understands the passage in the Madduwatta text better, according to which Tudhaliya’s son and first successor, Arnuwanda, claimed that country as Hittite possession.⁹ We know that he did not have much success, since both Attariššiya, the man from Aḫḫiya, and Madduwatta raided it. But whatever the outcome or the real power constellation, Arnuwanda’s claim as such now appears to have been founded.

How the sea victory of Suppiluliuma II will fit into the history of his time is a question which may better be left open until the Ras Shamra documents are published in full. From the information available so far (see note 1 above) there seems to be a difference in the constellation of the various parties as reflected in the different sources: whereas the texts from Ras Shamra depict Alašiya as ally of Ugarit—and, by implication, of the Hittites—Suppiluliuma in our document fights “the enemies from Alašiya.”¹⁰ Whether this means that the whole country had joined the enemies, or whether it was only partly occupied by an enemy, and whether this enemy has anything to do with the enemy to whom Ugaritian sailors are said to have handed their ships¹¹ remains to be seen.

Concerning the fragment of a treaty with Alašiya, *KBo* XII 39 (Otten, *MDOG* 94, 10–13; Steiner, *Kadmos*, I, 134–36), I am not so sure that the endless form ^m*Tu-ud-ḥa-li-ya* in line 16 of the “obv.” really precludes attribution of the text to Tudhaliya.¹²

⁸ On this work see the preliminary notes in *Neuere Hethiterforschung (Historia, Einzelschriften, Heft 7, 1964)*, pp. 71 f. with n. 84.

⁹ A. Götze, *Madduwattaš* (“MVAeG” 32, 1, 1928), rev. 84–90 of the text; re-edited by F. Sommer, *Die Aḫḫijawā-Urkunden* (München, 1932), pp. 337 f.

¹⁰ This is what ¹⁶KÜR.ḪI.A ŠA KUR Alašiya can only mean. It is true that ordinarily this is expressed by the simple genitive construction without *ša*, ¹⁶KÜR uruX, “the enemy from X.” As an example for the use of *ša* I noted *KBo* X 2 i 24, ¹⁶KÜR ŠA uruHurri, which can only mean “the Hurrian enemy.” To construe the *ša* as something different, “enemies of A.” in the sense of “hostile to A.,” would be over-

taxing the difference between two *writings* of what in Hittite is simple genitive.

¹¹ Text RS 20.18, cited by Nougayrol in *CRAI* 1960, p. 166, and *Iraq*, XXV, 120; to be *Ugaritica* V, No. 22.

¹² Tentatively I think of the possibility of combining ^{uru}Hatti-^mTudhaliya as a double name, comparable to the hieroglyphic name written with the ligature of the signs for Hattusa and Tudhaliya in Karakuyu (I. J. Gelb, *Hitt. Hierogl. Monuments* [“O.I.P.” XLV (1939)], No. 34; cf. E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites*, I [1960], under Nos. 196 and 207, with a different interpretation). Could this “Hatti of Tudhaliya” be the southern extension or Upper City at Boğazköy, and was it built by him?

But whether the treaty belongs to this king or to one of his two sons really is not of great importance.¹³

For the structure called "Eternal Peak" Otten thinks of Yazılıkaya. But it seems to me that the three built-up peaks at Boğazköy, known respectively as Nişantepe, Sarı Kale, and Yenice Kale, are at least as likely candidates for the various *ḫegur*-houses mentioned in the sources;¹⁴ outside the capital, Gāvurkale may be another.¹⁵ Furthermore, there are reasons which make me think specifically of Nişantepe as candidate for the "Eternal Peak" of our text.

We saw that Suppiluliuma's text beginning in Col. II 22 has the opening formula "I am" familiar from hieroglyphic inscriptions. From all we know about Hittite monumental inscriptions it is most likely that the deeds of Tudhaliya which his son put on his "image," that is, almost certainly a statue,¹⁶ were carved in hieroglyphs. It seems to me, therefore, that *KBo* XII 38 is a Hittite version of two hieroglyphic (Luwian) inscriptions. Now it is well known that Nişantepe bears on its slope a hieroglyphic inscription of Suppiluliuma (the second, as will be seen presently). Is it mere coincidence that this inscription, known as Nişantaş, begins, after a damaged group which *may* be "I am," with the titles and the same genealogy of Suppiluliuma, son of Tudhaliya, grandson of Hattusili? Contrary to our assumption of 1935¹⁷ that the next Tudhaliya sign (No. 21 in the drawing) was part of the genealogy, F. Steinherr and E. Laroche have convinced me (in conversation) that this is rather the beginning of the actual text, where the sign groups 18–21 read "My father Tudhaliya."¹⁸ During a common visit to the Nişantaş inscription in September 1966, E. Laroche actually identified the signs for "I am" there: Group 1 of the drawing (see n. 17) is composed of the three signs No. 1, 439, and 391, followed (Group 2) by No. 450 (of Laroche's sign list); together they read *AMU-wa-mi-à*.

Obviously one cannot claim that the inscription beginning with "[My father] Tudhaliya" in *KBo* XII 38 ii 22 is actually a translation of the Nişantaş inscription. What can be stated is that our tablet contains Hittite versions of, first, a statue inscription of Tudhaliya and, second, a hieroglyphic inscription of Suppiluliuma II *comparable* to Nişantaş and dealing with a building on a mountain peak *comparable* to Nişantepe. I confess that I personally prefer this comparison to that with Yazılıkaya; but, of course, neither of these proposals for the identification of the *ḫegur* of our text—nor any other—is capable of proof.

¹³ Incidentally: in "obv." 9 read DINGIR.MEŠ *MA-MIT*, "the gods of the oath," since *-pat* after *-ma* is impossible. The same spelling occurs in *KUB* XXVI 25 ii 10 (and *MA-MIT*¹⁴ *ibid.*, ll. 5 and 7), in a text of the same period.

¹⁴ Some are named after deities: É ^{na}₄*ḫegur* ^d*Pirwa*, É ^{na}₄*ḫegur* ^d*LAMA*; material collected by Otten, *MDOG* 94, 18. Is this "Peak-house of Pirwa" or "house of the Pirwa-Peak"?

¹⁵ The idea that "to build a peak" should be taken literally as referring to the construction of something like a pyramid or a tumulus must be ruled out because pyramids do not occur in the Hittite world and tumuli appear there only later. Or is the erection of a tumulus as innovation at the threshold to the Iron Age conceivable after all?

¹⁶ That statues existed is now proved by Dr. Hâmit Koşay's discovery of a colossal Hittite stone statue at Alacahüyük; see the preliminary note by M. Mellink, *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXIX (1965), 136 with Fig. 4 on Pl. 36.

¹⁷ K. Bittel and H. G. Güterbock, *Boğazköy* ("Abhandl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss." 1935, 1), pp. 63 f.; drawing of the first line, *ibid.*, Taf. 25. Photograph of whole inscription: K. Bittel and R. Naumann, *Boğazköy-Hattuşa*, I ("WVDOG" LXIII, 1952), Pl. 50, a. Cf. H. Th. Bossert, "Nischan-Tepe und Nischan-Taş," *AJO*, IX (1934), 172–86.

¹⁸ The reduced genealogy (without the previously assumed great-grandfather Tudhaliya) could apply to either Suppiluliuma I or II. General considerations of the development of full-fledged inscriptions, however, are strongly in favor of deciding for the second.



Oil Plants in Hittite Anatolia

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local and family influence on politics, and to enfranchise new citizens many of whom were resident aliens (cf. Ezek. 47: 22 f.), Cleisthenes revolutionized the tribal system in a way that evokes the wonder of modern historians: "A system more artificial than the tribes and trittyes of Cleisthenes it might well pass the wit of man to devise."²⁹

Taking the map of Attica as he found it, consisting of between one and two hundred demes or small districts, Cleisthenes distinguished three regions: the region of the city, the region of the coast, and the inland. In each of these regions he divided the demes into ten groups called *trittyes*, so that there were thirty such trittyes in all. . . . Out of the thirty trittyes he then formed ten groups of three, in such a way that no group contained two trittyes from the same region. Each of these groups constituted a tribe, and the citizens of all the demes contained in its three trittyes were fellow tribesmen. . . . The ten new tribes, based on artificial geography, took the place of the four old tribes, based on birth. . . . And the deme, a local unit, replaced the social unit of the clan. This scheme of Cleisthenes . . . might seem almost too artificial to last. The secret of its permanence lay in the fact that the demes, the units on which it was built up, were natural divisions, which he did not attempt to reduce to a round number.³⁰

The reform of Cleisthenes and Ezekiel's resettlement scheme have in common: tribes, geographical regions whose nature (if we have interpreted

²⁹ E. M. Walker in *CAH*, iv, 143; I am grateful to my teacher and colleague Lloyd W. Daly for bringing Cleisthenes' reform to my attention.

³⁰ J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece* (London, 1951), pp. 211 f.

Ezekiel rightly) is crucial for the scheme, and resident aliens that must be integrated. How differently each dealt with these variables is most instructive. The Athenian had a democratic ideal before him, the Judahite, an ideal of concord and justice, ultimately based on religion. The motive for integrating the resident alien illustrates the difference. For the former, it was a matter of reshaping the balance of political power; for the latter, the fulfillment of an ideal of equal treatment under the law. Even more characteristic: for the Athenian, the locality was fundamental, the tribe an artificial, political creation. For the Judahite, the tribe was fundamental and the locality artificially molded to serve it.³¹ On the score of artificiality, however, Cleisthenes' historically attested reform makes the visionary tribal apportionment of Ezekiel seem the essence of simplicity and naturalness.

* * * * *

The priestly writers, like the legislators, were fond of ideal formulations. But to understand them it is necessary to credit them with more than extravagant imagination, reckless of reality. "In framing an ideal we may assume what we wish, but should avoid impossibilities." In the two items we have studied the priestly writers have hewn to Aristotle's injunction.

³¹ On the significance and persistence of familial groupings in Israel, cf. Speiser, "'People' and 'Nation' of Israel," *JBL* 79 (1960), 157-163.

OIL PLANTS IN HITTITE ANATOLIA

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IN THE RITES aimed at bringing back the vanished god several kinds of fruit are used for "Analogiezauber." Beside such examples as the fig, which holds "a thousand seeds," or the raisin, which has wine in its interior,¹ the olive is men-

¹ Thus, *GIŠGESTIN.Ē.A* (= *UD.DU.A*), e.g. KUB XXXIII 68 ii 13 (*RHA* 77, 128); 74 i 5 (*ibid.* 164, line 14); XVII 12 iii 10 f.; 13 ii 5 f. (*ibid.* 144, partly restored). One would expect fresh grapes rather than dried ones! In KUB XVII 10 ii 19 the word is lost, restoration without *Ē.A* (*RHA* 77, 93) is possible but not certain.

tioned as holding oil. It is, however, not the only such fruit: there is *GIŠša(m)ma(m)ma*, which is also said to hold oil, and *GIŠliti-/leti-*, which seems to be of a similar nature. Since all three occur side by side in the same texts, neither *šamama* nor *liti-* can be the Hittite reading of the Akkadogram *GIŠZĒ-ER-DU*,² "olive." The prob-

² Akkadian *sirdu*, but in Boğazköy always written with *zé* (KUB XXXVII 2 with *si* in obv. 18 is Babylonian import according to Köcher's note in the introduction).

lem, thus, is to determine the meaning of the two Hittite words.

For ^{GIŠ}*šamama* the translation "sesame" has been proposed and entered in the dictionary.³ The present writer has for a long time held a different opinion which he will set forth in the following pages. The scholar to whose memory this issue is dedicated was always interested in problems of material culture, especially such that were connected with the spread of a term. In addition, another contribution to this issue is dealing with the problem of the very existence of sesame in the ancient Near East, so that it may not be out of place here to bring the Hittite evidence into the debate. While the decision as to whether *šamaššammu* is sesame or not must be left to others, I shall here use the traditional translation "sesame" for the sake of convenience.

The ideogram of Akkadian *šamaššammu*, ŠE.GIŠ.Ī, occurs in Hittite texts.⁴ It clearly refers to the seed: it is strewn on bread (KBo VIII 91 rev. 3 f.), or the word is used to designate a special kind of bread: NINDA.ŠE.GIŠ.Ī "sesame bread," NINDA.LAL.ŠE.GIŠ.Ī "honey bread with sesame."⁵

Much more frequent is the term for the oil, Ī.GIŠ.⁶ Again we may leave aside the question of whether this is sesame oil or some other kind as well as the problem of the Akkadian reading, *ellu* or *šamnu* (see the discussion in the dictionaries just quoted). We may safely do so since there is nothing in the Hittite texts which would link Ī.GIŠ with the word primarily to be discussed here, ^{GIŠ}*šamama*.

A typical passage from the invocation rituals is KUB XVII 13 col. ii:⁷

³ First used by Goetze in *ANET*, p. 127, translating KUB XVII 10 ii 15; advocated by H. Otten, *Hethitische Totenrituale* (1958) (abbr. *HTR*), p. 134; accepted by J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch (HW)* 2. Ergänzungsheft, pp. 22 and 31.

⁴ References given by E. Laroche, *RHA* XIX/68 (1961) 45.

⁵ KBo VIII 89 obv. 12; Bo 2040 rev. 16 in *HTR* 134.

⁶ Friedrich, *HW* 277 without reference; Deimel, *ŠL* 231, 157 without ref. to Boğazköy; see *CAD* s.v. *ellu* B, *AHW* s.v. *ellu(m)* II. A few random references to Boğazköy texts follow: KUB IX 6 i 6-11 (Otten, *LTU* p. 37); XII 15 vi 10, 18 (cf. KUB XI 31 i 21, which writes simple Ī in analogous context); XXV 42 iii 11; KBo XV 47 rev. 7 with dupl. 48 iv 6; 52 vi 33.

⁷ Transliterated by E. Laroche in *RHA* XXIII/77 (1965) 143 f. For all texts transliterated there we simply refer to *RHA* 77.

(1-4) Behold, [olives are lying here.] Just as [the olive] holds oil in its 'heart,' thus [hold thou, o Mother-goddess,] the king, queen, princes and the land of Hatti in friendliness in thy heart and soul!

(5-8) Behold, raisins are lying here. Just as the [raisin] holds wine in its 'heart,' thus hold thou, (etc.).

(9-12) Behold, ^{GIŠ}*šamama* are lying here. Just as the ^{GIŠ}[š.] holds oil in its 'heart,' thus hold thou, (etc.).

(13 f.) [Beho]ld, *le*[*tīš* is lying here. Just as the *letiš*] evil [. . . (continuation broken).

These stereotype passages from invocations may be tabulated as follows:

KUB XVII 13 ii

RHA 77, 143 f. (above)

[olive]	— oil
raisin	— wine
<i>šamama</i>	— oil
<i>le</i> [<i>tīš</i>]	— [. . .]

KUB XXXIII 74 + . . . , i

RHA 77, 164 f.

fig	— 1000 seeds
raisin	— wine
olive	— oil
<i>letiš</i>	— to <i>lilarešk</i> - heart and soul
<i>šammamma</i>	— [. . .]

HT 100 + . . .

RHA 77, 163

fig	— sweet
<i>liti</i>	— to <i>lilarešk</i> -
raisin	— wine
olive	— oil

KUB XVII 12 iii 8 ff.

Oriens XV 350

fig	— 1000 seeds
raisin	— wine

KUB XXXIII 75 ii 16 ff.

RHA 77, 146

fig	— 1000 seeds
olive	— [oil]

KUB XXXIII 68 ii 6-16

RHA 77, 128

fig	— 1000 seeds
šamama	— (different, see below)
raisin	— wine
olive	— oil

In some texts there is more variety in the wording of these spells. In the Telipinu text, first version (KUB XVII 10 ii 15 ff., RHA 77, 92 f.), this particular group reads as follows (the preceding and following spells are not relevant here):

- (15) *kaša* ^{GIŠ}*šamamma kitta* [. . .]
 (16) *šakuwan eštu*. There follow:
 the fig — being sweet
 the olive — holding oil
 the [raisin] ^a— holding wine; then:
 (22) *kaša* ^{GIŠ}*liti kitta*
 nu šA ^a*Telipinu* [. . .]
 (23) *iškiddu*.

Here again, *šamama*, olive, and *liti* occur side by side; but whereas the passage about the olive has the well-known form, we are told that something should be *šakuwan* [like] ^a *šamama*. Unfortunately the adjective/participle *šakuwant-* is still far from clear,¹⁰ so we cannot—at least not yet—use it to determine the character of *šamama*.

For *liti* we learn from this passage that it has something to do with anointing (*iškiddu* “let it anoint”); and since it has here (as also outside the texts so far listed) the determinative ^{GIŠ}, we may safely consider it as falling into the same class as ^{GIŠ}MA “fig,” ^{GIŠ}GEŠTIN “grape, raisin,” ^{GIŠ}SERDU “olive,” and ^{GIŠ}*šamama*, in other words, take it as the name of a tree and its fruit.¹¹

^a For the restoration, raisin or grape, see above, n. 1.

^b For this restoration see below, n. 13.

¹⁰ Cf. HW 178. The passage closest to ours is RHA 77, 161 B ii 5, where the god is invited to “eat the smooth, hot, *šakuwant*-. . .”—the name of the food being lost! Should this *šakuwant-* turn out to be the same as the participle “seen, visible” one might think of “conspicuous, beautiful, pleasing” or the like.

¹¹ It is hard to understand why W. von Soden listed this word from this text in *AHW* under *littu(m)* III “stool”—albeit with the question “dazu?” Equally unjustified is Otten’s transliteration as Akkadogram, *HTR* 134. That it is a Hittite *-i* stem is shown by the occurrence of the nominative form in *-iš*, KUB XXXIII 74 i 8 (RHA 77, 165, 17), common gender, as against

It is for this reason that we listed *liti-* as an oil-bearing fruit in our introduction. Unfortunately the verb *lilarešk-*¹² is unknown. While a general or derived meaning like “to appease, propitiate” may be guessed at, it is hard to determine the concrete meaning of the verb said of the fruit *liti-*, except that the verb *išk-* “to anoint,” used in connection with the same fruit in the Telipinu spell, may perhaps indicate in what direction one might look.¹³

Turning to other ritual texts, we find *šamama* included in various lists of ingredients. These are as follows:

1. KUB XII 26 iii 11-14

BAPPIR	‘beer bread’
BULÜG	malt
GA.KIN.AG	cheese
UZU.İ	suet
^{GIŠ} ZÉ-ER-TUM	olive
^{GIŠ} MA	fig
^{GIŠ} GEŠTIN.È.A	raisin
^{GIŠ} ha-aš-ši-ik-kañ	....
^{GIŠ} ša-am-ma-ma	....

2. KUB XXIX 1 iv 4 ff.

İ.ŠAH	lard
LÄL	honey
GA.KIN.AG	cheese
EM-ŠÜ	rennet(?)
(SÍG BABBAR	white wool)
(SÍG MI	black wool)
BAPPIR	‘beer bread’
BULÜG	malt
^{GIŠ} ša-ma-ma	....
^{GIŠ} GEŠTIN.È.A	raisin
^{GIŠ} le-e-ti	....
^{GIŠ} su-wa-i-tar	....
(KUŠ.GUD	cowhide)
MUN	salt

endingless neuter in *-i* in the other texts. See already Laroche, *RA* 52 (1958) 188 (HW, 2. Erg. 17).

¹² Ingeniously reconstructed from broken texts by Laroche, RHA 77, at the passages quoted and p. 144 (note 13 below). Is this, despite the *-r-*, to be connected with the verb *lila(i)-*, HW 2. Erg. 17?

¹³ Another broken text, KUB XXXIII 38 col. i (RHA 77, 144), seems to have a comparable combination of spells: *lilareš[kiddu]* calls for the restoration of *liti*, and *šakuwan* recalls *šamama* in the Telipinu text just discussed. What follows (in lines 6-8) shows that that text should indeed be restored in the form of a comparison (n. 9 above).

Otten, *HTR* p. 134, quotes the following from unpublished ritual texts:

3. 634/b, 6 f.

(measured by *se'a*)

GIŠMA fig

[...]

GIŠša-am-ma-ma

4. 139/d i 8 ff.

(measured by handful)

[...]

GIŠGEŠTIN.È.A raisin

GIŠZERTUM olive

GIŠNU[RMU] pomegranate

[...]

GIŠša-am-ma-ma

GIŠle-e-ti

5. 110/e obv. 5

[...]

[GIŠGEŠ]TIN.È.A raisin

GIŠZERTUM olive

GIŠša-ma-ma

GIŠha-ši-ig-ga

6. KUB XII 64, 1-4

[...]

GIŠha-aš-ši-i[g-ga]

GIŠša-ma-ma

NINDA EM.ŠÚ sour bread

BULUG BAPPİR malt and 'beer bread'

In the ritual for the dead, *šamama* occurs in lists introduced by the heading "all fruit" in the sense of "fruit of all kinds." These are:

7. KUB XXXIX 7 ii 16 f., repeated *ibid.* 63 f.

(*HTR* pp. 36, 40)

GIŠIN-BI^{HI}.A (*humanda*) (all) fruit

GIŠMA fig

GIŠGEŠTIN.È.A raisin

GIŠZÉ-ER-TUM olive

GIŠša-ma-am-ma-an-za š.s (Luwian plural)

(var.: No. 8: GIŠša-am-ma[-. . .]; ii 64:

GIŠša-ma-ma)

GIŠHAŠHUR apple

GIŠHAŠHUR.KUR.RA 'mountain apple' (= ?)

8. KUB XXXIX 21 i 10 f. (*HTR* p. 88)

IN-BI^{HI}.A *human* all fruit

GIŠ[...]

....

GIŠHAŠHUR.KUR.RA 'mountain apple'

GIŠša-am-ma-m[a]

9. There is another list which requires some comment. In KBo X 34 col. i, GIŠšamama occurs in lines 18 and 24, but the seeming third occurrence in line 14 is a copying mistake of mine which should be corrected. The tablet has *ša-ma-iz-na-aš*, as clearly visible on the photograph.¹⁴ The passage, lines 11-25, is divided by horizontal rules into four lists.

The *first* of these deals with different kinds of bread, the last of which is honey bread. The phrase which follows, *kuišša para* (or *kuitta para*, depending on the gender), literally "each one out," is often used in such listings in the sense of "und zwar, namely, including the following items," or the like. It is here followed by a list of words in the genitive indicating the materials from which the breads are made; whether this refers to several of the bread names which precede it or only to the last, NINDA.LAL, remains open. The materials enumerated are:

ZfZ "wheat,"¹⁵ *haršanila-*, *euwan-*, *parhuena-*, GÜ.TUR "peas," GÜ.GAL.GAL "chickpeas (? or: beans?)," *ša-ma-iz-na-*, GIŠha-aš-ši-ig-ga-, and *ša-ap-ša-ma-*.

The *second* section (15-18) lists "all fresh (and) dried fruit" GIŠIN-BU *human RA-AT-BU ŠA-BU-Ū-LU* "namely, of each a little: fig, raisin, olive, *paizzinna-*, *warawara-*, apple, 'mountain apple,' GIŠzu-u-pa,¹⁶ GIŠdammašhuel, pomegranate, grape (here without È.A!), GIŠša-ma-ma."

In the *third* listing, the decisive first word (line 19) is not clear; does it begin with [DU]G? Does it refer to juice? At the end of the paragraph we

¹⁴ Against an "emendation" of *iz* into *ma* (i.e., assuming a "mistake" of the scribe which my miscopy would have "corrected") is the occurrence of [... š]a-am-ma-iz-zi-li-iš in line 25, where *iz* before *zi* is in order. I am unable to offer an interpretation for either of these groups of signs. An "emendation" of *am-ma* to *ne* is, again, contradicted by the simple *ma* of line 14. Besides, **šamamanaš* would be the only example for the omission of GIŠ and for an *-n* stem!

¹⁵ I cannot go into details here; but since ZfZ is the most common bread cereal of the Hittites, and since the texts never have GIG for "wheat," whereas real wheat is archaeologically attested even for pre-Hittite times in central Anatolia, I think that ZfZ, in Hittite texts, cannot be limited to the meaning "emmer wheat."

¹⁶ Since Akkadian *zūpu* "origanum" (or "hyssop," *HW* 2. Erg. p. 34 without reference) is not a fruit but an herb, written with SAR, attested only once in a late text and suspect of being a loan from Aramaic (see *CAD* for this information), it cannot be meant here. We therefore take GIŠzupa as Hittite name, in the neuter plural form, of a fruit.

read *memal šA GIŠIN-BI* “meal of fruit;” is this an item by itself or a description of what precedes? The list itself, again in the genitive, is: “of apples, of figs, of raisins, of pomegranates, of [GIŠ]hatalkešna-, of *euwan*-.”

The fourth is a list of “roasted” items ([š]anḫunta). They are: [ḫarš]aniliš, *euwan*, *parḫuenaš*, GÜ.GAL.GAL, [GÜ.TUR], GIŠša-ma-ma *duwarnanda* “broken š.s,” GIŠ.KfN. HI.A *duwarnanda* “broken k.s.”¹⁷ After a short break there follows “[. . . š]ammaizziš (see n. 14 above), filled.”

From these lists we learn the following about *šamama*:

a) It is consistently written with GIŠ, the determinative commonly used for trees and fruit of trees.

b) While in the first few lists it is associated with other ingredients as well as with fruit, it is expressly subsumed under the heading *INBU* in lists Nr. 7 and 8. In list 9 it appears among “fresh and dried fruit” and again under the heading “roasted ones,” but is not found among the ingredients used for breads.

c) The last section of list 9 speaks of “broken” š. This brings us to another passage which requires some discussion. In KUB XXXIII 68 ii 7 ff. (*RHA* 77, 128) we read:

(7) *nu GIŠMA maḫḫan andurza LIM NUMUN-an ḫarzi*

(8) *ziga ŠĀ-it aššu ud-da-a-na-za ḫark*

GIŠša-ma-ma (9) *maḫḫan duwarnizzi*

nu pār-aš-te-ḫu-uš (10) *peššiezzi*

kardiya-tta-ma-at-kan šara danzi /

(11) *ziga dU idalu ud-da-a-ar arḫa peššiya*

(12) *nu-za aššu ud-da-a-ar da-a* /

Despite the difficulties of this text we may venture the following translation:

¹⁷ GIŠ.“ḪAR” must here be the name of a fruit (or tree). For GIŠ.KfN = *kiškanû* see *AHw* s.v.; another occurrence seems to be KUB XXXIII 68 ii 18 (*RHA* 77, 128 f.) with (Hittite?) complement -ri: “Whoever speaks evil to the dear Storm-god about the king and queen, *nan* GIŠ.KfN-ri *du-ud-du-uš-x* [. . . -d]u?” (I cannot restore or translate this); whoever speaks a harsh word to you, o [Storm-]god, give <him> a [. . . .] ‘mountain apple’; whoever [. . . .] a sour [. . . .] to the Storm-god, give him a sour apple, o Storm-god!” Here the mention of two other kinds of fruit in the next clauses makes *kiškanû* more likely than GIŠ.ḪUR = *uṣurtu*.

Just as the fig has a thousand seeds inside,
(thus) hold thou (o god) good words(?)¹⁸ in thy heart!

Just as he¹⁹ breaks the *šamama* and throws away the *p.s* (= shells?),
and they lift it up to thy heart,
(thus) throw thou, o Storm-god, away the evil words
and take the good words!

(The next sections use the well-known similes of the raisin holding wine and the olive holding oil, as tabulated above; there follows the section with GIŠ.KfN discussed in n. 17 above.)

It was this passage in conjunction with the observations mentioned before which made me think of some kind of nut: *šamama* is the fruit of a tree, it contains oil, and something is thrown away²⁰ when it is broken. This leaves open the question of which kind of nut or nut-like fruit *šamama* may be: walnut, hazelnut, pistachio, almond; all grow in Asia Minor.

In view of the difficulties encountered in the interpretation of this passage (XXXIII 68 ii 7 ff.) it is better not to put too much emphasis on what may be the cracking of shells! There is, however, another observation to which the lists give rise:

d) The sequence of fruits and other ingredients is by no means fixed, a fact which makes all conclusions based on sequence alone rather hazardous. Now Otten’s main argument was the “Nebeneinander beider Begriffe” (*HTR* 134), viz., the combination of *ḫaššikka* — *šamama* (XII 26, our No. 1; add Nr. 6) or *šamama* — *ḫaššikka* (110/e, No. 5) on the one hand, and NINDA.LĀL *ḫaššiggaš* and NINDA.LĀL ŠE.GIŠ.Ī on the other.²¹ However, we observed that *šamama* is not

¹⁸ Assuming a mistake for *ud-da-a-ar*, as lines 11 and 12 actually write. An ablative here seems out of place.

¹⁹ Who is meant? The officiating priest? Or the patron of the ritual? For the general subject Hittite normally uses the 3d pers. plur., as found here in line 10. To take *šamama* here as subject (verb form in the sing. would be in order after a neuter plur.) would imply intransitive use of the active form of *duwarna* (i) - (“as the š.s pop and shed the p.s”), a use for which there is to my knowledge no other example.

²⁰ Apart from the hard shell, one might think of the fleshy outer shell of a walnut (if this is what the *šamama* is). Is there any connection between *par(a)šteḫa-* and *paršdu-* “sprout, shoot”?

²¹ In Bo 2040 rev. 15 f. In the duplicate, KUB XXVII 19, 3, only the first term is preserved; there is space of undetermined length available for the restoration of

among the ingredients used for bread (or honey bread alone) in our text No. 9, first section. But just there, at the end of the list (KBo X 34 i 14) and following *ḥaššiggaš*, we find a word (in the genitive) *šapšamaš*!

Now it seems obvious that, once it had been noted that *šamama* contains oil, the similarity of sound between *šamama* and Akkadian *šamaššammu* played its part in the proposal that *šamama* be sesame. But the assonance is not very close, especially in view of the fact that the Hurrian form is *šumišumi*.²² *šamama* lacks the second *s* found in all other forms of this international word. It seems to me that the *šapšama-* of KBo X 34 i 14 has a much better chance of being the Hittite name of the sesame, for the following reasons:

- 1) The assonance with *šamaššammu*, *šumišumi* is closer;
- 2) it does not have the determinative GIŠ;
- 3) in contrast to *šamama* it is used for honey bread, and
- 4) its position after *ḥaššikka-* corresponds exactly to that of ŠE.GIŠ.Ì in Otten's text.²³

the second. The parallel text KUB XXXII 128 i 5 simply says "all (kinds of) honey bread" without naming them. The wording in *HW*, 2. Erg. 22: "wechsel in Paralleltexuten mit (dem) Idgr." puts more into Otten's statement than what the facts warrant.

²² Known from the Ras Shamra vocabulary: Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* XII (1931), text No. 8 on pp. 234 ff. and Pl. L-LII, col. ii 11 on p. 238, corresponding to *Hb* II 124 (*MSL* V p. 61). *HW* 325 and *HTR* 134, n. 3, quote secondary literature.

²³ It must be stated that at the time of Otten's writing

What, then, is GIŠ^{liti}/leti? Also a fruit, different from both *šamama* and the olive, and one whose product can be used for anointing. Thus the almond offers itself as a candidate, since almond oil is known for its cosmetic use. It is clear that this is no more than a possibility; the evidence is not sufficient really to determine the nature of *liti*.

If we may sum up our conclusions, even though they are only tentative, we have the following oil producing plants in the Hittite texts:

GIŠ^{SERDU}, the olive;
GIŠ^{šamama},²⁴ a kind of nut;
GIŠ^{liti}-, perhaps the almond;
ŠE.GIŠ.Ì, probably read *šapšama-* in Hittite, "sesame" according to the traditional translation.

the tablet KBo X 34 had not yet been excavated, so that he could not know about *šapšama*.

²⁴ In all places known to me ending in *-a*. According to the participle *duwarnanda* in KBo X 34 i 24 we are safe in taking this for neuter plural. Once there occurs a Luwian plural in *-anza* (above, list 7). Other occurrences, which have no immediate bearing on the discussion, are:

KUB XXXI 79, 3 (letter about transport by boat) may be restored as [. . . . AD].KID GIŠša-ma-ma na-aš up-p[í . . .] "[so and so many containers) of wick[er]work (filled with) *šamama*: dis[patch] them!" KUB XXXIII 34 obv. 8 (*RHA* 77, 127): GIŠša-ma-ma-kán wa-ar-aš-t[a] "he harvested š.s."

KUB XXXIV 80 obv. 9: naš GIŠša-ma-am-ma ki-i-ša-ru "let him become, turn into, š." The parallel paragraphs have "let him turn into a fish" and "into the river Maraššandaš," respectively. Does line 10 contain the verb [li-]le-e-ia-ru from *lilai-*, discussed in n. 12 above?

INDIVIDUAL PRAYER IN SUMERIAN: THE CONTINUITY OF A TRADITION

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I. A Sumerian Psalter?

SINCE THE FIRST PSALM STUDIES of Hermann Gunkel at the beginning of this century,

¹ Originally presented, under the title of "The Psalter of the Sumerians," to the Philip W. Lown Institute of Advanced Judaic Studies, Brandeis University, November 2, 1966.

the exegesis of the Biblical Psalter has accorded an ever more prominent place to the comparison of the hymns and prayers of the cuneiform tradition of ancient Mesopotamia.² As early as 1922,

² For exhaustive bibliographies of current psalm exegesis, cf. the periodic surveys in *Theologische Rundschau* n. F. 1 (1929, by M. Haller), 23 (1955, by



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MUSICAL NOTATION IN UGARIT

by Hans G. GÜTERBOCK

*To Professor Claude Schaeffer on the occasion of
the thirtieth season of excavation at Ras Shamra.*

This paper has nothing to do with the “musical notation” once believed to be found on a tablet from Assur (KAR No. 4)¹. Already in 1933 B. Landsberger showed that the syllables in the left column of that tablet were of quite different nature². Furthermore, he correctly stressed (p. 170) that the assumption underlying the system of Sachs, the reduction of the cuneiform signs to single sounds, was irreconcilable with the syllabic character of the script. All this did not keep F. W. Galpin from following in Sachs’ footsteps by simply brushing aside Landsberger’s objections, and from even rendering the text with its “music” in modern notation³. That the syllables found on the Assur tablet and on numerous other tablets in a fixed sequence, called “Silbenalphabet” by Landsberger, have nothing whatsoever to do with music should now be obvious to all after Landsberger’s second publication on the subject⁴ and the contributions of E. Sollberger, J. Nougayrol, and M. Çiğ-H. Kızılyay to his *Festschrift*⁵. Miss H. Hartmann was quite right, therefore, to leave this hypothesis out of consideration in her dissertation on the music of the Sumerians⁶.

1. Curt SACHS, Die Entzifferung einer babylonischen Notenschrift, *Sitzb. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1924, pp. 120-123; the same, Ein babylonischer Hymnus, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1925), pp. 1-22, more detailed.

2. Die angebliche babylonische Notenschrift, *Festschrift Max von Oppenheim (AfO Beiheft 1, 1933)*, pp. 170-178.

3. F. W. GALPIN, *The Music of the Sumerians* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1937), pp. 43-48 and 99-104; unchanged in the reprint (Strasbourg Univ. Press, 1955).

4. Zum Silbenalphabet B, in: M. ÇİĞ (and) H. KIZILYAY, *Zwei altbabylonische Schulbücher aus Nippur* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay. VII. Seri No. 35, Ankara, 1959), pp. 97-116; cf. the text of the similar Silbenalphabet, *ibid.*, pp. 59-76.

5. *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger on His Seventy-fifth Birthday (AS 16, Chicago, 1965)*: E. SOLLBERGER, A Three-Column Silbenvokabular A, pp. 21-28; J. NOUGAYROL, “Vocalises” et “Syllabes en liberté” à Ugarit, pp. 29-39; M. ÇİĞ and H. KIZILYAY, Additions to Series B and C of Personal Names from Old Babylonian Nippur, pp. 41-56.

6. Henrike HARTMANN, *Die Musik der sumerischen Kultur* (Frankfurt a. M., 1960).

Here we are dealing with something entirely different. In 1960 Anne Draffkorn Kilmer published a tablet, datable to the Kassite period, in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania¹ which contains a section dealing with entities characterized by the sign *sa* which, among other things, means "string" of a musical instrument. The understanding of this section was made possible by an unpublished tablet from Ur, a copy of which Landsberger had received from O. R. Gurney and in which he recognized a list of the names of the nine strings of a musical instrument; these same names were found to occur also in the Pennsylvania list.

In the autumn of 1962 Marcelle Duchesne-Guillemain, who was in Chicago with her husband, learned about the article of Mrs. Kilmer and gave a musicological interpretation of the text². While she was here, S. N. Kramer kindly put the original tablet temporarily at our disposal, and collations by Mrs. Kilmer, Landsberger, and myself led to a number of improved readings which Mrs. Duchesne could use in her article. Her published article and the collations then led to more intensive occupation with the text, as the result of which Mrs. Kilmer and Mrs. Duchesne-Guillemain published a revised text and interpretation in the Landsberger *Festschrift*³. In addition to the Pennsylvania tablet this article contains the relevant part of the Ur tablet and adds the observation that some of the technical terms recur in the listing of songs known as the "Lieder katalog" from Assur (KAR 158, col. VIII). Mrs. Duchesne-Guillemain expanded the study of these three texts in another article published the following year⁴.

Other musicologists soon took up the discussion of this new material. Professor W. Stauder published an article in 1967⁵ which, however, was based on the first publications of Kilmer and Duchesne-Guillemain only (here, n. 1 and n. 2) without benefit of the later ones. He proposed that the Pennsylvania text referred not to strings but rather to the length of strings as produced with the help of frets on a lute, an idea which was very unlikely because it stretches the meaning of Sumerian *sa* too far.

Gurney, who had initiated this whole chain of investigations by making the Ur tablet available, maintained his interest in it and secured the cooperation of the Oxford musicologist D. Wulstan. In 1968 the two scholars published a set of articles

1. *Orientalia*, N.S. 29 (1960), pp. 273 ff., esp. pp. 278, 281, and the section "Strings of Musical Instruments", pp. 298-300.

2. Découverte d'une gamme babylonienne, *Revue de Musicologie* 49 (1963), pp. 3-17.

3. The Strings of Musical Instruments : Their Names, Numbers, and Significance (A. D. KILMER), *AS* 16 (cf. p. 45, n. 5), pp. 261-268, with Appendix, "Note complémentaire sur la découverte de la gamme babylonienne" (M. D.-G.), pp. 268-272.

4. A l'aube de la théorie musicale : Concordance de trois tablettes babyloniennes, *Revue de Musicologie* 52 (1966), pp. 147-162. See also her article in *Syria* 44 (1967), pp. 233-246.

5. Ein Musiktraktat aus dem zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend, *Festschrift für Walter Wiora zum 30. Dezember 1966*, hrsg. von L. FINSCHER und C.-H. MAHLING (Kassel, etc., Bärenreiter, 1967), pp. 157-163.

in which Gurney edited a fragment of a tablet in the British Museum which Sollberger had brought to his attention, and Wulstan developed his own interpretation of the evidence, which differs from Mrs. Duchesne's in various points, and included the data provided by the London fragment in it¹. The latter seems to be an instruction for the tuning of an instrument by "changing" one string at a time; being of the Old Babylonian period it is so far the earliest attestation of the terminology in question.

Without going into musicological detail for which I am not competent, I would sum up the essential results of these studies as follows :

1. The two numerals contained in each line of the Pennsylvania tablet designate strings.

2. In the longer lines each string is also referred to by its name; some of these names are identical with the numbers, others show that strings No. 6-9 were numbered from the rear : "4th, 3rd, 2nd from rear" and "rear string"².

3. The system is heptatonic since, in the progression of intervals, the 8th string is replaced by the first, and the 9th by the 2nd.

4. At the end of each line there is another term, also preceded by the word-sign *sa*, which seems to be the name of the interval formed by the two strings listed in that line.

5. Since some of these "interval" names (but only those of fifths and fourths, not those of thirds!) are used to characterize certain songs in the catalogue, they may refer to the mode represented by the tones contained in such interval : assuming a fixed position of the halftones in the octave, the half-tone would fall into a different place within the intervals, e. g., 1-5, 2-6, or 3-7. (The position of the halftones in the scale as a whole is still debated among musicologists, and no opinion is offered here.)

But there is more about these "intervals", and this brings us to the subject matter of this paper. The rich volume *Ugaritica V* reached Chicago late in 1968, and when I looked at the Hurrian texts contained in it the articles in *Iraq 30* were fresh in my mind. I therefore was struck by seeing the "interval" names here again, although in a slightly "Hurrianized" form. I take the opportunity here to offer these lines to Professor Claude Schaeffer, to whom we are all indebted for the discovery and masterful publication of ancient Ugarit, as a small contribution to the interpretation of this particular group of his finds.

The clue to the matter is the text *h(ourrite) 6*, composed of *rs 15.30 + 49 + 17.387* and published by E. Laroche in transliteration on p. 463 and in cuneiform

1. D. WULSTAN, *The Tuning of the Babylonian Harp*, *Iraq 30* (1968), pp. 215-228; O. R. GURNEY, *An Old Babylonian Treatise on the Tuning of the Harp*, *ibid.*, pp. 229-233.

2. Other names of strings do not interest us here. Those of the first and 2nd string, "fore (string)" and "next", are quasi-numerical. Much debated is the adjective "thin" added to the numeric name "third (string)", and of importance is the only truly non-numeric name, "(The god) Ea created (it)" of the fourth.

on p. 487 of *Ugaritica* V. It is the only well preserved among the Hurrian fragments ; but, as Laroche already pointed out, the others once had the same pattern ; and now, with the help of the new publication of h. 6, we see that the musical terms occur also in the fragments h. 2-5 which were published (together with one half of h. 6) in *PRU* III as early as 1955 !

The tablets in question, h. 2-5 in *PRU* III and h. 6-30 in *Ugaritica* V, show the same arrangement : There is a Hurrian text written on the upper part of a tablet and running from the obverse around the right edge to the reverse, which is contrary to normal usage. As Laroche has observed (pp. 462 f., 484) these sections form coherent texts, though often with repetitions resembling refrains, and seem to be of religious nature. Below this text, usually separated from it by a double rule and limited in width to one side of the tablet, there is the section which contains, together with a few other words, the musical terms here under discussion, each of the latter followed by a numeral.

Since Laroche has published an alphabetic list of these terms (pp. 484 f.) it is easy to find them. It soon becomes evident that only those terms have a counterpart in Kilmer's text that are followed in Ras Shamra by numerals ; those listed by Laroche as having "pas de chiffre" do not occur in the music text and must therefore have a meaning different from the "intervals" (which, however, does not preclude their having something to do with music !). The best way to show the correspondences may be to reproduce the table contained in the Philadelphia tablet in an abridged form but with a few improved readings¹ and to put the Ras Shamra terms next to it².

Strings No.	Name of interval	Ugarit
(1) ³ 1 and 5	SA <i>nīš gabarī</i>	[... G]ABA.RI ⁴
(2) 7 and 5	SA <i>še-e-ru</i> ⁵	<i>šahri</i> ⁶

1. The Oriental Institute has a cast of the tablet. I am indebted to my colleagues M. Civil and A. L. Oppenheim for bringing this to my attention and helping me with the reading. The responsibility for new readings is, of course, mine.

2. In a first draft of this paper I had identified nine of the fourteen terms (items 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14 of the following list). After I had shown my manuscript to some colleagues at the XVII^e Rencontre assyriologique in Brussels, in June-July, 1969, H. M. KÜMMEL kindly sent me a copy of the manuscript of his article *Zur Stimmung der babylonischen Harfe*, *Orientalia* 39 (1970), pp. 252-263, and also communicated to me some more identifications (items 1, 3, and 5, see below). Item 8 then fell into place by itself.

3. For the sake of convenience I numbered the items ; these are *not* the line numbers of Kilmer's edition !

4. Preserved in the fragments RS 19.164 (*Ugaritica* V, pp. 477 ff., hereafter quoted by letter only) n 3 ; o 6 ; [...]RI only in y 1 ; bb 1 ; text h. 22, 6 (Kümmel). — This seems to be the only logographic writing among the Ras Shamra terms. Or should it be taken as phonetic *gaba-ri* ? Is the value *gaba* (von SODEN, *Das akk. Syllabar*², No. 117, in *gabarû*, etc.) applicable to the Hurrian of Ugarit ?

5. This reading, tentatively proposed by Kilmer, *AS* 16, 266, n. 44, has been confirmed by a collation of the original kindly carried out by Erle Leichty. The recognition of the *ru* there helped in the readings of items (7) and (8).

6. Both items (2) and (6) with sub-species called "upper" and "lower", see below.

Strings No.	Name of interval	Ugarit
(3) 2 and 6	SA <i>išartu</i>	<i>išarte</i> ¹
(4) 1 (= 8 ?) and 6	SA <i>šalšatu</i>	<i>ša(š)šate</i>
(5) 3 and 7	SA <i>embūbu</i>	<i>umbube</i> ²
(6) 2 (= 9 ?) and 7	SA <i>rebūtu</i>	<i>irbute</i> ³
(7) 4 and 1	SA <i>nīd qabli</i> ⁴	<i>ni/atka/ibli</i>
(8) 1 and 3	SA <i>isqu</i> ⁵	<i>ešgi</i>
(9) 5 and 2	SA <i>qablītu</i>	<i>kablite</i>
(10) 2 and 4	SA <i>tilur qablītu</i>	<i>tīla/irkabli</i>
(11) 6 and 3	SA <i>kitmu</i>	<i>kitme</i>
(12) 3 and 5	SA <i>tilur išartu</i>	<i>tīli(m)išarte</i>
(13) 7 and 4	SA <i>pītu</i> ⁶	
(14) 4 and 6	SA <i>z/šir-du</i> ⁷	<i>zirte</i>

This covers thirteen of the fourteen terms of the Pennsylvania tablet. Only for item (13) did we not find a counterpart either to the form *pi-i-te* of the Lieder-katalog or to the *kat-tum* of the Pennsylvania tablet⁸. It is safe to assume that this gap is due to the accident of preservation. On the other hand, the only term listed by Laroche with a numeral and not covered by our comparison is *hapšema*. But in two of its occurrences the alleged numeral "2" is damaged and the traces may be

1. At the broken passages h. 16, 14; 21, 4; 26, 13; w 2; bb 2, it is possible to restore *išarte* without preceding *tīli(m)* (Kümmel). — In 21, 4 the hand copy seems to indicate a space before *i-*, making *i-šar-te* the whole word.

2. Kümmel quotes [...] *-bu-be* from h. 28, 8 and [...] *-bu-bi* from x 2 (as well as [...] *-be* h. 12 rev. 3, [...] *-bi* h. 8, 20 and nn 2). Of these, 28, 8 was listed by Laroche under *tuppunu*, but the hand copy (p. 496) shows a clear *be*. The same is true of other occurrences of *tup-pu-nu* (19, 8 and 21, 7) while 6, 7 and g 3 are ambiguous but may have *be*. Since the signs *tup* and *um* look alike and *pu* can be read *bu*, it is clear now that we should read *um-bu-be* throughout.

3. Both (2) and (6) with sub-species called "upper" and "lower", see below. — *ir-bu-te* indicates vowel *u* also for the Akkadian reading of *4-tu*; cf. KILMER's note 53.

4. KAR 158 viii 49 (AS 16, 268) *ni-id MURUB*₄; the sign in the Pennsylvania tablet, line 17 (*ibid.*, p. 266 with n. 49) is the same as the *ru* in *še-e-ru* (item 2), hence *šUB* = *nīdu*. The same reading was independently also found by KÜMMELE (*Orientalia*) and von SODEN (*AHW* s. v. *nīdu(m)*, 9). The RSh. form decides for *qabli*, not *qablīti*.

5. Written *giš.šUB.BA* (collated; *RU* = *šUB* as before; *BA* by comparison with signs in col. ii). The same reading again in Kümmel's article. Of the two readings given for *giš.šUB.BA*, *isqu* "lot" and *tilpānu* "throwstick", the RSh. form *ešgi* decides for the former.

6. KAR 158 viii 48 *pi-i-te*; the *kat-tum* of the Pennsylvania tablet has therefore been emended to *pi(!)-tum*, see Kilmer's note 41.

7. Of the two values of the sign, *muš* and *z/šir*, the edition in AS 16 preferred *muš*; the RSh. equivalent now shows that it should be the other. None of the words listed in CAD, volumes Š and Z, and resembling this *z/šir-du* yields a satisfactory meaning.

8. KAR 158 viii 48 *pi-i-te*; the *kat-tum* of the Pennsylvania tablet has therefore been emended to *pi(!)-tum*, see Kilmer's note 41.

another sign¹, while at the third place it is completely lost. Thus, *ḥapšema* may rather belong to the Hurrian words which are used without numerals.

Of special interest is the fact that two of our terms, *šaḥri* and *irbute*, occur with the adjectives *ašḥu* "upper" and *turi* "lower"²; in other words, a distinction was made between the "upper *šaḥri*" and "lower *šaḥri*", the "upper *irbute*" and "lower *irbute*". It is obvious that these distinctions must have some musical meaning, but any further comment must be left to the specialists.

The main questions arising out of the identification of the terms in the lower part of the Hurrian tablets with the Babylonian musical terms are these: What purpose do these entries on the Hurrian tablets serve? And what is the function of the accompanying numerals?

The obvious answer to the first question seems to be: musical notation for the song, or litany, contained in the upper part of the same tablets. The frequent repetitions in those texts and the divine names contained in them would suit the idea that these were hymns or litanies. Proof for musical notation would come if it were possible to correlate the terms in the second part of each tablet, together with the numerals, with the "hymn" in its first. Since all others are too fragmentary, No. h. 6 is the only tablet in which at least an approximate count of the words or syllables of the text and of the numerals in the second part is possible. The count can only be approximate because some words and numerals are lost even in this relatively well preserved tablet.

If the technical terms designate intervals, does each of them represent two notes, and does the numeral behind it indicate that these two notes should be repeated *n* times? If for practical purposes we use do-re-mi for the seven tones of the scale (*only* for their relative position, of course!) does then, e. g., *kablite 3* mean sol-re, sol-re, sol-re? Or does each "interval" include the intervening tones (upward or downward)? In other words, is *kablite*, the step "5 – 2", sol-fa-mi-re or sol-la-si-do-re? And should such a partial scale be repeated *n* times?

I tried both kinds of count for text h. 6, attempting to match the "notes" with the syllables of the text. The result was negative in both cases: too few notes in the first, too many in the second. Also, the resulting "melodies" were not acceptable. So these explanations do not seem to work.

If, on the other hand, the terms designate modes, keys, or full scales based on the type of tuning connected with the respective term³, what do the numerals after their names then mean? Against an interpretation according to which, e. g.,

1. As pointed out to me by Kümmel.

2. Cf. LAROCHE's *Lexique hurrite*, in *Ugaritica V*, pp. 533 ff., s. vv. *ašḥ* and *tr*.

3. This last possibility is considered by Wulstan, *Iraq*, l. c., and by KÜMMEL, *Orientalia*, l. c.

kablite 3 would designate the third tone either within the “5 – 2” interval or in a scale named after it, there are these objections : *a*) why should individual tones in a melody be designated in such a complicated way ? *b*) what can the number 10 (text 6, line 5, with *tiłimišarte*) be in such a system ? *c*) all fourteen terms occur in our texts whereas only the fifths and fourths were names of “modes” or “scales” (as observed by Wulstan and Kümmel and confirmed by the Liederkatalog).

The assumption, finally, that the whole hymn should be repeated *n* times in each of the “modes” enumerated, can be dismissed off hand because of the impossibly high number of repetitions that would result. Besides, the “mode” or “scale” in which the whole song was sung seems to be mentioned in the colophon.

All remnants of colophons were collected by Laroche on p. 486 of *Ugaritica* V. Taking the analysis offered there as basis but reading instead of *za-am-ma-aš-ša* rather *za-am-ma-rù ša*¹ one arrives at the following interpretation :

“This (is) a song (in the mode) *niłkibli*, a *zaluzi* of the gods, (composed) by PN₁, written down by PN₂.” *zaluzi* would be a term for “hymn” or the like.

Is it mere coincidence that *ni/atkibli* is the only term preserved in these colophons ? It is true that the five colophons where it occurs represent only a fraction of the texts (30 numbered texts plus 43 small fragments) and that other terms may have stood in other colophons where they are now lost. Still it would be a strange coincidence if all others were lost and only this one preserved five times. However that may be, it seems that if there was a designation of the “mode” of the hymn as a whole, comparable to those listed in the Liederkatalog from Assur, it should be the term occurring in the colophon. Happily, *nīd qabli* does occur in the Assur catalogue. But what, then, is the difference between *nalkabli 1* in line 8 and *niłkibli* in the colophon of text h. 6 ?

Not being a musicologist I must let the matter rest here and leave it to the professionals to interpret the material. If I may sum up the points that seem important to me, they are these :

1. The similarity of the terms attested in Ugarit with those listed in the Pennsylvania tablet is such that it cannot be accidental. If the latter are musical terms then the former must be too.

2. The literal meaning of these terms, while certainly of prime importance, must be handled with extreme caution and, if possible, in constant consultation between the philologist and the musicologist².

1. Reading proposed by A. Kilmer in a letter. The double *m* which results in the wrong word (*zammāru* “singer” instead of *zamāru* “song” which is required by the context) can easily be blamed on the Hurrian scribes.

2. Attention is drawn here to the new readings offered in this paper. For *šēru* (2), the meaning “morning” is not the only possibility ; *rebūtu* (6) (*irbute*) would decide in favor of the ordinal “fourth”, but for *šalšatu* (4)

3. A new attempt at defining the true nature of these terms must take into consideration all the different applications in which they are found. On what common ground can one explain their occurrence, so far :

- a) on the Pennsylvania tablet ;
- b) in the Assur catalogue of songs ;
- c) in the tuning instruction of the British Museum ;
- d) with numerals in the Ugarit texts ;
- e) without numeral in the colophons of the same tablets ;
- f) the distinction of an upper and lower variety of items (2) and (6) ?

It is hoped that a solution will be found by the experts. In this paper we could only bring to their attention this new material which shows at least one thing quite clearly : that the Hurrians were conversant with Babylonian music. Were they a link in its spread to the West as they were in that of certain myths ?

the difficulty discussed by Kilmer in her n. 52 remains ; “Elam” has been replaced by a “lot” (8), and item (7) became “throw(ing) of the center”. Finally the “comb” (14) is out, but its replacement, *zširdu*, is not clear ; the word for “olive” has samekh and is not written with the *muš* sign.

Recent Archaeological Research in Turkey

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RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN TURKEY

AŞVAN, 1970

The Aşvan season of 1970 was concerned with two aims:

1. to investigate the archaeological remains of *Aşvan bölgesi* as a whole,
2. to recover environmental and ecological data from the area around Aşvan village.

The first of these aims led to excavation on four of the seven recorded sites in the *Aşvan bölgesi*: Aşvan Kale (under the direction of Mr. Stephen Mitchell); Çayboyu, a small mound, $100^2 \times 3$ m., c. 750 m. east of Aşvan village (Mr. Steven Diamant); Taşkun Kale, a large, very spreading site, c. 500 m. in extent, with a small acropolis (*kale*) and a wide occupation area, c. 3 km. south of Aşvan (Mr. Anthony McNicoll); and Taşkun Mevkii, a small mound site, c. $130 \times 115 \times 2.5$ m., c. 1 km. south east of Taşkun Kale (Mr. Svend Helms). The four sites cover a time range of c. 4500–5000 years. It is hoped to recover an almost complete sequence of materials, including pottery, which will provide a framework for our study, in-depth, of human occupation and activity in this area.

The second aim was largely concerned with botany and agriculture. A programme for the collection of plants, seeds and fruits was carried out under the direction of Mr. Gordon Hillman. At the same time other related studies concerned with activities and occupations, principally agricultural, were initiated in the village of Aşvan. Miss Tamara Winikoff (now Mrs. McNicoll) and Mr. Alwyn Riddell drew plans and elevations of village houses. The implements associated with these houses and the use by the villagers of various tools for agricultural purposes were also studied.

In the field of systematics, Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Dick spent 6 weeks on the excavation studying the feasibility of the application of computer analysis techniques to archaeological work in general and to excavation-recording in particular.

It is the object of the Aşvan excavations that all these and other future activities may contribute to the two aims expressed above and that the work may be not so much a collection of individual researches as a unified project which could contribute significantly to the history of occupation in the Aşvan area.

DAVID FRENCH

AŞVAN KALE

In 1970 the aim of the excavation on Aşvan Kale was to expose a larger area than hitherto of the Hellenistic and Medieval levels. For this purpose two 9×4 and two 9×9 m. trenches were opened towards the centre of the mound (to the south of those excavated in 1969). The size of the trenches was increased from last year to facilitate the interpretation of the structural remains and the overall stratigraphy. All the excavated soil was dry-sieved through a 5 mm^2 mesh and water separation to 1 mm^2 was used for the contents of sealed pits.

Modern: in the topsoil of these trenches a series of 21 burials was encountered. The construction was not uniform but they were arranged in orderly rows. Other than some bead bracelets, no grave goods were found.

Medieval: the most significant contribution of the 1970 work is the distinguishing, within this period, of four architectural phases, which can be traced from one trench to another. The walls of the three first phases are built of rough stones which nowhere survive more than two courses high. They will probably have had mud-brick superstructure. The fourth and earliest phase is characterized by mud-brick building on stone foundation of better construction than those which follow them. Associated with this phase is a layer of blue pebbles and small stones which forms an outdoor paving. The interior floors are of mud. A substantial structure of which only one corner has been exposed in the south-west of trench H 5 almost certainly belongs to this phase.

Finds in the medieval levels were unfortunately scanty. Glazed pottery appeared throughout but in small quantities, and there were a few Byzantine and Selcuk coins.

Hellenistic: these levels, which have in previous reports been referred to as Roman, belong to the first and second centuries B.C. and are more properly called Hellenistic. A single sounding into the Hellenistic levels was made at the east end of I 4 c/d and the uppermost Hellenistic floor reached. The complex nature of the Medieval remains prevented any extensive work on these levels in 1970.

STEPHEN MITCHELL

ÇAYBOYU

A preliminary sounding at this site was carried out during the last days of September 1970. The test trench was laid out to take advantage of the scarp on the northeast side of the mound. A sequence of at least three major phases of deposit was observed; associated with these deposits are mud brick structures and from each a typical assemblage of materials, artifactual and non-artifactual, was recovered. All the soil was processed on a 1 mm² mesh by the water-sieving technique which had been developed at Can Hasan. The sherd material, though not abundant, consisted mainly of plain burnished and unburnished wares with a few pieces of patterned ware. This range would seem to indicate that the site must antedate Taşkun Mevkii and it has been tentatively assigned to the fourth millennium B.C. Of particular interest was a deposit of carbonized plant-remains from the lowest deposit reached.

STEVEN DIAMANT

TAŞKUN KALE

Surface sherding of the site of Taşkun Kale (METU No. 52/2) indicated Early Bronze Age, Medieval, and possibly Classical occupations. The brief 1970 season concentrated on the Medieval remains. 5 mm² dry sieves were used.

Two areas were opened.

1. The *kale* proper (S 11 and S 12—162 sq. m.—Fig. 1). In S 12 the defence wall of the *kale*, 1.35 m wide, was exposed, together with a projecting tower measuring *ca.* 4.40 × 4.70 m. Both had been extensively washed out. In S 11 intra-mural walls, generally orientated SE—NW and NE—SW and forming corridors, courtyards and small rooms, were found. Occasionally mud-brick courses survived, but more frequently only the rubble bases remained. On the

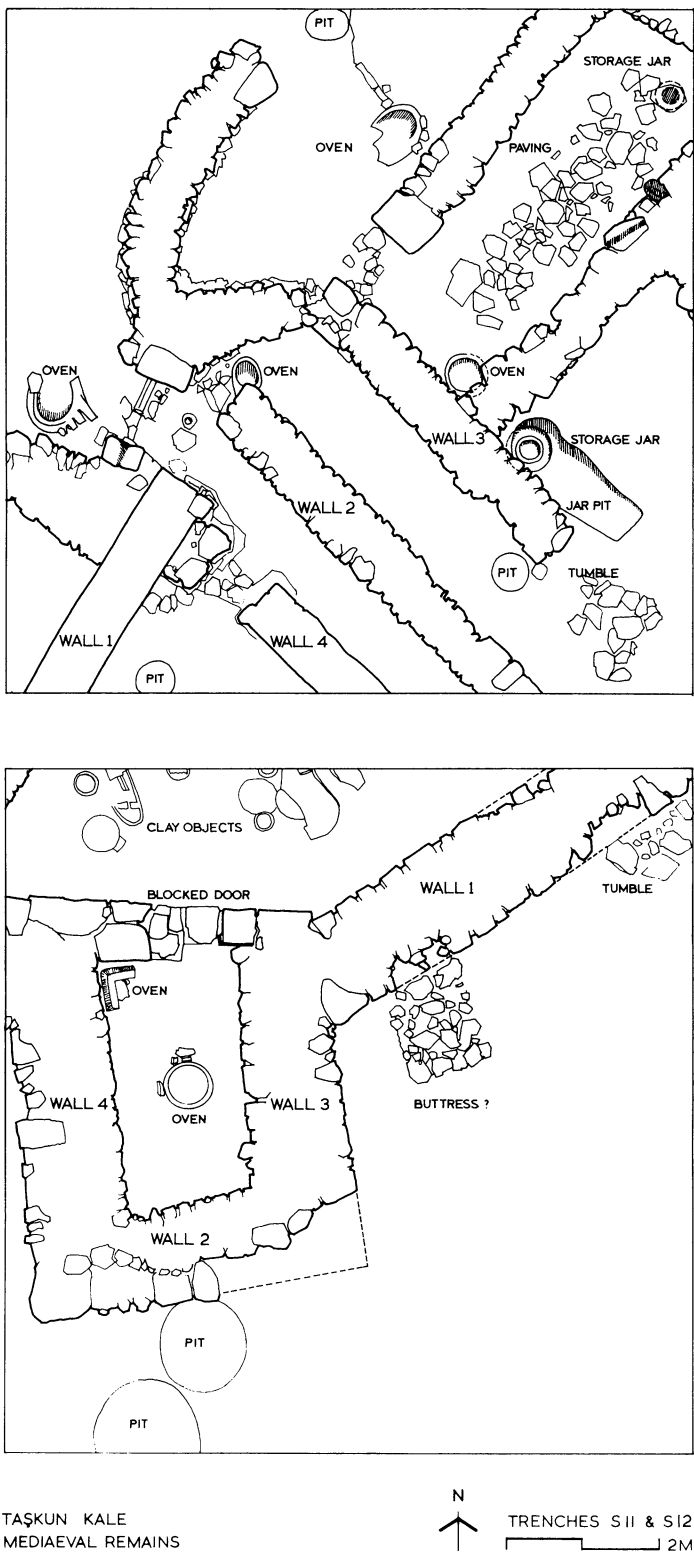


FIG. 1.

surface related to these walls lay a thick burnt deposit containing metal, stone and ceramic artifacts and small quantities of bone. The *kale* occupation appears to have ended violently.

2. The church (J 21 and K 21–72 sq. m.). Two elements of the church have been partially excavated:—

(a) The nave and the main apse.

(b) The north chapel.

There were two phases of use of the church, neither of which ended in a conflagration such as can be seen at the *kale*. The initial phase was uncovered only in the north chapel, where floors, walls and the steps rising to the twin apses had been carefully coated with a thin layer of fine yellowish clay. Leaning against the apses were three stones carved with cruciform designs in relief. In the north wall is a stone font. The altar of the north apse remains *in situ*.

The second phase of the church is extremely shoddy by comparison with the first, and seems hardly more than a squatter occupation.

The date of the Medieval occupation of Taşkun Kale can be at present fixed only tentatively by the preliminary examination of the coins found in the destruction level of the *kale*. These appear to be Ilkhanid, probably of Abu Sa'id (1316–35 A.D.).

In the 1971 season it is hoped to continue the clearance of the *kale* and the church, and to try to locate the Classical occupation.

ANTHONY McNICOLL

TAŞKUN MEVKII

Stratigraphy and Architecture: four tentative phases have been recognized.

1. Pits and topsoil without structure—to date.

2a. Tiplines, pits and traces of mud-brick walls.

2b. Large mud-brick-walled room, pits and tiplines.

3. Stone based mud-brick-walled house and an exterior mud-brick enclosure, post holes, round plastered bin and pithoi (on floor). This phase was burned and this burning may spread over more of the site.

4. Exterior bin with stone and mud rim, one pit. No burning. This earliest (?) settlement phase is built directly on virgin soil in the area excavated.

Materials (Fig. 2)

Pottery: there appear to be three basic groups according to fabric and finish.

1. Burnished and buff hand-made wares (1–9): flared mouth jars, bowls and cups. This ware is probably locally made.

2. Cream and pink wares, some greenish cream (10–19): jars, bowls and cups. Some of this ware is reserve slipped, cream on pink (11 and 14); the rest cream slipped or pink unslipped. Most of this group is wheel-made.

3. Painted and incised wares (20–22): the painted ware is red on cream—possibly on cream slip over pink body; the incised ware is similar to group 1 in fabric: beige buff.

Groups 1 and 2 appear in all phases. Group 3 appears only in topsoil.

Worked Stone: Ground stone objects—saddle querns, pounders, grinders etc. were found on the surface. Flaked stone industry comprises three obsidian

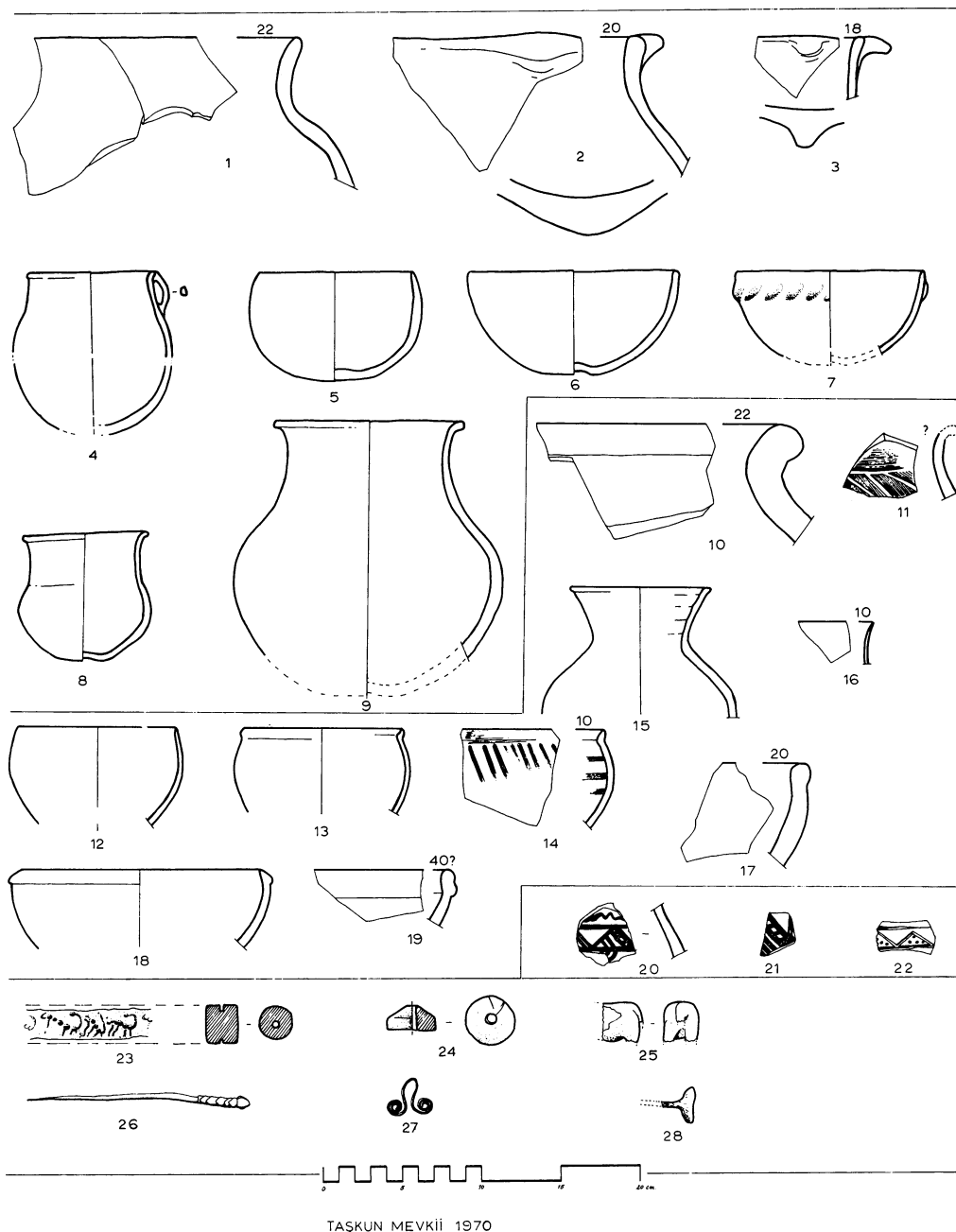


FIG. 2.

hollow-based triangular arrow heads, retouched over both sides; flint blades with trapezoidal sections; and a few fragments.

Metal Objects: A copper pin and a bronze (?) double spiral were found in phase 2a (26 and 27).

Other Objects: A clay cylinder seal showing three creatures (scorpions?) came from phase 3 (23). Also found were: perforated stone disc (24), unbaked

clay animal figurine (25), worked bone point, bone pin head (28), bone disc pendant and many pierced, rounded sherds of group 1.

Flora, Fauna, Mollusca etc.: Carbonized grain from one pithos in phase 3 indicates mostly barley and some emmer wheat together with remains of weed and grass seeds, fewer in proportion than in the modern samples collected in the region. Bones, mollusca etc. await study.

Chronology:

1. Pink and cream wares suggest an Amuq G parallel.
2. Burnished and buff wares differ in shape from those of basal Aşvan Kale: i.e. no 'rail rims' but rounded or pointed rims.
3. Painted wares, found only in topsoil, parallel similar wares from basal Aşvan Kale and related sites.
4. The cylinder seal recalls Jemdet Nasr seals.
5. Sub-architectural feature—plastered floor bin—parallels a similar structure in the Amuq H 'elaborate floor basins'.

The small village at Taşkun Mevkii therefore overlaps the beginning of Aşvan Kale (mid-third millennium?). The beginning for occupation (phase 4? on virgin soil) may be near the beginning of the third or end of the fourth millennium B.C.

SVEND HELMS

PAĞNİK ÖRENİ, 1970

A third season of excavation was carried out at Pağnik Öreni in July and August 1970 as part of the Institute's contribution to the Keban project. Bay Durmuş Acar, director of the Maraş Museum, represented the Turkish government. The excavation was preceded by a short study session in Elazığ on material excavated in 1968.

Work was carried out in three areas of the Roman Fort: the north side facing the ravine, the north-east corner facing the promontory that carries the Bronze Age mound and the east side facing the Euphrates (Kara su). Thus by the end of the season, the complete plan of the defences, except for some parts necessarily obscured by barrow runs, was exposed to view. The outline is irregular, following defensible contours, and lies between the triangular and the rectangular. The area is small, at under 2¼ acres (0.9 hectare). The curtain wall is strengthened by eleven semi-circular or horseshoe-shaped projecting towers, seven of which were excavated this season. Three more gateways were excavated, making four in all.

Excavation of the south corner tower (III) was completed. It was found to differ from the others in that the curtain wall crossed the back of the tower at full height, being pierced by a well preserved doorway. Eleven metres north of tower III is gateway 2, the main one, 4 m. wide and flanked by small inward projections of the curtain wall. In an internal building immediately north of this a small oven was found. The eastern defences stretch for a hundred metres to tower VI at the easternmost point of the fort. The dead ground formed by the steep pitch of the Euphrates' bank is policed by three small towers (IV, V and VI). A mortared wall projects down the bank from tower IV, either to deny access to the rest of the bank or to give additional protection to the water supply from the spring just

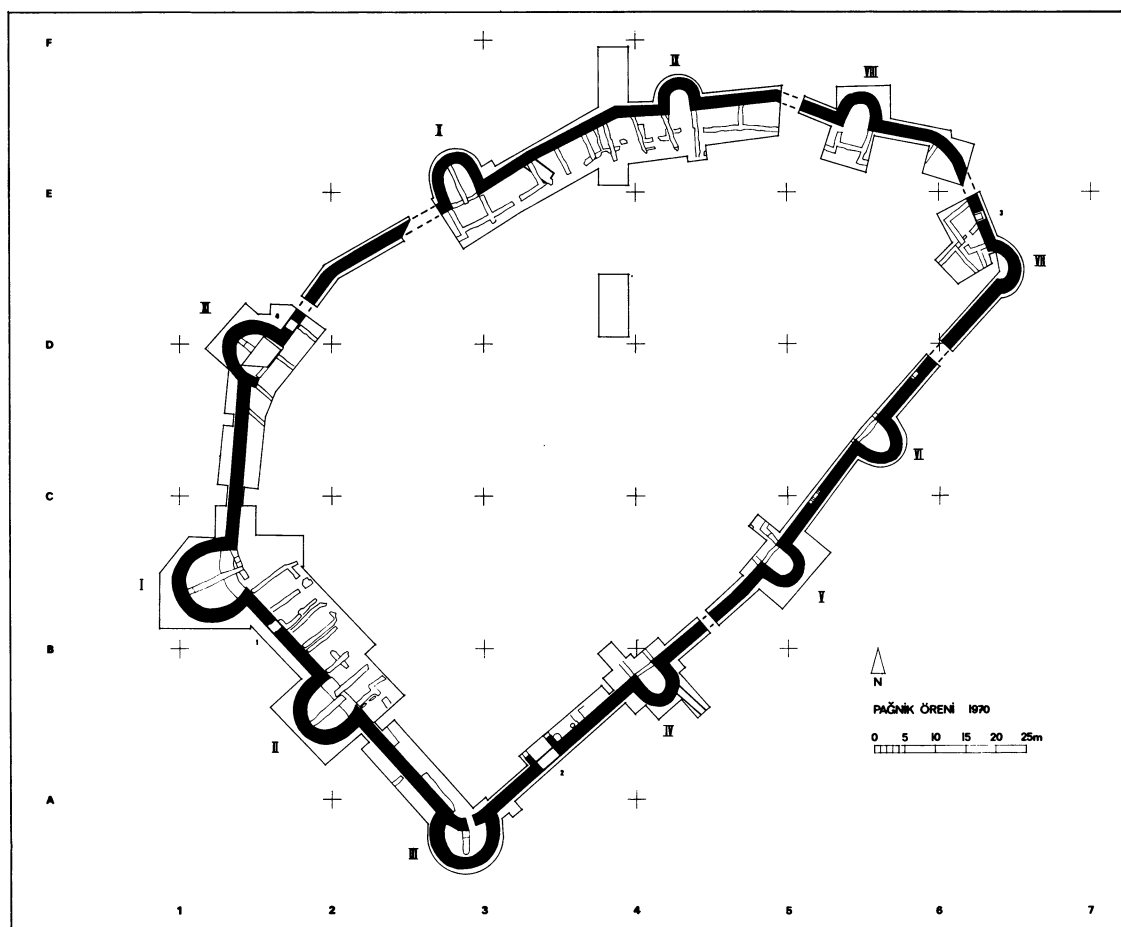


FIG. 3.

below. The principal find inside tower IV was a nest of nine hollow conical iron weapon points. Buildings behind these three towers were not fully explored. There was however clearly a full range of buildings along this side. A new feature not elsewhere noted is the pair of double staircases in the thickness of the wall between towers V and VI, and towers VI and VII.

The walls of tower VII form a shallow lop-sided curve. The interior of the tower was partially excavated. On its floor two large roof timbers had burnt out leaving a wide variety of iron nails. The next stretch of curtain wall across the neck of the promontory curves through an angle of about 60° before reaching tower VIII overlooking the northerly ravine. Five metres from the corner of tower VII is a small gateway (3). Its threshold was formed of two large sill stones separated by a pit 1 m. wide and 1.30 m. deep, and with a small external drain at the bottom. This pit was presumably boarded over when the gateway was in use. Behind the gateway a complex of four rooms forming a zig-zag entrance way extending back behind tower VII was partially investigated. Noteworthy among finds here was part of a small fine-ware bowl with on the rim a Greek graffito "of Marcellus".

Tower VIII stands in a slight re-entrant of the curtain wall. It has another range of rooms behind it which has been partially excavated. There is another appreciable bend in the curtain wall which stretches for 25 m. to tower IX. Both

VIII and IX are again small towers without central division. Beyond tower IX 7 m. of wall lead to the bend found in 1968. After this a 25 m. stretch leads to the larger tower X. Ten metres east of tower X a 5-m. piece of curtain wall foundation extends into the interior of the fort. This is at a point where the contours demand a change of level. One may speculate that the building squad misinterpreted its instructions and began a change of direction. A whole range of internal buildings was excavated in this sector between towers IX and X. These buildings are shown to be in the main secondary by the fact that the typical rough herringbone walls of the room immediately west of tower IX overlie a paved and plastered room on a different orientation of which the walls were rather more carefully made. In this earlier wall was found a worn coin of the mint of Caesareia Cappadociae of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 144).

Tower X is in poor condition as its foundations have slipped outwards towards the ravine. It has a central division, but unlike the other centrally divided towers this division is later than the wall closing the tower at the back. The circuit of the walls is completed with a stretch of 35 m. with another small bend to reach tower XI (the north-west corner, partly excavated in 1969). Here more excavation took place behind the tower and another small gateway (4) was found just east of it. This, like gateway 1 found in 1969, was blocked in a secondary phase.

Small finds, including bronze and iron objects, and important groups of pottery, glass and animal bone were again deposited at the Elazığ museum. The identifiable coins found in the season range from the Antoninus Pius mentioned above with five other second-century coins, through three of the third century and three of the fourth century, to a coin of Theodosius II (A.D. 402) found in the occupation layer of tower III. Thus, the first building period is still provisionally assigned on architectural grounds to the early fourth century, with the caution that many of the earlier coins found in the excavation are worn second-century specimens from the mint of Caesareia Cappadociae. The datable glass and pottery go well together with the later coins to support a late fourth-century date for the secondary work with occupation extending into the early fifth century. The paucity of comparable excavated material from sites of late Roman Imperial date makes it extremely desirable that a further season should be devoted to completing the recovery of the plan of the remaining internal buildings and the associated finds.

RICHARD P. HARPER

ALAHAN, 1970

Work began at Alahan on 7th July, 1970 and concluded on 20th August. During that period a large well-house complex was excavated, the only one of its kind so far discovered in an Early Christian context in Anatolia. Apart from the water system itself, which fed two cisterns, a large paved subterranean room—used for cold storage (?)—was discovered, and also a very small steam-bath with hypocaust, flues and furnace room all complete. An east-to-west water channel from the well-house was traced for 250 yards as far as one of the monastery cells. Another spring, some 80 yards west of the well-house, fed the same channel by means of a branch running from north to south.

Restoration work on a large scale was carried out in the East Church and along the walkway where the 15-ton shrine opposite the tomb of Tarasis was set up in its original vertical position, and the resulting gaps in the masonry first secured with iron shims and later grouted securely with cement. The masonry of the Basilica, Well-house and Hospice was all firmly secured where necessary—in the case of the lintel of the Basilica undercroft by casting a new block of cement in place of the rotted limestone.

Below the monastery hill, on land owned by the site bekçi, Veysel Kayman, a store room of the late Roman period was excavated. The room contained, as well as the remains of a score of *pithoi*, fragments of late Roman red fine-ware of probably North African, as well as of known local provenance. As the finds were associated with a coin of Honorius, there is a likelihood that the monastery and the lay settlement below it were—as has long been suspected—contemporary.

M. R. E. GOUGH

ANAMUR, 1970

A six-week season conducted by a joint team from the Universities of Toronto and British Columbia began on 15th June, and ended after six weeks of excavation and restoration on 29th July. The work, financed by the Canada council, was directed by E. Alföldi (University of Toronto) and J. Russell (University of British Columbia) with C. W. J. Eliot (University of British Columbia) as senior archaeologist and Altan Akat of the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums as representative of the Turkish Government and in charge of restoration.

Various projects begun in previous years were completed:*

(1) *II 7 A, the late Hamam*. The south-east corner of the Baths was restored and strengthened. The staircase along the north wall of the Baths was cleared for its entire length and its relationship to both the Baths and the buildings on the opposite side was examined. Much additional information was also recovered concerning the drainage system of this part of the Baths. A second staircase descending the slope on the south side of the Baths was also discovered while clearing surface soil, but no detailed study was made.

(2) *II 9 D, the Odeon*. The one remaining unexcavated wing (the south) of the barrel-vaulted corridor supporting the upper rows of the cavea was completely cleared of fill and the mosaic floors of all three wings and the remains of that of the orchestra were cleaned and photographed. The accumulated débris above the floor-level of the scene-building was also cleared and several sondages sunk here and in the stage area in the hope of dating the building. In several places the scene-façade was consolidated and elsewhere it was restored for much of its height. Also, a large break in the vault of the west corridor was repaired and several rows of seats of the cavea restored to their original height.

(3) *III 1, Large Cistern*. This well-preserved building was chosen for the storage-house, for which purpose it is ideally suited. The roof has been rendered weatherproof by restoring the concrete vaulting and the doorway repaired and an

*All site references are to the plan of the site in E. Rosenbaum, G. Huber and S. Onurkan *A Survey of Coastal Cities in Western Cilicia* (Ankara, 1967), plan 1.

iron gate installed. The interior space and shelving constructed along the walls should accommodate tools, sherd-boxes, architectural fragments and inscriptions, etc. for the foreseeable future.

(4) *EIII 2 B, "the Palaestra"*. In 1968 a brief sondage in the flat area to the east of the large Baths (III2B) and north of the later city wall revealed traces of a fine geometric mosaic. A full-scale exploration of this large area (to be known as EIII2B, approximately 35.00 m. X 50.00 m.) was begun with most gratifying results. An elaborate complex of buildings has emerged consisting of (a) a covered hall (ca. 12.00 m. X ca. 10.00 m.), paved in mosaic with a diagonal blue and white pattern and flanked by twin buildings—the whole plan arranged symmetrically in relation to the façade-wall of the baths; (b) at a level one step lower, a courtyard paved in limestone slabs ca. 7.50 m. wide from east to west and bounded at its east end by a wall of indeterminate height; (c) beyond this wall a vast expanse of mosaic pavement (ca. 25.50 m. X 38.50 m.), approached at the east end by a wide staircase, now partly excavated, which ascends from the level of the colonnaded street. This third area is carefully drained by a system of channels entering a large vaulted sewer (3.00 m. wide), which itself is only a part of a larger system still unexplored. Two distinct types of decoration, both geometric, appear in the mosaic pavement—a fine and complex arrangement around the periphery enclosing a coarser, simpler pattern on the inside. The chronology of the building is still uncertain, though a study of material from the sealed levels beneath the concrete floor of the mosaic may well supply a clue. On the other hand, a framed inscription in mosaic clearly confirms the association of the building with the adjacent baths. It may reasonably be conjectured that part of the area at least served as a palaestra, though it should be stressed that more extensive excavation is necessary before the details of this complex and the several buildings that later occupied the site may be fully explained.

(5) *Pottery and Small Finds*. The various areas excavated have produced extremely large amounts of coarse Roman and Byzantine pottery. In 1970 a determined effort was made to sort this back-log of material and record it, at the same time as pottery in equal abundance was accumulated from the newly-opened areas. Much, however, remains to be done. In addition, several individual sherds of considerable interest were discovered, the most significant being a surface find of Athenian black glaze ware of the fourth century B.C.—the first certain indication of Hellenistic occupation of the site. Also the amount of Byzantine glazed ware has now increased to the point where a special study of this material has become possible.

Noteworthy amongst the small finds, which included 79 coins, ranging in date from the Early Empire to the Middle Ages, and some interesting bronze objects, was a moulded bronze lead-filled weight in the shape of a bust of Athena. This piece, the finest single object so far discovered at Anemurium, was discovered in a late context above the mosaic floor of "the palaestra" and is of Byzantine date. This, along with all other catalogued finds, was deposited in the Museum at Alanya.

ELIZABETH ALFÖLDI
University of Toronto

JAMES RUSSELL
University of British Columbia

A PALAEOECOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE KONYA AREA

This work, begun in 1968, was continued this summer. Dr. Oğuz Erol, Dr. John Franks and I were responsible, respectively, for the geomorphological, botanical and ecological aspects of the work.

A thorough survey was made of the upper terraces of the Konya basin beginning west of Konya and working south to the western extremity of the twin-fans in the area of Karaman. Dr. Erol will complete the survey of the Karaman area in 1971. The results of the survey, including detailed maps will be published in 1972. A number of hitherto unreported mounds on the upper terraces will be indicated. The existence of three upper terraces, reported in 1969 in the September issue of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, was confirmed. These geomorphological maps will provide, along with the soil maps published by the Department of Tropical Soil Science at Wageningen, a topographical picture of the basin.

We were fortunate in obtaining soil samples from a 75 m. core through the kind offices of the Devlet Su İşleri in Konya. Three layers of peat are present and they will be radiocarbon dated. Two sets of samples were taken with 750 samples in each set. It is certain that pollen is present and that the core will provide climatological evidence supplementing the reports from Lakes Zeribar and Nilofar and Lalabad Springs in Iran and from Ioannina in northwestern Greece and Tenagi Philippon in northeastern Greece. It has not been possible to interpolate for the great region lying between Greece and Iran and it is hoped that this core will help to fill the gap. Inevitably, there has been some speculation on the possibility of finding a temporal correlation between the peat-layers and the European interstadials. One set of samples has been retained in Turkey and the other is in the possession of Dr. Franks who will carry out the pollen and soil analysis.

HAROLD R. COHEN

KARATAŞ-SEMA YÜK AND ELMALI, 1970¹

Karataş: A small sounding was made at the south-east edge of the main cemetery trench to check the relative chronology of the tombs in this area. In addition to a series of pithos burials, the trench yielded the foundations of a house belonging to the southern limits of the settlement. The house measured 6 × 10.50 m. with antae in front and back as well as on the sides, representing a new variant of the basic megaron plan.

On the mound proper, extensions were made of the MEE trench of 1969. An unburnt pisé house had a hearth of Beycesultan type (rectangular platform with raised sides and a semicircular apron). To the south-east, the presence of stratified clean slopes, open fireplaces, and pithos fragments seems to confirm the hypothesis of pithos-manufacturing areas.

Kızılbel: The paintings in the archaic built tomb to the south-west of Elmalı

¹ Kindly submitted by Professor M. Mellink.

have now been cleaned and preserved by Signorina Franca Callori di Vignale. All four walls have considerable remnants of the original decoration in superposed friezes. The subject matter is concerned with warriors, horses and chariots; hunting in the marshes; Scythian archers shooting at a lion which has just attacked a bull; a sea voyage; processions of ceremonial or mythological nature; a scene with a suppliant squatting at the feet of an enthroned dignitary. The main south frieze represents the Gorgons, Medusa and her offspring; the large west frieze has the departure scene of a warrior by chariot. A winged demon hovers over the scene. A painted *kline* once stood against the west wall. The ceiling was painted in red and blue chequerboard with filling motifs. The tomb was reburied for protection during the winter. In 1971 the preservation of the paintings will be checked and measures will be taken for the permanent consolidation of the tomb.

Semayük-Karaburun: On the ridge west of the road to Elmalı, opposite the village of Semayük, two tumuli were investigated. Tumulus I, recently opened by looters, contained a limestone sarcophagus with pedimental lid, anciently also broken into and emptied of valuables. Pottery fragments, including some Attic ware, date the tumulus to c. 475 B.C.

Karaburun tumulus II had also been looted in ancient (presumably Roman) times. This tumulus contained a built chamber tomb with a gabled roof, well constructed of large limestone blocks. The tomb chamber had a single painted frieze on three walls. There was no door, but access to the tomb had been available through the middle of the west wall, where one block had been inserted separately after the burial had been completed. The ancient tomb robbers had cut a small hole in a corner of this block.

The chamber measured 2.60 × 3.00 m. with a pedimental roof to a maximum height of 2.66 m. A stone *kline* stood against the west wall. Above the *kline* the painted frieze shows the tomb owner reclining on a couch. A table stands in front of (under) the painted couch. The bearded dignitary, dressed in a wide *chiton* and draped *himation*, holds a *phiale* in his left hand and raises his right hand towards two servants approaching from the left: the first a fan- and towel-bearer, the second bringing liquid refreshments in Achaemenian metal vessels. Behind the tomb owner stands his wife with fillet and *alabastron*; on the north wall two more attendants follow her, the first one with a rectangular plaited fan, the second with fillet and *alabastron*. The north wall also has a battle scene with the protagonist (the tomb owner) on horseback. On the south wall is the funeral procession with a series of chariots and attendants.

The style is Graeco-Persian of the early fifth century B.C., in excellent draftsmanship and in a wider colour range than used at Kızılbél. The earlier tomb had black, blue, and a variety of reds; the Karaburun tomb uses these and purple, green, and brown.

The paintings were found in precarious condition, damaged by roots, humidity, settling of the masonry, and human interference. Signorina Callori took preliminary measures to protect the surviving paintings and to stop further deterioration. Further technical treatment, cleaning and consolidation, as well as the proper recording and study of the Karaburun paintings are planned for 1971.

KORUCUTEPE NEAR ELAZIG, 1970¹

A combined team from the Universities of Chicago, California (Los Angeles) and Amsterdam, with Hans G. Güterbock as director and Maurits van Loon, Giorgio Buccellati and Philo Houwink ten Cate as co-directors conducted a third excavation campaign at Korucutepe from August 3 to October 23, 1970. The results of this season's work may be summarized as follows:

1. The "Early Chalcolithic" Age (about 4500–3500 B.C.).

At the northwest foot of the mound, where road and farm building had removed 3rd-millennium and later levels, a 4 × 4 m. square (later reduced to a 1 × 1 m. pit) was sunk through the earliest deposits. Virgin soil was reached at 20 m. below the summit of the mound. Above it the earliest architectural level appeared, consisting of two yellow-plastered mud brick walls incorporating both horizontal and vertical timbers and enclosing a room with plastered floor. The pottery collected from here was hand-turned, grit-tempered and black burnished, with straight sides occasionally enlivened by knobs or a ridge which may have finger impressions simulating rope. Some Halaf-like and Ubaid-like sherds, undoubtedly imported, indicate a date between 4500 and 4000 B.C. for the first settlement at our site.

After 2 m. of water-laid deposit had covered up these earliest remains the area was reoccupied by a yellow mud-brick structure twice rebuilt. The pottery was now more often mottled or light brown in colour, but there was no change in shapes or ware except for the occasional appearance of a finger-streaked and partly wheel-turned high-fired orange chaff-tempered ware, apparently imported from south of the Taurus mountains.

2. The "Late Chalcolithic" Age (about 3500–3000 B.C.).

After a period long enough for another 3 m. to accumulate, the "chaff-faced" ware just mentioned had become predominant. At this elevation along the northwest face of the mound a burned two-room house, previously visible in section, has now been cleared. The largest room, measuring 3 × 6 m., had a narrow door or window and a circular hearth. Among the many cooking and storage vessels lay a set of three unbaked clay horn-shaped fire dogs with finger grips. Carbon samples previously taken from this burned floor had given dates around 3400 B.C. (uncorrected)² and botanical samples had been identified as six-rowed barley, emmer wheat and flax.

The "Late Chalcolithic" phase left altogether 2 m. of repeatedly rebuilt house remains. Into the top of these had been dug two brick-lined adult graves and an infant jar burial. In the first grave lay a woman adorned with hundreds of tiny limestone, carnelian and bone beads which once formed a belt, bracelets and anklets, as well as a silver diadem, crescent-shaped gorget and hair rings of the same material. A double burial of the same type was found close to the first. The man had a mace with iron-ore head, a silver wrist-guard and a copper dagger. His lady, whose head had been cut off by a later pit, still had near her arm a unique silver bracelet-stamp seal engraved with a wild goat.

¹ Report kindly contributed by Maurits van Loon and Hans G. Güterbock.

² Sample numbers GrN-5286 (5370 ± 40 B.P.), GrN-5287 (5330 ± 40 B.P.).

3. *The "Early Bronze Age II" (about 2750–2300 B.C.).*

Areas representative of each occupation phase were cleared along the north-south axis of Korucutepe. North of the hillock that sticks up from the centre of the mound, we further exposed the burned complex of the mid-3rd millennium B.C. partly cleared in 1968. This is the last level in which emmer wheat, as opposed to common bread wheat is found. It is also the last level in which the humidity-loving ash and elm are found alongside with oak and poplar. A wide-hipped female figurine with heavy necklace, bird-like head and long hair incised on the back recalls Syrian figurines of Early Dynastic and Akkad times.

From another burned thin-walled house south of the central hillock we retrieved and mended a complete "andiron" and about 30 hand-turned chaff-tempered black or brown burnished jars, pots, bowls, lids and pot stands, all with the recessed band around the neck that is typical of the period. Three of the large jars were decorated in relief with a complex pattern consisting of a quartered lozenge with pennants and pendent crescents, flanked by angularly stylized birds and quadrupeds.

4. *The "Early Bronze Age III" (about 2300–2000 B.C.).*

By the next, "Early Bronze III" phase red, red-and-black and dark orange unburnished vessels came into use for processing and storage, along with the traditional black burnished ones, which were now often fluted along the rim and diagonally down the body with some mechanical device.

This period is characterized at our site by a different type of occupation, apparently limited to a single, heavy-walled building the ruins of which left a conical hillock on the centre of the mound. Much of the last campaign was spent on clearance of the main phase of this yellow mud-brick structure, which was subsequently rebuilt in red mud brick. Its central feature was a whitewashed hall, measuring 6 x 9 m. and accessible from the south. Against the east wall a podium 1 m. high had been erected and in front of this, on a plastered circular platform, there were three semicircular clay "andirons", the largest one 3 m. in diameter and each one holding a smaller version of itself between its "arms". Their triangular façades were framed by double grooves and tapered downward. Next to this triple feature stood a large pottery stand or drain, and into a clay strut supporting it from behind a copper dagger and an antler had been incorporated. Otherwise the hall had been cleared of its contents and filled with bricks before its rebuilding at a higher level, which had almost completely eroded away. A row of variously shaped hearths against the outer wall of the hall increases our suspicion that religious ceremonies may have taken place here.

5. *The "Late Bronze Age" (about 1400–1200 B.C.).*

The Late Bronze period, in time corresponding to that of the Hittite Empire, is mainly represented on the southern apron of the mound, which we investigated along its east-west as well as its north-south axis. The "Hittite" buildings were built in terraces on the slope of what must then have been a high mound of Early Bronze remains.

The earlier, more prosperous part of this occupation (roughly corresponding to the 14th century B.C.) is characterized by red smoothed platters with ledge rims and orange smoothed, slipped or burnished jugs, bowls etc. The houses had

stone foundations of up to six courses on the downhill side, sometimes incorporating wooden posts. Horizontal wooden timbers in the mud-brick superstructure were a regular feature.

In the 13th century B.C. flat stones tended to be set against the lower wall courses for protection of the mud brick. Much of the southern mound edge was heavily pitted in this period. Characteristic of the pit contents, among which 13th-century seal impressions were found in 1968 and 1969, are orange wheel-marked platters without ledge rims and miniature footed bowls. Two disc-shaped seals of Middle Bronze Age type, one carved with a wheel design and the other with a long-necked bird, turned up in this context during the current campaign.

One of the surprises of the season was the appearance of another, western sally port, this time of the Late Bronze Age. A sagging platform of red mud brick partly exposed by road and farm building was found to be L-shaped in plan and to cover up a corbeled stone passage, of which we have cleared only entrance and exit. It seems to run from the settlement west into the platform and thence to emerge southward, having made an angle similar to that in the platform above.

PULUR (SAKYOL)¹

The excavation under the direction of Dr. H. Z. Koşay at Pulur in the district of Çemişgezek in the province of Tunceli was continued in the months of June and July in 1970. The chief points of this season were the complete excavation of architectural Levels X and XI and the reaching of virgin soil through the lower Levels XII and XIII in a number of trenches. The presence between Levels XI and XII of a layer of about one to one and a half metres of clean soil is an indication that after the first occupation the site was for a time abandoned. Black burnished pottery continues till Level XI, but after that its place is taken by primary monochrome wares and a wide variety of bichrome red-on-white wares with a matt white ground. This pottery may be compared with late neolithic wares from Hacilar and Sesklo. Obsidian was present in quantity.

In Level XI a bronze (or copper) spear point and a metal casting mould were found. However, the metal objects found in the complete prehistoric excavations did not exceed four in number.

In room no. 83 of Level X a new shrine was found, made of clay, burnt but giving a complete idea of the whole. In room 82 next to the shrine a lot of cult objects and votive vessels were found. On some of these vessels were representations of birds with accentuated eyes of awesome aspect.

NORŞUN-TEPE, 1970²

The third campaign of the excavations conducted by the German Archaeological Institute on Norşun-Tepe within the framework of the Keban project lasted from 1 August to 25 December 1970. As in the first two seasons, the areas investigated were, in the main, the three sectors on the acropolis and the south terrace. A new undertaking was an extensive deep sounding on the western slope.

¹ Translation of report kindly submitted by Dr. H. Z. Kosay.

² Translated from a report kindly provided by Dr. Harald Hauptmann.

1. *On the acropolis* digging was carried out in six squares of 9×9 m. extending over the north and west parts of the plateau. The levels of the Middle and Early Iron Age (Horizons I and II) are badly disturbed by an Iron Age cemetery with stone cist graves. From the time following the downfall of the Hittite Empire (c. 1150–1000 B.C.) we have the remains of a great rectangular building, the south wall of which is 1.50 m. wide and 20 m. long. It contained four square bases and had a porch carried by two rows of columns. The floor had been raised three times.

Beside a light buff wheel-made ware which carries on Hittite shapes, there occurs a hand-made ware with incised and punctured decoration. This “horizontal grooved ware” becomes characteristic in the following Early Iron Age.

Into these layers a shaft, 4 m. long and 3 m. wide, had been sunk and carefully lined with stone down to a depth of 3 m. At a depth of 1 m. were found two skeletons of horses lying belly to belly, with a third lying crosswise under them. In the body of the more northerly of the upper pair was stuck a 45 cm. lance-head, reaching from the shoulder blade to the breast bone. The lower horse had one of its vertebrae broken by an iron axe. The iron grave gifts, a second lance-head and a knife, and others of bronze, two bits, a rein ring and two harness attachments for strap crossings crowned with a griffin head, mark the burial as Scythian. Similar harness attachments have been found at Karmir Blur and in South Russian graves of the seventh and sixth centuries.

From the time of the Hittite Empire there are remains of extensive occupation in Horizon III. The pottery, mostly grey ware, shows forms similar to those of Tarsus L.B.II and Boğazköy. In the foundations of a rather large rectangular building divided into a number of parallel rooms pottery of the older Empire period came to light for the first time. Among the finds are fragments of a bull rhyton as in Boğazköy.

To the time of the Old Hittite Kingdom (after 1800 B.C.), when there was on Korucu-Tepe in the Altınova a political centre of the Isuwa kingdom, are to be dated the remains of fairly large buildings of the IVth Horizon, which came to light mainly in the western part of the plateau. These levels show marks of severe conflagration. The characteristic pottery is a metallic grey ware decorated with grooves and plastic knobs. In the Middle Bronze Horizon V this ware had its greatest vogue beside variants with black, yellow or light brown surface. The painted pottery shows a pattern of matt dark violet bands combined with wavy lines and rows of dots.

In Horizon VI (E.B.A. III) the area “like a palace” was further investigated and the plan of the 25×15 m. pithos building was completed. The eight-roomed rectangular building has four magazines in the northern section with nearly 100 provision jars, and in the southern section four living rooms each approached by an entrance from the south. In the middle of each room is a rectangular hearth with plastic decoration. There is a clay bench against the north wall. A 22×8 m. magazine building, which adjoins the pithos building on the west, is supported like the pithos building against the downward slope to the north by strong stone foundations. To the south of this probably three-roomed building there was a terrace, obviously intended for some major structure. In the dwelling quarter built against the south slope below the pithos building further rooms with hearths

and benches were brought to light. This construction on the slope can now be traced as seven rows of parallel rooms. The whole area is approached by a 2 m. wide entrance from the south-east, from which a corridor 15 m. long leads up the hill.

The pithos building had been renewed in Horizon VI, for in Horizon VII was found an older floor, and under this in Horizon VIII (E.B.A. IIIA) an older building with the same outline was revealed. In the western part a red-plastered room with an altar-like structure was found. It consists of three horseshoe-shaped hearths of different sizes of the well-known east-Anatolian form, one within the other. In this layer the black and brown burnished pottery is often decorated with incised patterns and parallel plastic ribs. In addition there are painted vessels, black on a light ground, and fine "Syrian imports".

2. *In the northern area of the south terrace* in the Early Iron Age settlement (c. 1000–800 B.C.) two house complexes of Level 2 were completely exposed. Beneath the Early Iron Age levels remains of a Late Bronze Age house were encountered in which vessels with shapes characteristic of Horizon III of the Acropolis occurred (Tarsus L.B. II).

3. *In the southern area of the great terrace* only minor soundings were undertaken with the intention of completing the plan of the Urartian building excavated in 1969. The north-east corner of the structure was found, so that its western and northern walls with their flat projections are now fully visible. In the middle of the terrace a 22 × 26 m. rectangular wall surrounding a court was traced. With this structure for the first time in the Altınova there has been found an Urartian settlement which must have had some political importance in the south-western provinces of the Urartian empire down to its destruction and abandonment at the end of the seventh century B.C.

4. *On the western slope of the acropolis* an extensive deep sounding was begun. Under Early Iron and Late Bronze Age levels five building levels of the Early Bronze Age were reached. From the oldest phase dates a fortification wall with recesses. It lies directly over the original slope of the hill. Beside the black burnished pottery of East Anatolian type a ware painted deep red on white slip was found. The so-called "Syrian" plain simple ware and reserved slip ware (Amuq G–I) were found in great quantities. Under a thin sterile layer Late Chalcolithic levels were met for the first time. The method of construction is strikingly different, with bricks no longer square but narrowly rectangular. The hand-made red and brown pottery comprises "chaff-faced" and simple smoothed ware. Painted bowls with offset broadened rim decorated inside with red or purple-brown vertical bands on a light ground and biconical vessels with criss-cross patterns occur (approximately Amuq F).

BOĞAZKOY, 1970¹

This year's work was concentrated on the city quarter north-west from the Great Temple (squ. J/19) and on some investigations in the so-called "Südareal" and in front of the south corner of the Temple district.

¹ Kindly submitted by Dr. Peter Neve.

The excavation in J/19 resulted in exposing several layers of mainly two great periods of settlements, the upper one of which refers to layer 2 of the lower city (J–K/20) and hence belongs to the Hittite Empire time. As to stratigraphy this period (1) started long before the sanctuary was founded. In the course of time it suffered at least three renovations and reorganisations and finally ended in the great conflagration which marks the end of the Hittite capital. The lowest settlement (2) belongs to the period when Old Assyrian merchants settled within Anatolia. It, too, consists of several phases, the latest one of which shows traces of another great conflagration due to Anitta's conquest of ancient Hattuša.

In the debris of the upper settlement two cremations of so-called early Phrygian time were found, each of them in a pot covered by typically ornamented plates. Besides this there were several gifts inside and outside the pots: a neatly decorated handled cup and a bronze fibula in one case, four bronze fibulas and a bronze ring in the other. A third cremation may be suggested by means of another group of finds, consisting of parts of a beautifully worked bronze belt and a big bronze fibula. The burial itself seems to have been destroyed by former investigations in 1907.

In front of the south corner of the Temple area a second limestone block with hieroglyphic inscriptions has been discovered. The badly carved inscriptions mention the names of three scribes and resemble those of other scribes in the gateway of the lower city wall (I/19). Both blocks have been re-erected on their original place within the terrace wall.

PORSUK, 1970¹

The second effective campaign by the French Archaeological Institute of Istanbul on the site of Porsuk-Ulukışla was shorter than the previous one on account of unforeseen difficulties. Work lasted, properly speaking, from 21 August to 4 September. Apart from this a complete topographical survey of the site was conducted and a building to serve as magazine for the conservation of the pottery and as a place for studying the finds on the spot was erected on the west slope of the hill. The team was the same as last year and the representative of the Antiquities Service was M. Y. Şimşek, from the Museum of Adana.

Researches were restricted this year to the western part of the site, i.e. to Trench II opened in 1969. They were carried out both in extension, to obtain a broad clearance of the surface levels and in depth in order to establish at this point as complete a stratification as possible.

The surface clearance was pushed furthest on the eastern side. To the west, however, at the point of junction of two fortification walls of mud brick discovered the previous year, there came to light an angle tower, square in outline, made of bricks and small stones. Toward the east the constructions belonged to later systems. Two complexes can be distinguished, the exploration of which has only been begun. The upper level contains fortification walls of stone, the most impressive of which, in spite of the mediocrity of the workmanship, is the northern wall, more than 4 m. wide; the eastern wall is pierced by a passage between two parallel smaller walls comparable to that which has already been exposed in the

¹Translated from a report kindly provided by M. Olivier Pelon.

fortifications bordering the southern site (Trench III). Inside this enclosure a steeply sloping section of paving perhaps marks the position of a small street partly obliterated by the bulldozer which took off the crest of the mound in 1960. These must be the ruins of a small fortress which is dated by the pottery to the Roman epoch, dominating the rest of the city to the east.

This Roman level was not immediately superimposed on the fortifications of brick, from which it was separated by a thick layer of stones which had rolled on top of a straight wall pierced by a gate with a stone threshold. It was not possible to determine to what construction this wall belonged. Sherds of Alişar IV type were found in the vicinity.

For the rest, a large trench was opened up in the western face of the hüyük on the line of a wall of brick and stone which projected a few metres below the fortifications of mud brick. Under a mass of fallen bricks, between two parallel walls perpendicular to the first, a group of five pithoi, some upright, the others leaning at different angles, were found on a floor; the room thus indicated may have been a magazine. The few sherds collected at this depth date from the epoch immediately following the end of the Hittite Empire. The relationship between this level and the brick fortifications above it remains to be determined.

THE İSLAHIYE REGION¹

Work in the İslahiye region in 1970 under the direction of Professur U. Bahadır Alkım and sponsored by the Turkish Historical Society, the Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums and the University of Istanbul was concentrated on two sites, Tilmen Hüyük and Kırıskal Hüyük.

I. *Tilmen Hüyük* 1. *The city walls.* The exterior city wall was closely studied. It was found to consist of offset lengths of wall of cellular construction, the bottom being of basalt blocks and the upper parts of mud brick. Two building periods have been distinguished, one of the 18th century B.C., the other of the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C. Four gateways have been found in the outer wall. On the east side is a monumental rectangular gateway (Gate 1), of two phases, both heavily destroyed. The construction technique is like that of Tell Açana level VII, though the ground-plan form differs from it. Finds from this gateway and the nearby Building F, also of two phases, show that this area was in use in both halves of the second millenium. A projecting gateway (6), of a later phase, is attached to gate 1 by side walls. Its type is comparable with examples in Palestine at Megiddo and Lachish. The rectangular 5.75 × 8.50 m. north gateway (2) is of one build with the city wall. The masonry was of superior quality and the fallen in triangular keystone of the gateway was found. The west gateway (3) is in the lower city. It is again rectangular and measures 4.75 × 5.00 m. Four steps of a staircase leading to the tower above survive. The south gateway (4) has been badly destroyed.

The inner city wall surrounding the citadel of Tilmen was also studied. It was again of cellular construction, built in offset stretches of 20–40 m. From the doorways and small objects found it appeared that the cells had been used as rooms. Gateway 5 was found in the east side of the citadel wall 42 m. north-east

¹ Translation of report kindly submitted by Prof. U. Bahadır Alkım.

of gateway 1. At this point there is a steep slope which is negotiated by a flight of 17 steps flanked by two pairs of towers, the lower ones projecting from the citadel wall. Again two phases were defined, the latter one being largely explored in the 1970 season.

2. *Building E* (AS XX pp. 29–30). Work continued on the excavation of both periods of this building beside the palace and on the soundings which showed that the first phase of the building had been laid on the burnt rubble of the E.B. III occupation.

3. *The lower city*. Three trenches in the lower city demonstrated occupation in the MB and LB periods. EB finds here are surface wash from the citadel.

4. *The Deep Sounding* (AS XX pp. 30–31). In 1969 the deep sounding reached the top of level IVd which in 1970 was completely excavated down to bed-rock at a level 19.50 m. below the summit of Tilmen Hüyük. Local wares resembling Obeid wares and coarse kitchen wares were found in level IVd. Thus it was established that the earliest settlement at Tilmen was Late Chalcolithic, and to this period belonged the four phases IVa–IVd.

5. *On a flat hilltop 600 m. northeast of Tilmen Hüyük* exploratory trenches were dug in an area where graves had been found about 50 years ago. All the excavated small cist-graves were found to have been robbed so that there were no finds. However, as the burials of the Chalcolithic and E.B. periods were within the settlement at Tilmen this necropolis very probably belongs to the 2nd or 1st millennium B.C., though some of the graves may relate to the Roman settlement (*Belleten* 26 1962 p. 457).

II. *Kırıskal Hüyük* (AS XVIII p. 23). Further work at Kırıskal, 5 kms. northeast of Gedikli, on the partly rock-cut dromos and chamber covered with large monoliths, increasingly confirmed the suspicion that this was not a tomb chamber but an underground water-cult room. Similar constructions at Gedikli (*TAD* XIV 1–2 pp. 81–2) and at Malatya (*TAD* XV 2 p. 82 and Figs. 4–6) may be compared.

PHRYGIA¹

Recent work on Palaeo-Phrygian having clearly made necessary a revision of the texts and the constitution of a corpus, Professor M. Lejeune asked Professor Brixhe and the French Institute at Istanbul, directed by Professor E. Laroche, if they would associate themselves with this task.

To this end, in July and August 1970, Professor Laroche and Professor Brixhe visited the Palaeo-Phrygian sites which might provide inscriptions.

1. *Germano* (today Soğukcam, 25 km. south-west of Goynik): revision and latex squeeze of the largest Palaeo-Phrygian document (discovered and published in 1966 by L. Tuğrul and N. Fıratlı in *Annual of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul*, 13–14, 1966, 236 ff.). After study of the material brought back it becomes apparent that a fresh visit to the site will be necessary.

2. *Midas City*: revision of the known texts. Copy and squeeze of an inscription which can be considered unpublished, since up till now there existed only a useless photograph (A. Gabriel, *Phrygie* IV, Paris 1965, pl. 20d).

¹ Information kindly contributed by Professor Claude Brixhe.

3. *Region of Afyon*: partial clearance of the façade of Maltaş (4 km. north of the village of Hayranveli); copy and squeeze of a text the existence of which had simply been mentioned by Gabriel (ibid. 89). Search for an inscription no. 9 of Friedrich (*Kleinas. Sprachdenkmäler*, 1932), which we were unable to find near Ayasin, the traditional location, but which is probably to be found not far from Maltaş.

4. *Gordion*. Revision and photography of the documents published by R. S. Young, *Hesperia* 38 (1969), 252 ff. Study of some thirty unpublished items seen at the depot of the local museum, to which we had access thanks to the good offices of M. Raci Temizer, Director of the Archaeological Museum at Ankara.

5. *Archaeological Museum, Ankara*: texts nos. 10, 14, and 15 of Friedrich are on view there and it is astonishing that contemporary linguists have not had the curiosity to go and examine them, since their revision yielded much information.

6. *Region of Alaca Höyük*. Alaca Höyük: study of the lion mentioned by R. O. Arik (*Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük 1935*, Ankara 1937, 17) showed that it carried on its left flank an unpublished text. Kale Hisar: (4 km. north of Alaca Höyük): after climbing the rocky peak, copy and squeeze of an inscription on a small Phrygian altar consisting of two lines, often mentioned but never before copied.

APHRODISIAS, 1970¹

The Theatre

The past summer marked the fourth consecutive year of our concentrated efforts on the excavation of the large theatre of Aphrodisias. By mid-September, the view of the "acropolis" was a far cry from the weed-covered, shack-dotted hillside and the deep sondage pit visible in 1966. More than half of the cavea, the orchestra and the stage, along with portions of both *parodoi* have been now brought to light. The amount of earth and stones so far moved, the architectural blocks drawn and numbered are almost incalculable. Though much work remains to be completed, the present state of the theatre is most impressive, particularly to those visitors who return after a lapse of four years. It is fair to stress that the achievements of our 1970 excavations far surpassed those of preceding years.

At the onset of the season, the initial task was the removal by means of several ramps of the "slice" of earth left unexcavated in 1969 at the axis of the theatre. Simultaneously, since the stratigraphy of the fill of the cavea had been properly recorded several times in previous excavations, practical reasons and the need of manoeuvrability in earth and stone removal dictated a gradual clearing of the remaining southern half of the cavea row after row from the *diazoma* downwards. Another major operation was the excavation of the northern part of the stage building. Dozens of large architectural fragments belonging to the *scaenae frons* encumbered the area, but their recording was carefully attended to by Mr. Paul McDermott.

The eventual reward of such painstaking labors proved to be a series of exquisite statuary and significant epigraphical fragments. The latter are proving

¹ Report kindly provided by Professor Kenan Erim.

to be especially important for the establishment of a chronology for the construction of the theatre. Our initial belief in a late Hellenistic date for a first building phase was confirmed by the discovery on the stage of several portions of an architrave (to be connected with the *proskenion* or *hyposkenion*) recording construction of the *logeion* by Zoilos, the Aphrodisian glorified in the handsome frieze discovered in 1956 and 1961 outside the city wall. Zoilos seems to have been a freedman of Augustus, holder of the highest magistracies and an important figure in the history of Aphrodisias in the third quarter of the first century B.C. According to preliminary opinions expressed by our epigrapher, Miss Joyce Reynolds, his name also appears in a number of other documents, including the "archive" wall of the north *parodos* where he is shown to have been instrumental in securing many privileges for his native city.

Subsequent activities that transformed the Aphrodisias theatre from a Hellenistic into a Roman structure were apparently undertaken in the second half of the second century. These included suitable arrangements for gladiatorial shows and animal baiting. Two newly discovered inscriptions provide key evidence in this respect: the text of a dedication on the edge of the *pulpitum* indicates that this part of the work was financed by one Tib. Claudius Zelos in the reign of Antoninus Pius. On the other hand, an inscription on the *conistra* wall points out that this modification was completed under Marcus Aurelius. In the light of the available evidence, the transformation operations entailed the widening of the stage, that is to say an addition to the Hellenistic *logeion* at the expense of the orchestra, which allowed the construction of the *via venatorum* tunnel, and the removal of one or two lowest tiers of seats from the cavea to create the *conistra*. It is also possible that the same results could have been achieved by digging inside the Hellenistic orchestra to create the necessary arena pit. However, the work done on the stage building is still somewhat uncertain. Our 1970 excavations revealed five doorways or column-flanked openings, which were apparently tampered with in late Roman times, and blocked with bricks; the resulting screen wall was then covered with imitation marble painting. It is not yet clear, however, whether these openings pertained to the *proskenion* in case the Hellenistic stage was elevated by digging into the orchestra to create the *conistra*, or were the actual *thyromata* of the upper Hellenistic stage building. Of the stage building proper, three chambers were uncovered, two of which had doors opening onto the backstage corridor. Built in excellent late Hellenistic masonry, these rooms had vaulted roofs but their vaulting was repaired (or their size enlarged) in the late Roman period. A series of "labels" cut carefully on or over their doorways shows that these chambers were reserved at one time for the "props" of particular stage stars.

The southernmost of the rooms did not communicate with the backstage corridor, but with a large vaulted tunnel corridor cutting the width of the stage building at its very centre. This central tunnel, only briefly investigated, had partly collapsed and presented an elaborately arched doorway at either extremity. On the stage side, this was a monumental *porta regia*. An exciting discovery was made on its threshold on the last day of excavation: several large sculpture fragments, including a magnificent, almost intact youthful male head suggest that they belong to a figure symbolically representing the *Demos*, i.e. the People of

Aphrodisias. An inscribed base still lodged on the side of the unexcavated fill specifically mentions such a statue and surely pertains to it. In profile, furthermore, the head of the youth strongly resembles the profiled *Demos* adorning the obverses of Aphrodisias' Imperial coins.

The *Demos* was, however, only the last in a long series of beautiful sculpture finds uncovered in the stage area as already mentioned. It would be impossible to describe all of them in detail. Yet one must point out among lifesize and over-lifesize items a most elegantly draped *Pudicitia*-type lady; a group of two tragic Muses antithetically framing what seems to be a Dionysus (?); a handsome Polykleitan athlete (with eyes, hair and lashes still partly painted); and two Nike figures probably connected with akroterion decorations.

In the later phase of the season, the southern edge of the stage building was brought to light in a trench aimed at sounding the vicinity of the south *parados*. The *analemma* and adjoining tiers of seats were eventually uncovered in excellent condition. An arrangement similar to that of the north *parados* was created here in late Roman—early Byzantine times. A wall was built to the east, another to the south (in lieu of the vaulted chamber of the north *parados*), thus forming a paved “lobby”. However, the face of the north wall, namely the one corresponding to the inscribed “archive” wall at the other end of the stage building, proved to be blank, though extremely well-preserved. A pendant to the north *parados* was nevertheless found with the discovery of the statue of a pugilist with thong-bound arms, “cauliflower” ears, shaved head and broken nose, quite similar to one found in 1967 precisely at a corresponding spot at the other end of the stage. The most interesting contribution of this statue proved to be its signature, naming Polyneikes as its creator, who is also known from a fragment found in Rome in the late nineteenth century.

The theory that most of the theatre, especially the stage and adjacent areas collapsed in the early Byzantine period seems still valid. So far no evidence post-dating the sixth century can be detected in the core of the building. In a small cubicle arranged with benches on three sides at the northernmost end of the back-stage corridor (to the right of the door of the first vaulted room), fresco fragments were recovered from the wall. Several of these, carefully recomposed by Mr. Linsner, portrayed the head of a handsome, large-eyed saint, most likely St. Michael judging from an inscribed fragment. A late fifth—early sixth century seems appropriate for this work. Aphrodisias can thus also boast of producing some unusual evidence for early Byzantine painting.

Following the sixth century, the theatre lay abandoned for a while. The upper cavea was gradually pilfered, and after due filling operations of the remaining hollow portions, was incorporated into the stronghold created on the “acropolis” between the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Prior to that date, however, a wall blocking the back of the stage building was built. This was detected in a sondage initiated in August behind the excavated portion of the *scaena*. Interestingly enough, several inscribed blocks pertaining to the early letters of the nearby “archive” wall were also discovered in this same general area. Epigraphically speaking, another item of importance among the many found on or about the stage was the missing section of the inscription recording Aphrodisias' relations with Q. Oppius during the Mithridatic Wars.

Prehistoric Aphrodisias

Work on the abundant remains of the prehistoric period at Aphrodisias was continued both on the field and in the laboratory under the ever attentive eyes of Mrs. Barbara Kadish and Miss Karen Flinn. Continuation of the trench, interrupted last year, on the west slope of the "acropolis" proved to be irresistible and another four metres of occupation levels were excavated. These levels ranged from a Middle Bronze Age complex through two Early Bronze Age III levels. The supervisors here, Mr. Charles White, Miss Marsha Levine and Mr. John O'Flynn recorded several hearths besides a number of stone foundations and mudbrick walls. One of these belonging to an Early Bronze Age III complex (*ca.* 2400 B.C.) appeared to have been in the centre of a room, raised, plastered and surrounded by a thin band of yellow clay. Two small rectangular, equally plastered pillars were attached to it. As usual, the harvest of finds was extraordinary and included ceramic weights, spindle whorls, bone awls, bronze pins, needles, blades and five small idols, three of them marble. Stone implements and chipped finds were equally plentiful. Noteworthy among the abundant ceramic finds is a well-modelled, attractive stag's head, probably belonging to the spout of a vessel.

The other prehistoric mound of Aphrodisias, *Pekmez*, did not remain completely idle. In late August, Miss Levine supervised a limited sondage below the Late Chalcolithic house level (pre-3000 B.C.) reached last year. Lack of time again prevented extensive work here but our investigations encountered a stratum of stiff, buff clay interspersed with gravel, which could well be water-laid. On the other hand, the discovery of some distinctive red-on-white painted sherds in this operation definitely suggests pre-Chalcolithic habitation, if not specifically here, certainly elsewhere at Aphrodisias. Most significant among the items recorded at *Pekmez* were fragments of two marble idols of a rare type: these consist of the stylized upper portion of the torso with arms bent at the elbow and raised above the chest.

The Portico of Tiberius and the Agora

One of the wonders of archaeological excavation is its "unpredictability." In this respect, Aphrodisias provides us frequently with surprising and unexpected developments. No one can attest to this better than Dr. J. Stephens Crawford and Dr. Joseph Gary. An essentially routine excavation aimed at continuing work started in 1969 in the Portico of Tiberius of the Agora enhanced an already rich season with some extremely topical and thought-provoking finds. The purposes of our operations here were to uncover the southern flank of the Portico and determine the nature of the large building detected in 1969 at its southern edge. First surprises came as digging brought to light an increasing number of panel fragments with Latin inscriptions in the area between the colonnade and the building in question. We immediately recognized these fragments as connected with the Edict on Maximum Prices issued by Diocletian *ca.* 301 and of which Aphrodisias had already produced many sections (see below). Over 140 pieces of variant size, some almost complete panels, were recorded by Dr. Crawford and eventually examined by Miss Reynolds in September. Recognizable in these new fragments are considerable sections of the preamble and some dealing with the prices of wool, linen, fabrics, clothing, needles, glass, pens and ink, cereals and

many other items and commodities, which now make the text found at Aphrodisias the most extensive known so far.

In addition, however, two large sections of inscription undoubtedly related to the Prices Edict seem to belong to another decree. Opening words suggest that its subject was coinage and that the problems at issue (mainly regulating the payment of public and private debts) arose from a reform of the currency! No discovery could have been more apropos to prove the constant actuality of the past! Indeed, a few days earlier, the Turkish lira had been devalued and subsequently, Premier Süleyman Demirel's words in the announcement of his inflation-curbing measures sounded unusually similar to those of Diocletian! *Nihil novi sub sole!*

Discoveries of an equally impressive, though different nature, surprised us in the continued excavation of the building on the edge of the Portico. This structure faced the colonnade (which had probably here a masking or screen entablature) and proved to be entered through a central staircase flanked by two other false stairs separated by columns. Architectural elements so far recovered suggest an arcuate lintel over the main doorway and a façade not unlike that of the temple of Hadrian at Ephesus. While we were debating the identity of this building, a gigantic draped female statue was brought to light inside a cella-like chamber beyond the entrance. Though headless, its height was well over nine feet (*ca.* three m.) and its weight estimated at about four to five tons! Proceedings for its removal were therefore not particularly easy, but our seasoned foreman and workmen performed miracles with the help of a tractor and a winch. Nevertheless, attempts at re-erecting the "big lady" (as she came to be known) in our courtyard were soon abandoned for lack of suitable equipment and fear of damaging her extraordinarily well-carved drapery. No precise evidence is as yet available for the identification of this figure. It is certainly a goddess, possibly Demeter or Tyche, or perhaps, even an empress in the guise of a divinity. In so far as the building itself is concerned, though at first several suggestions came to mind, the presence of the statue in a cella-like chamber favours its being a temple, or, if not, a structure with specific religious connotations.

Barely a few days following the discovery of the colossal statue, another startling find was made at the western edge of the building. Under architectural fragments, a life-size figure of a running horse was revealed. Although its limbs and muzzle were missing, most of its body was intact, some of its surface still preserving the bronze pins intended to hold metal-wrought bridle, harness and saddle. The beauty of the animal was magnificently enhanced by its execution in an attractive, white-veined bluish marble indigenous to the hills of Aphrodisias, and the contrasting white marble out of which its rider proved to have been carved. Indeed, several fragments, particularly a left thigh cut with a suitable dowel hole, were recovered nearby. This unusual combination of two marbles is of course reminiscent of the bichrome figure of Europa seated on the bull found last year, and of other wellknown coloured marble creations of Aphrodisian sculptors, such as the Capitoline centaurs.

The North Odeon

The area stretching between the temple of Aphrodite and the Odeon, though consistently explored in recent years, remains a focal point requiring further data

on the structures once existing here. Unfortunately, destruction and rebuilding activities, in part necessitated by water-table changes and earthquakes obscure much of the evidence. Nevertheless, several new trenches, dug first to the south of the *temenos* of Aphrodite and then to the north of the Odeon, were ably supervised here by Mr. John Pollini. The investigations near the *temenos* produced several Middle Byzantine graves about the colonnade, but did not satisfactorily explain the bridging of the levels between the area of the temple and the lower sculptors' workshops to the south. Judging from four water-conduits running parallel to the stylobate of the *temenos* and a retaining wall to the south, it appears that the level and pavement of the portico were tampered with and ripped on several occasions. Ceramic evidence implies some construction activity here in the late Hellenistic period, perhaps the remnant of an earlier *temenos* wall. Many sculpture fragments were extracted from later walls, and included a fragmentary fifth century head, a large partly gilded hand and a small head of the Aphrodite of Aphrodisias.

Trenches dug subsequently by Mr. Pollini in the immediate vicinity of the northeastern and northern Odeon revealed further details about the back of the building. Clearance of the two buttresses adjacent to the central vaulted back-chamber once supporting the upper cavea gave further proof of their connection with a roofing system. Following fourth or fifth century ground-level-raising wine (?) -pressing establishments were set up here. Numerous large, marble storage jars and press fragments were indeed discovered. Because of the greater depth of the fill along the eastern back of the Odeon, future operations should perhaps provide clearer data about the sequence of construction (and destruction) of the building and its vicinity.

Study and Publication Programme

One of the most unusual landmarks of Aphrodisias is surely the handsome gateway, tetrapylon or propylon, excavated at intervals in 1963 and 1969 to the east of the temple. Though some of its outlying area remains to be further investigated, the architectural elements of this monument appeared sufficiently abundant to initiate a careful examination towards final publication and restoration. It was our privilege to entrust this task to Dr. Alois Machatschek, of the Vienna Technische Hochschule (Institute für Kunstgeschichte und Denkmalpflege), a good friend and an expert long familiar with the architectural idiosyncrasies of Roman Asia Minor. His painstaking work and study during a four-week stay were most productive, and his remarkable drawings and conclusions will be ready soon for publication.

Simultaneously, the new survey of the whole site initiated in 1969 was resumed by Dr. Joseph Dorner and Mr. Mario Schwarz. Both laboured for a month intensively and extensively under the hot Carian sun, verifying, measuring and setting many new benchmarks.

The past nine campaigns of excavation produced an impressive collection of Roman and Byzantine coins. A careful review of the material on hand being deemed urgent, Messrs. David MacDonald and Frederick M. Lauritsen tackled the arduous task of re-examining and recleaning all our numismatic finds. It seems virtually certain that their dedicated labours of last summer will bear fruit in the

near future and pave the way for the final publication of the Aphrodisias numismatic material.

As already noted, in the latter part of the season Miss Joyce Reynolds, assisted by Miss Charlotte Wrinch, inspected our new epigraphical finds. She verified the texts of all the "archive" wall inscriptions, particularly in the light of the several newly-found fragments. Her study of these documents is well under way and will soon be ready for publication. Last spring, in collaboration with J. P. Wild, M. H. Ballance and this writer, Miss Reynolds completed a lengthy article dealing with all fragments of Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices found up to 1969. It is slated to appear in the 1970 volume of the *Journal of Roman Studies*. This article will, needless to say, bear a "to be continued" ending in view of the large quantities of new fragments uncovered last summer.

Miss Charlotte Wrinch, who helped Miss Reynolds in some of her activities, also devoted her time to review all the Byzantine epigraphical documents of Aphrodisias, including innumerable graffiti. One of her main discoveries is that the basilica (ex-temple of Aphrodite) was probably dedicated to St. Michael, judging from a well-cut inscription found there in earlier seasons as well as many graffiti.

The remarkable results of the 1970 campaign were once again made possible through the generous support of the National Geographic Society, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Vincent Astor Foundation and the Ford Foundation (ten graduate students were able to participate in our work thanks to the Ford traineeship grant) and the dedicated work of our staff.

BODRUM, MAUSOLEUM¹

In continuation of the campaigns of 1966 and 1967 (*Acta Arch.* 38, 1968, 29–58) excavations on a larger scale were carried out during the autumn of 1970 under the supervision of Oğuz Alpözen of the Bodrum Museum.

Supplementary soundings were made along the peribolos wall of the Mausoleum. Foundations for the SW and NE angles of the precinct were discovered, and the foundations of building *C* were found to project not only eastwards but also westwards beyond the line of the east peribolos wall so as to form a plan resembling clearly that of a propylon.

A number of observations seem to support the assumption that, apart from the tomb building proper, the precinct of the Mausoleum was never finished (cf. Pliny's enigmatical words about the sculptors, NH 36.30: ". . . *priusque quam peragerent regina obit. Non tamen recesserunt nisi absoluto iam* etc."): remains of the west and south peribolos walls have only been traced near the SE, SW, and NW angles; and the *temenos* area was apparently never paved all over nor even filled up with earth to display a uniform surface level. There are indications also that building *C* was never finished to full height (cf. *op. cit.* 42). Possibly it was planned to function as a gateway to the precinct but never put to use because access to the precinct could easily be found elsewhere, especially along the south

¹ Report kindly submitted by Professor K. Jeppesen.

side of the peribolos wall. Building *M* due south of the tomb building (op. cit. fig. 33), first found by Biliotti in 1865, now partly explored by the Danish expedition, was apparently also left unfinished.

Among the principal results of the campaign one achievement was of particular importance. With the amiable assistance of the III Limanlar Bölge Müdürü, Izmir, the expedition managed to remove from the site of the Mausoleum about 8000 c.m. of earth, i.e. most of the artificial mound left above it by C. T. Newton in 1857, and to bring to light several features of the huge rock cutting, in which the foundations of the Mausoleum were embedded. Though very schematical, the plan published by Newton bears some resemblance to facts, but it shows some grave errors, and several conspicuous remains of architecture have not been recorded in it at all. Obviously the re-excavation is worth while and it will probably bring about important clues to the architectural history of the site.

Among the finds extracted from the earth may be mentioned a great number of architectural marbles including several column drums. A few ashlar were also found, which prove that, like the peribolos wall, the tomb building was built of a composition of white marble and dark stone. As might be expected, Newton left very few fragments of sculpture on the site. Among these may be mentioned the head of a ram possibly belonging to the figure BMC 1097.

PESSINUS, 1970¹

A fourth season of excavation lasting nine weeks was carried out at Pessinus in 1970 by the University of Ghent. Two areas previously explored (*B*, *D*) were continued and work was started in three others (*E*, *F*, *G*.)

Area B: Temple

Limited work in this area was originally planned for 1970 but several new features soon drew our attention. A tiled channel was discovered in a depth of 1 m. leading from the north and south façades of the temple to the canal 70 m. away to the north. A group of buildings was uncovered to the left of the entrance to the temple. The most important find, however, was a well made flight of steps in three lateral sections which ends in a paved road leading to the temple. The steps of the central section are 0.25 m. deep while those of the sides are 0.50 m. deep. Sherds found near the steps are of Hellenistic date though at the moment an Augustan date is most likely for the temple. Further work here in future seasons is necessary.

Area D: Canal

The importance of the canal, described in my 1969 report as the backbone or main artery of ancient Pessinus, cannot be overestimated. It has now been traced by trenching for a total distance of 450 m. It is not possible to mention here any but the most striking features. Perhaps the most notable overall feature is the extremely handsome, grandiose construction. This makes it relatively certain

¹ Summarised from a report in French by Professor P. Lambrechts.

that the canal had some sacred function and can be linked to the cult of Cybele with its ritual *lavatio* and other ceremonies. At a point in trench D12 where there is a distinct change of alignment in the canal, there is an approach to the water by stairs flanked by columns. Many ornamental elements found in this area suggest a portico, perhaps connected with a temple, traces of which were found nearby in 1968 which I consider to be the Attalid temple of Cybele.

It seems likely that the canal was faced with marble steps on either side to facilitate approach and crossing when the water was low. The question of the ancient water supply allows much speculation—was water brought from the area of İstiklalbaşı some 10 km. north (running off later towards the Sakarya some 20 km. to the south) or are we to suppose that water was much more plentiful locally in antiquity? It is a recognisable phenomenon that earthquakes can restrict the flow of such springs.

At the north end of the Canal where I assumed a barrage in 1968 it now seems likely that there was a well-built and ornamented bridge.

The chronology of the Canal is a problem. Certain features point to the 2nd century B.C. but coins of the later Roman Empire and even a Christian cross of the 4th century A.D. on the bridge-barrage suggest a later date. Probably it was constructed in the 2nd century B.C. in Attalid times and rebuilt several times even as late as the Byzantine period.

Area E: Residential section north of the bridge-barrage

In this area houses were cleared on both banks of a stream leading into the canal. Those on the left bank were particularly rewarding. Pottery of late Hellenistic date was found.

Area F: Between the village school and museums

A large building was discovered here but comment on it is reserved till later.

Area G: The Theatre

Thanks to a financial contribution from the Turkish Government it was possible to increase the work force in the last two weeks by some 12 men who were put to work on the Theatre. Two trenches were cut across the orchestra. Two inscriptions were found, one of which on a block 1.35 × .60 × .37, part of a long (4 m.) inscribed entablature proved to be a dedication to the “grandson of the divine Nerva”, i.e. Hadrian (117–138 A.D.). It will be interesting to discover, if we can, the reason for this dedication in the theatre to Hadrian whose interest in Asia Minor is well known.

A further activity of the expedition was the ascent of Mt. Dindymus, well known for its associations with the cult of Cybele. Traces of building including blocks, tiles and cement were found on the top and half a dozen 5th and 6th century A.D. funerary inscriptions in Greek (which may or may not be already known). The whole complex probably indicates a Byzantine watch post and accompanying cemetery. We also noted a cave or grotto with traces of human activity, possibly similar to the cult cave near Aezani.

*SIDE AND PHASELIS*¹

The investigations in topography and history of buildings carried out by the German Institute of Archaeology under the leadership of the late Helmut Schläger in Side (during 1967) and in Phaselis (during 1968) were continued in September and October 1970 under the leadership of Jörg Schäfer. The following results were achieved:

Side: A plan, scale 1:1000, was produced for the harbour installations which had previously only been mapped in a very summary way. It includes the building remains visible above and below the water. The *south harbour* which probably belongs essentially to the early Empire, consists of a vast seaward mole built of blocks and mortar on a rubble embankment. Because of the effect of erosion, the mole today gives the impression of a breakwater of coarse, heaped blocks. The harbour entrance lies to the north of the breakwater and is in a relatively good state of preservation. Remains of the Roman Empire wharf installations can be traced almost everywhere along the V-shaped harbour basin. The harbour was protected by a wall connected to the wall of the city and running behind the wharf installations. The mole was probably also connected to this wall. The harbour underwent at least *one* alteration of its original shape.

The *north harbour* lies outside the defence system. It was built by means of a seaward (western) and landward (eastern) mole, the latter facing towards the north bay. Both moles consist of walls in which mortar had been used. Here again, a rubble embankment forms the foundation. In the construction of the landward mole we can recognise interesting building methods, in particular the use of a box dam of wooden planks whose impressions in the mole wall can still be recognised. A connection between the wharfs of the south and north harbours may be presumed.

Phaselis: The previous basis of our knowledge of this site was based on the sketches of Beaufort, *Karamania* (1818), 60f. Now an overall plan at 1:1000 has been prepared. The city is divisible into 2 parts: the already well-known south city on the peninsula with the 'Acropolis' and the 'north city' which lies on a plateau 70 m. high north of the south city. Between the two parts of the city lies the '*limne*' of Strabo.

In its visible state, the south city exhibits only Imperial and Byzantine remains. The three harbours referred to in ancient literature lie to the east, south and north of the south city. They reveal extended moles. The little east harbour is particularly well preserved. Here are visible remains of wharf installations with mooring devices for ships.

The most important structure remaining in the north town is a Hellenistic defence installation with towers and shooting slots in the curtain wall. A connection between the fortifications of the north and south cities could not be ascertained. In the extended Necropolis there are primary graves of the Roman Empire which reveal no Lycian characteristics. A square Hellenistic funeral building could be identified, which showed no architectural decoration. The negative shift of the shore line at the harbours of Phaselis can be clearly demonstrated.

¹ Translated from a report kindly contributed by Jörg Schäfer.

*PERGE, 1970*¹

In September and October 1970 under the leadership of Professor Dr. Arif Müfid Mansel excavation was carried out in these areas.

(1) On the approach to the city, 850 m. to the south, where in previous years trials had been carried out and where finally a temple had been found, this year full scale excavation was conducted. We found impressive foundations, a euthynteria in profile, a crepis of three steps with a raised stylobate on top, measuring between the corners 14.18 wide and 23.24 long. The main façade of this building faced west. On the façade stood four Doric columns. The lowest drums of two of these were found *in situ*. The base diameter of the columns, which have 24 flutes, is 1.10 m. Between the flutes, in the manner of Ionic columns, thin flat bands may be noted. The intercolumniation is 3.32 m. at the corners and 4.04 m. on the middle. Some pieces of the architrave with regulae and guttae and the peculiarity of the triglyphs (two triglyphs and three metopes to each intercolumniation) show that the temple must be of Hellenistic date. Behind the front portico was a deep pronaos and a cella forming half the depth of the temple. A very meticulous anathyrosis can be observed and the blocks were bonded one to another by U-shaped metal clamps. The building may be supposed to have been prostyle, tetra-style. In Byzantine times it suffered a vast destruction in which the upper part and a large part of the stylobate fell in and collapsed.

This temple is unlikely to be the famous one of Artemis Pergaia which is known to have been outside Perge, although it can be accepted as one of the religious buildings as it includes a sacred area.

The finding, east of the building, of pieces of columns, capitals, an entablature and ante-capitals of the Ionic order indicates the presence of an Ionic temple in this area. We hope to be able to uncover this temple by further work in this area.

(2) Inside the city, the Agora, stretching east of the Hellenistic gate, was partially excavated. The outer boundaries of the Agora from the outside are 65 m. in length and square in plan. The area was enclosed with Corinthian porticoes on all four sides which had shops behind them. This year a large part of the east and south porticoes was exposed. There came to light a crepis with two steps. On top massive pilasters, granite columns with Corinthian capitals, an entablature consisting of an architrave with three fascia, a convex moulding and a decorated *geison-sima* with waterspouts in the shape of lions' heads. The total height can be determined to have been 7.80 m. Because these architectural fragments bear a resemblance to the *scaenae frons* of the theatre the porticoes of the Agora can be considered to belong to the last half of the 2nd century A.D. Right in the middle of the Agora was found a round building. On the four sides, on the main axes, were four entrances in the form of rectangular rooms. We hope to clear the whole building next year and to undertake partial restoration.

(3) At the north end of a broad straight thoroughfare leading from the north of the city to the south-east and in the region of the acropolis, a monumental Nymphaeum was partially excavated. The building appeared to have a U-shaped plan, 19 m. long and 6.50 wide. On the face of the long black wall the vertical

¹ Translation of report kindly submitted by Professor Arif Müfid Mansel.

expanse includes three niches in a row and on each of the side walls the total height consists of a large deep niche which is covered with a coffered vault. At the end of the excavation a podium, extending the length of the walls, and on top of it a low pedestal were found. On top of these was a colonnade in two storeys. Fragments of columns with Corinthian capitals standing on engaged bases, friezes decorated with *thyrsi* and pieces of a *geison-sima* bearing different theatre masks are worthy of note.

As well as these there came to light a statue of Zeus complete with head and eagle, a draped Artemis with sacred animals, and the figure of an emperor in armour and *paludamentum*. The pedestal on which the columns stood had an inscription on the upper surface. Only the very east end of this has been able to be cleared. In the inscription a man of Perge, Au(relios) Seilanos Neonianos Stasios by name, in connection with the League of the Pamphyliaus, is mentioned and it may be considered that he was the builder of this private building.

Next year some new finds seem likely to come to light from the whole of this building and we hope to be able to complete a restoration of it on paper.

LIMYRA, 1970¹

This year's campaign completed the excavation. The steep slope below the Heroon was investigated in an area c. 80 × 35 m. The find of numerous architectural blocks and fragments of sculpture confirm to a great extent the conception of the Heroon gained in 1969. However, the architectural survey showed that the frieze was not on the lower but on the upper building, i.e. it adorned the two long sides of the cella of the amphiprostyle temple.

Fragments of the first few blocks of the frieze, which had collapsed in the earthquake with the whole south front, allow a reconstruction of the two friezes which from north to south, to a length of 6 m., both show the same theme: behind a galloping *quadriga* a heavily armed man is mounting a single-axled racing chariot. He turns round to face the procession of musicians, riders and foot-soldiers. By his cut of beard and his representation in three-quarter view the bearded warrior is seen to be the chief character. We recognise in him the owner of the tomb.

Two well-preserved Caryatid-heads on the south side complete very fortunately the idea of the Caryatids which carried the architraves of the upper building instead of columns. The architectural survey led at the same time to the recognition that no sculptures were placed between the bases of the Caryatids. All the fragments of marble sculptures must therefore be attributed to the acroteria. The middle acroterion of the north side consisted certainly not of a Nike in downward flight carried by two protomes of girls, but of a group of two figures, a recumbent, prostrate Amazon, over whom a male figure clad only in a cloak stands in triumph.

Should the hypothesis be confirmed in the 1971 campaign, these acroterion figures on the north side can be interpreted as the triumph of Bellerophon over the Amazons.

¹ Translated from a report kindly contributed by Dr. Jürgen Borchhardt.

*EPHESUS, 1970*¹

There were two campaigns, in the spring under Doz. Dr. W. Alzinger, in the autumn under Professor Dr. H. Vettters.

1. *Agora*. Work on the Basilica was continued. On the west side of the Agora a *peripteros* temple was cleared. This temple was pulled down in the reign of Theodosius, so that only the foundations are preserved. Its construction is dated by the small finds to the second half of the first century B.C. Among the finds may be mentioned a small head of an Ammon of black stone and the rattle of a sistrum. From the time of building and the contents it can be inferred that a temple of an Egyptian god stood here. Since a colossal marble head of Antonius was found near by, Antony and Cleopatra may be regarded as the builders.

2. *House 2 on the slope*. The following rooms were cleared: H2/SR 27 (court), H2 (14a–d) in part, H2 12 (room of the Muses), H2 (16a–b) with mosaic floor showing Medusa and Dionysos, H2 (22, 23) (court with glass mosaics). These chambers are parts of stately patrician homes with sumptuous interior embellishments, such as wall-painting and mosaic floors. The frescoes, which were mostly found *in situ*, and the remains of the paintings which were recovered from the debris were either conserved by a team of restorers or removed. Two provisional roofs were constructed for the protection of the frescoes.

3. *Artemision*. Excavation of the altar area was extended to the west and north. Deep soundings in the altar court were started and an Archaic head and late geometric pottery were recovered. The foundations for the erection of the columns were strengthened with concrete.

4. *Late Archaic Necropolis*. In this area in the Agora the Archaic street was traced further and a grave stone of 6th/5th century B.C. was found.

5. *Library of Celsus*. Since the greater part of the façade was found to be extant, preparations were made for the erection of the façade, and all the architectonic material was recorded. A start was made with the re-erection of the architecture of the *Pollio-Nymphaeum* on the basis of the previous year's studies.

6. *Inscriptions*. The finds of 1968/9 were further studied, and some new finds were recorded. Especially noteworthy are an important text for the history of religion from the area of the Prytaneion, an Archaic grave inscription from the Necropolis below the Agora, and several texts from the region of the Altar of the Artemision.

7. Photographs were prepared for the projected *Guide* to the Museum in Selçuk; all the exhibits of sculpture, architecture, small finds and inscriptions were photographed.

Conservation of all finds continued without interruption.

*PERGAMON, 1970*²

Activity in 1970 was limited to the rebuilding of the German Expedition House which was burnt down in 1969. On the citadel hill all archaeological work was discontinued. In the Asclepieion activity was restricted to extensive safety operations which had become urgent in this wide-ranging complex of ruins.

¹ Translated from information kindly supplied by Professor Dr. Hermann Vettters.

² Information kindly contributed by Dr. O. Ziegenaus.

Restoration work was also carried out in the complex of the long Hellenistic stoa on the west side of the Asclepieion. Beside many column stumps, two intercolumniations of the stoa could be re-erected to their full height, complete with their architraves. At the same time smaller soundings were made for the verification of earlier observations, in particular a test trench inside the great imperial Zeus-Asclepios round temple, which brought proof in the form of rock workings that this prominent rock outcrop was presumably built on already in Hellenistic times.

*DIDYMA, 1970*¹

No excavation took place at Didyma in the autumn of 1970, but the finds of 1969 were studied. At the same time, in the course of the work of restoration, we re-exposed the terrace of votive offerings before the eastern front of the temple of Apollo. This part had during the last 60 years completely disappeared under flood deposits and the objects, which were only partially published, had been consigned to oblivion. The parts laid bare included, from the Archaic period, the supporting wall, the best preserved of the five terrace stairways (the second from the south), and the remains of the foundations of the northern treasury. From the Hellenistic period a number of architectural pieces and seven foundations for votive platforms in the south-east section of the terrace were exposed; from the Empire period, finally, the members of a structure dedicated to Hadrian. Inscribed bases were re-erected. A report will be published. A partial report has already appeared in Vol. 27 of *Istanbuler Forschungen* entitled "Die archaischen Skulpturen von Didyma".

*IASOS, 1970*²

In 1970 we continued to explore the area of the Agora. Enlarging the dig near the west stylobate, we reached the number of fifty tombs in the proto-geometric necropolis. These alternate between cist graves and pithos graves; sometimes one was found above the other, showing that the two rites were practised contemporaneously. The pithoi alternate with small vessels used for incineration or inhumation. The pithoi are mostly leaning on one side, protected from the outside by stone slabs and by a large slab which closes the mouth. In a single case there is a combination of cist with pithos, i.e. the pithos is placed inside a deep elliptical pit lined with stone. In two instances we found simple holes in the ground, probably intended to take wooden cists, of which we found traces, to contain the ashes and covered at the top by a large stone slab. Very rich is the grave furniture, especially pottery, but including also many bronze fibulae and bracelets. A large number of vases fully preserved form by now a very characteristic "Carian" pottery class.

The base of the Geometric cists was inserted into a Mycenaean stratum, in fact many of them rest on walls of that age which form parts of substantial buildings, near which we found a large quantity of Mycenaean sherds, but other

¹ Information kindly supplied by Dr. Klaus Tuchelt.

² Translated from a report kindly supplied by Professor Doro Levi.

remnants of buildings near their bases have produced fragments of small urns with bridged spouts and of other vessels belonging to the Late Minoan Palace period, some even to the Middle Minoan period; of these it is likely that some are imports, but most of them are local imitations. It was only towards the end of the campaign that we obtained a pump which, we hope, will be powerful enough to enable us to clarify these lower levels in the next season.

The Mycenaean pottery, however, is not limited to this area; it appeared almost everywhere in the lower strata of our sounding. It was particularly abundant in the area of the Basilica near the East Gate, where we continued the stratigraphical sounding to the left of the apsidal aula of the Basilica. We also continued to the right of this aula, in the area round the square of the four porticoes with central fountain and along the road above this. In some of the rooms we found rich furniture among which were beautiful Megarian cups, almost intact, some with the inscriptions of the makers.

The deep sounding east of the Bouleuterion produced some remarkable fragments of the Orientalising period, some certainly of Rhodian origin. The stylobate in front of the stoa of Artemis Astyas seems to form a corner at its western end where a north-south colonnade begins; in this corner we also found inside a niche a headless Roman statue dedicated to a priest of Agrippa Postumos and of Hermes, which in all likelihood must have stood on the base which was still in position in the niche. Further on we found another small statue of marble.

In the north-east corner of the agora we continued the excavation, which produced a large number of architectonic elements of the Roman period and new fragments of the monumental inscription dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian; these elements will authorise the anastylosis of the Roman building.

Following the eastern stylobate, we arrived at a tripartite building still largely standing, near which we found the base of a statue with dedication to a priestess of the temple of Artemis Astyas.

At the end of a new trench dug towards the south we found at the sides of the entrance to a building at the end of the stoa two blocks from door jambs with inscriptions concerning building works dedicated to the agoranomion of the city.

We also reopened the excavations towards the southern point of the island. We cleared the vast Propylon which stands on the terrace above the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. From this point a triumphal ramp leads off towards the north. Presumably it climbed the hill towards the other sacred buildings, and at one point it narrows to a stepped corridor flanked by enclosed spaces, all decorated with mosaics, both geometric and figurative. Also adorned with beautiful polychrome mosaics was the Roman villa to the east of this complex, a villa with exceptionally spacious rooms, built on a plan derived from that of the Hellenistic villas, and which certainly belonged to an influential personality, thus showing the continued wealth and importance of Iasos in the Roman period.

Finally after the interruption of ten years we again began the exploration of the area near the circuit wall on the mainland. In the first place we were able to prove that this was a complete circuit, for the clearance of the thick vegetation and undergrowth which covered this part of the hill brought to light a new and remarkable section of it which, though badly preserved, looks over the sea to the west of the Porto Piccolo of Iasos. Near this part of the wall we brought to light

many tombs mostly of the cist type, but also a monumental tomb with a pitched roof built with beautiful, carefully polished marble blocks, with an antechamber and short dromos and containing two sarcophagi. The building technique and also some of the contents (though the grave had been violated in ancient times) dated—as also did some of the cist graves found near the circuit wall—to the second half of the fourth century B.C., giving us in this way an approximate date for the circuit wall itself, which seems to have been in use for a very short period and to have been already disused at the time when the graves were built.

YEŞİLTEPE IN TARSUS, 1970¹

Yeşiltepe or Cleopatra's Hill is in the middle of Tarsus and lies between the Palace of Justice and the town market. It covers an area of about 70 × 50 m. and rises about 6 m. 50 above the asphalt road.

This hill has been used within living memory as a cemetery. Later the flat places on top were planted with trees and it was turned into an open-air refreshment park. On one side of the top a town water tank was constructed but this was abandoned when it was found inadequate to meet demand. Earth has been taken from the sides to widen the neighbouring roads so that the natural slope of the hill is broken. Its present state is that the town fire alarm stands on top, on its slope a summer café and on its north and east skirts shops have been built.

No scientific excavation has taken place in Tarsus since the first systematic excavation in the area directed by Hetty Goldman at Gözlükale in 1934. In 1940 while the Palace of Justice was being built a 3rd century A.D. mosaic was found which was removed by the Ministry of Education to the Hatay Museum (Inv. No. 10568, *TAD* XV (2), 1966, 67 ff.) without further excavation. Similarly in 1960 during the building of the Tarsus Vakıf İşhane there were found at a level 5 m. below the asphalt road another 3rd century A.D. mosaic and remains of a building so large and opulent that it could have been a palace. The site was abandoned to the new building after planning of the remains and lifting the mosaic (now in the Adana Museum).

Tarsus is so rich archaeologically that virtually any excavation there will find traces of antiquity. Thus by 1970 the people of Tarsus were upset that whenever an antiquity was found it was carried off to a museum elsewhere and they decided firstly to work for the foundation of a museum and secondly to begin excavation. This was the origin of the Yeşiltepe excavation directed by the present writer in the name of the Ministry of Education at the joint expense of the Municipality of Tarsus and the Ministry of Education. The writer was assisted by Gaziantep Museum Assistant Hasan Candemir and by Tarsus Museum official Mirza Ulaşoğlu. The excavation took place in the latter part of August and is expected to continue in 1971.

It was decided to excavate on the south slope of the hill. A 19 m. square was cleared of rubble and a 5 m. square sounding was dug to a depth of 15·80 m. to test the stratigraphy. In the sounding were found a doorway and walls built in poor workmanship of stone and brick with the upper parts plastered. North of the doorway the floor was paved with stone but further south it was covered with

¹ Translation of report kindly submitted by Bayan Süheyla Keskil.

a layer of very weak mortar about 30 cms. higher. At the end of the excavation the sounding was widened and a room 3.85×4 m. was defined. *In situ* on the floor were an earthenware bowl and six water pipes. The pipes were standing in a row by the wall as though this was where they were made. No one had taken the trouble, or perhaps had the time, to remove them when the building was ruined. The pipes and the bowl were all made of the same clay and very lightly fired. In the north west corner of the room, by the door, was a two handled water jar of a different quality, quite well fired. Near the middle of the room the mouth of a well was found. The diameter at its mouth was 1.10 m. narrowing by degrees to 0.82 m. at a depth of 4.50 m. No stone was used in the well and brick only for a few corners at the mouth. The shaft was lined with rough mortar and ended at the bottom with an apparently calcareous rock. Deposits of rubble, sand and earth were dug from the fill of the wall. Among the rubble were found pottery sherds of Byzantine and Islamic types.

The 19 m.² excavation area was dug during the season to an average depth of 2 m. At a depth of 50 to 75 cms. a number of graves were found with their sides and top built of regular stones. The alignment of the burials was not clear. No grave goods were found with them. At a depth of 2 m. stone floors and walls with two courses of stone and three of brick were found. In the brick courses one course of red bricks is laid on two courses of yellow ones. As the interior of the walls was plastered this coursing would appear not to be connected with decoration. The building technique is not of good quality from comparison with the sounding these walls must be another 1.50 to 2.00 m. deep. In the 800 m.³ of rubble dug a Byzantine lamp, an amber bead, glass and bronze bracelets, a glass button and a smooth coin were among the finds. The large amount of pottery found was of the Byzantine and Islamic periods.

TOPAKLI¹

Every year since 1967 an Italian Archaeological Expedition has held a campaign of excavation in the hüyük of Topaklı. This Expedition was promoted by Professor Piero Meriggi of the University of Pavia and is directed by Professor Luigi Polacco of the University of Padua. The members of the expedition mostly come from the scientific and technical staff of the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Padua with the collaboration of the Institute of Mycenaean and Aegeo-Anatolian Studies of Rome; the National Research Council has financed the expedition.

The hüyük of Topaklı is situated along the Ankara-Kırşehir-Kayseri road, 72 km. before reaching Kayseri, at a height of 1,200 m. in a fertile hollow dominated by the İsmail Sivrısı (1,600 m.) from which the Kalaycık Deresi comes down; the hüyük of Topaklı is in a bend of this river, while the modern village extends along the two banks. The hüyük is archaeologically intact; oval in shape with axes 265 and 210 m.; its height is approximately 24 m.

The excavations are being carried out in two directions, one vertical by means of a trench 9 m. wide with steps in order to establish a time-scale of the stratigraphy, the other horizontal over a wider area, in the centre (c. 1,000 sq. m.), in

¹ Report kindly contributed by Professor Luigi Polacco.

order to investigate the levels and relative cultures. In the time-scale trench (TT) the stratigraphy has so far been traced from level *A* (Byzantine 6th–7th century A.D.) to level *M* (Mid-Phrygian, 6th–7th century B.C.) to a depth of about 9 m. In the central sector the Byzantine levels are rather conspicuous with a vast cemetery and some buildings among which there is a paleo-christian martyrion (4th–5th century A.D.), this, however, was found by chance near the E edge of the upper terrace of the hüyük.

The Roman level seems to have very little to offer. It is probable that by Roman times the hüyük was no longer inhabited, although there are considerable traces of Roman habitation in the surrounding countryside. The Greek stratification, however, is very marked with different architectural levels present which have produced a large quantity of pottery of various kinds, black and red paint, moulded and incised, decorated with geometrical motifs and naturalistic motifs (plants and animals that are very lively and with delicate colourings), as well as a large assortment of kitchen ware and *instrumenta*. The inhabited area is characterised by a compact structure, carefully orientated, distributed mostly in the central area of the hüyük, which even then must have been slightly raised. The wall-techniques are rather modest, built in kerpiç with the foundations and first rows made up of chips and squared stones stuck together with mud. The social environment seems to have been eminently agricultural although collateral artisan activities were also clearly present. There are no traces of defensive structures.

The most important finds have been restored on the spot and handed over to the Nevşehir Museum; the remaining material is in the store-rooms of the expedition's house at Topaklı. The preliminary reports on the excavations have been published annually in *SMEA* and a shorter summary has also been given to *TAD*.

*AEgaeA (YUMARTALIK, ADANA)*¹

With the support of the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums the Adana Museum undertook preliminary researches and excavations in November 1970 at Aegaea (Yumartalık), one of the most important Roman sites on the eastern Mediterranean coast, where the villages have been causing for some time a lot of damage by their illegal excavations. The Director of the Museum was assisted in the excavation by Bay Yılmaz Şimşek and in the recording by Bay Nurettin Doğru.

Excavation took place in three areas:

1. At a point about 500 m. north of Süleyman Kalesi and north of the Kalemli village road, where villagers had found three graves, seven more graves were excavated. The construction of the graves and the finds from them indicated that this was part of the Roman period necropolis of Aegaea.

2. At a point on the Kalemli road about 1,000 m. N.E. of the first area, where villagers are reported to have found in 1969 a number of marble statues (one of these is now in the Adana Museum), a sondage trench 25 × 15 m. was excavated. A pottery water channel and two short lengths of wall foundations were found.

¹ Translated from report kindly submitted by O. Ayruğ Taşyürek.

3. In a corn field on the west bank of the Yumurtalık Deresi where villagers had been finding, after rain, some coins and bronze figurines, four trenches of differing sizes were excavated. Here a lot of wall foundations and floors were found with, in the burnt layer above the floors, a number of bronze and a few silver Roman period coins. These coins are dated to the third century A.D., thus it would appear that this part of the city of Aegaea was destroyed by fire.

It is hoped that these excavations will be continued in 1971.

SELJUK-GOTHIC PARALLELS

In May–June 1970 Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Harvey visited İzmir, Manisa, Bergama, Selçuk, Bodrum, Antalya, Alanya, Antakya, Anavarza, Trabzon, Samsun and Sinop to continue observations on the early occurrence of the pointed arch in Anatolia and parallels between Seljuk and Gothic detail (see *AS*, XV, 11–12; XVII, 6; *Antiquaries Journal*, XLVIII pt. 1, 87–99).

At İzmir, though no early pointed arches were seen, the remarkable (semi-circular) ribbed vaulting beneath the north-west corner of the Agora colonnades was noted. Since the classical colonnades belong to a rebuilding of soon after A.D. 179, and the rib-vaults are clearly insertions, they may well belong to a repair by underpinning of medieval date. In general character they resemble both Armenian and Norman works (e.g. Horomos Vank; Bayeux Cathedral, north tower) of the late 11th century (see R. Naumann & S. Kantar in *Istanbul For-schungen*, Bd. 17, Taf. 22c, 42c, 45; Abb. 2).

No evidence was found for the use of pointed arches in western or southern Turkey at a date earlier than the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century. The Seljuk buildings of Alanya, dated to 1226–31 (Seton Lloyd & D. Storm Rice, *Alanya*, 1958) stand out as the earliest example in this region of a homogeneous style forming an eastern equivalent to Gothic. Christian buildings (e.g. the Armenian Castle chapel at Anavarza, 12th century; Aya Sofya at Trabzon, mid-13th century) on the contrary preserve relatively archaic ‘Romanesque’ and Byzantine forms even when there is a partial adoption of pointed arches. This is particularly striking at Trabzon, where the external porches, with moulded pointed arches and Islamic capitals, contrast sharply with the conservative Byzantine style of the rest of the building.

The entrance and screen-walls of the grotto-church (“St. Peter’s”) outside Antakya, though sometimes described as ‘Gothic’ and almost certainly of Crusader date (i.e. here 1098–1268), use exclusively semicircular arches and there are no mouldings or details directly indicating the onset of Gothic or pointed-arch style. The pierced window-forms in the spandrels of the screen-walls, superficially suggesting early Gothic tracery, give the impression of being substantially earlier than similar decorative piercings in the West (e.g. Bayeux, Sées cathedrals, 13th century).

MILETUS, 1970¹

Work could not begin before the arrival of the Commissar on September 10th and ended rather earlier than intended on October 24th owing to the outbreak of

¹ Condensed from a report kindly provided by Professor Dr. G. Kleiner.

cholera. It was again directed by Professor Dr. G. Kleiner of the University of Frankfurt am Main.

Excavation was carried out at three points:

- (a) by the square of St. Michael's Church to the west of the northern agora;
- (b) at the southern city wall, extending the excavation of 1968;
- (c) east of the Temple of Athena, deepening the sounding begun in 1968 in search of the Mycenaean wall.

(a) In spite of the clearance done in 1969 this area had been specially affected by the floods of the spring and had to be cleaned up again. Also further clearances had to be made at suitable points in order to facilitate the search for the Temple of Dionysos lying under the Church. To the south the surrounding wall of the Church precinct was reached, somewhat further out than the temenos wall of the Temple, the southwest corner of which was identified. To the west, on the other hand, it lies further in. To the east it seems to coincide with the temenos wall. To the north it has not yet been traced because here the previously discovered 'Atrium' proved to be followed by further rooms, some quite large, which give the whole complex the appearance of a (bishop's?) palace.

In the Church itself, mosaics with various decorative patterns were found both in the northern and the southern aisles; in the central aisle a floor of marble slabs was revealed on either side of the clearly recognisable *ambo*, and the same in the choir, while at the sides mosaics again came to light. The Baptistery brought a surprise, with its well-preserved octagonal sunk basin and its floor of marble and stone slabs in different colours. This almost square room lies in the southern suite of rooms of the Church precinct. In the room to the east of this the (eastern) main entrance of the Church was identified. The mosaic decoration seems to have extended to many of the rooms.

The form of the upper storey, which certainly existed, has yet to be investigated, also that of the inside of the apse. Under the apse the altar of the Temple has still to be sought for.

The latter was a temple *in antis* with two Ionic columns between the *antae* and dimensions of c. 10.80 × 19.20 m. The back of the building lay close to the temenos wall. Finds included two pieces of the volutes of the capitals, fragments of the cross-fluted torus of the bases, and a large piece of the frieze with dog-tooth ornament. The curved palmette-lotus frieze reminds one in style of the *naiskos* of Didyma, which is true also of other architectural items, such as a block with egg and dart motif and Lesbian sima. In contrast to the *naiskos* the architrave was in two parts, in so far as blocks later used as architrave for the Church belonged to it. The sima block with acanthus-like tendril discovered by A. von Gerkan belongs rather to the fourth or third century B.C., as indeed the whole style seems to antedate the *naiskos*.

(b) The South Cut of 1968; enlarged to south and east, could only be half completed down to the Geometrical level—nowhere as far as the virgin soil. The settlement proved to continue even beyond the shrine discovered in 1968. Since above this there are few Classical or Hellenistic remains, but only later Roman buildings (villas), this is a specially favourable spot for investigating the Archaic city. The level of the curved buildings has perhaps not yet been reached, nor that of the round clay emplacements, though the question arises whether these altars

are to be found as frequently outside the shrine as inside it. What have so far come to light are rectangular house forms of the sixth and seventh centuries with the corresponding street system. A potter's oven produced at least 15 cups of the Geometrical period of different sizes.

(c) To the east of the Temple of Athena there was no need to enlarge the trench of 1968 since on the north side of the deepest level significant remains of the Mycenaean city wall had been found. South of this—here too in the water—a gate or doorway of uncertain dimensions appeared, above a paving consisting partly of several thicknesses, although these remains, which may have belonged already to the Mycenaean fortifications, could not be fully explained without further enlargement of the cutting. The search for the Stadium itself had to be postponed.

Nor was it possible to investigate fully the area of the southern agora, where illicit excavations had taken place. Since the observations made by H. and A. Hommel the previous year, all the blocks and other remains had disappeared and been used for various purposes. Also the ground had been cultivated for cotton and it was not possible to acquire the necessary area till after the harvest, so as to clear the blocks still in the ground and to establish the dimensions of the presumed temple. According to the notebooks of H. and A. Hommel, the building measured c. 4 or 5 m. by 8 or 10 m., and was in the Ionian style, to judge from several architectural pieces that were found.

Before the arrival of the Commissar the Capito-Thermae and later also the so-called Bishop's Church and the Architectural Museum on the southern agora were cleaned up. In the process long-lost architectural pieces from the Hellenistic (western) gate of the Stadium came to light.

The presence of two specialists in ecclesiastical archaeology provided an opportunity to search for Christian graves. Unfortunately it turned out that the Roman chamber graves on the Değirmen tepe, which existed about ten years ago, had meanwhile been largely destroyed or at least robbed of their inscriptions.

Problems of anastylosis were also discussed. It is hoped during the coming year to restore to a great extent the Sacred Way from its beginning at the so-called Delphinion to the famous Market Gate, and in the future not only to recover for science the older and oldest periods of Miletus, but also to gain a better picture of the later city.

HARABA, 1970¹

In 1970 the excavations at Şimşat Kale, 55 km. East of Elazığ near Haraba on the River Murat, increased our knowledge of the site of the ancient Arsamosata. Tests on the Kale in 1969 produced much Hellenistic pottery and in the trenches walls of Hellenistic date were found. This evidence confirmed the likelihood of the site being Arsamosata, a suggestion based on its position and on its modern name. This year on the south of the city the existence of a lower city was established surrounded by a broad city wall. The foundations of these walls which possibly belong to a Mediaeval Selcuk Kale were traced at various points by tests and trenching. On the east and also on the west the Kale walls appeared to have

¹ Translation of report kindly submitted by Professor Dr. Baki Ögün.

several phases, and the walls of the lower city—like the walls of the Kale—also appeared to have several phases. The pottery from the test trenches was mainly glazed and is very similar to the glazed Selcuk pottery found by Oktay Aslanapa in excavations at Diyarbakır. As the result of this year's work we can say that the fortifications, the tower and walls of the lower city, are not older than the Mediaeval period. One section of the fortifications was constructed of medium sized stones and lime mortar, another section was made of heaped stones with mud mortar. On the east at the place where we assumed the junction of this fortification wall with the Kale wall would be, we opened a test trench and found a heavy fortification built of large limestone blocks. This wall, which bears a closer resemblance than the walls of the Kale to walls known to have been built in Roman times, had on top of it a wall of small stones and lime mortar. The lime mortared wall belonged to a large semi-circular tower. Here on top of the fortification a gateway came to light. This is probably a city gate opening towards the river.

Trench *A*, opened last year on the Kale, was again worked in 1970. Last year in the lowest levels—perhaps of Hellenistic date—there came to light a large mudbrick structure with two columns at the front, and, in even lower levels, painted pottery resembling that found at Malatya of the Neo-Hittite period. This year a start was made in expanding this trench but as there was insufficient time available excavation did not go down very deep. Only the upper levels were investigated and lamps of glazed Selcuk pottery were found.

In 1969 on the west of the Kale a large wall of stone and mudbrick was uncovered possibly dating from the first millennium B.C. In 1970 investigation was continued in this area but, as with Trench *A*, the work has not yet been completed.

Trench *D* at the east end of the Kale, opened last year, was expanded in 1970. Here, in a level 1.50 m. deep, Hellenistic, Roman and later building levels were identified, cut one into the other. Here evidence for a clear building plan could not be established. At the same time in the section, the various levels could not be distinguished individually.

*CREMNA, 1970*¹

The first excavation to take place at Cremna was undertaken on behalf of the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums in 1970 by the writer who was assisted by the architect and archaeologist Miss Ülkü İzmirliçil and by Messrs. Mehmet Yılmaz and Kayhan Dörtlük of the staff of the Burdur Museum. The inscriptions were studied from the writer's notes, photographs and squeezes with the assistance of Professor George Bean.

Work was concentrated on the building marked *Q* on Lancoronski's plan (*Städte* II, 161). The tasks may be summarised as follows: i. That the ruins that have long been exposed to the depredations of robbers should be taken into the care of the General Directorate. ii. To find the missing parts of nine statues that were illegally excavated by villagers and subsequently sold to the Burdur Museum.

¹ Translation of report kindly submitted by Professor Dr. Jale Inan.

iii. To excavate the remainder of Building *Q*, of which only a small part still stands above ground and to record its architecture in plan and section.

It was established that Building *Q* was a library, resembling in plan the library at Ephesus, as both the statues found in it were representations of Minerva and the statue bases found *in situ* were not in the niches but in front of the partition walls. In the excavation the inscribed bases of the statues were found, as were a number of important fragments of the statues. In an area west of Building *Q* a statue of Tyche and two inscriptions were found. A full excavation report will appear in a future volume of *T.A.D.*

*SELÇIKLER, ELBEYLI AND ISTANBUL*¹

1. The season at Selçikler took place, as last year, in September, with the same team. Excavation was begun of the area between the two large churches. Here a second funerary chapel was found. In the southern part of the area before the church it could be seen that there were other funerary chapels of later date. These will be excavated in 1971. A study of the buildings in the northern part showed that they had served day-to-day needs of storage and habitation and were generally of less importance. A sounding made at the beginning of the excavation by the walls of the visible apse of the big church to the south showed that it had been in origin a large building—perhaps a temple—of the Roman period. In 1971 a village house will be removed from on top of this church and a more extensive excavation will be possible permitting its detailed study.

2. A Hellenistic grave chamber was found during road works in a place with tumuli called Dörttepe near Elbeyli village west of İznik in April 1970. The grave is built with a dome in overlapping technique and has a vaulted dromos. On either side of the chamber is a *kline* made of rough stone and plastered over. The conches and pillars are picked out with paint. In this respect there are few Hellenistic parallels. The site has been taken into care and the doorway provided with an iron door. Visitors may obtain permission to view it from the İznik museum. The tomb will be published in collaboration with Dr. Nusin Asgari of Istanbul Museum.

3. A very large sarcophagus lid was found during foundation excavations at Kocamustafapaşa in Istanbul. It has very large acroteria and on each end is an Eros holding a torch and sitting on a rock. On the front of the lid is a frieze which springs from hanging branches spreading to both sides of a vase. The lid has been taken to the Archaeological Museum as it belongs to one of the most important Roman Sarcophagi found in Istanbul.

*EUROMOS, 1969 and 1970*²

A survey, excavation and restoration project was undertaken in 1969 for the Department of Antiquities and Museums by a team from the Department of Classical Archaeology of Ankara University under the direction of Doç. Dr. Ümit Serdaroğlu at the site of Euromos (modern Ayaklı) some 15 kms. north of Milas.

¹Translation of report kindly submitted by Dr. Nezihi Fırıtlı.

²Report kindly submitted by Doç. Dr. Umit Serdaroğlu.

Work has been concentrated on the Roman temple. Here a survey of the standing monument was made in 1969 and work started on clearing the east and west ends. This work was continued in 1970 principally at the east end which was no longer standing. In front of the east end a large altar of late Hellenistic date and other smaller monuments were found. Also Hellenistic was a female statue torso 1.25 m. high found in the cella. Inscriptions found, relating to a treaty of Antiochus the Great and to the public life of Euromos and the temple of Zeus Lepsinus are being studied by Mr. Richard Harper. In a sounding trench by the north-west corner of the temple remains of buildings of the Archaic period were found with fragments of architectural terracottas. Graves of the Archaic and Roman periods were found in a necropolis lying between the temple and the main Milas-İzmir road.

AĞIN AND KALAYCIK, 1968–70¹

A team representing the Department of Classical Archaeology at Ankara University, under the direction of Doç. Dr. Ümit Serdaroğlu has been working in the Keban Project in the area round Ağın since 1968. The main centres of excavation have been Ağın itself on the west side of the Euphrates and Kalaycık tepe east of the river.

Kalaycık tepe is 782 m. above sea level, the top of the mound being 65 m. above the river. The artificial part of the mound stands on a conglomerate base. In 1968 the upper levels were excavated revealing a sub-triangular settlement of mudbrick houses with rubble foundations, which was dated to the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. by the pottery found on the floors. In some sections late Byzantine objects were found together with sherds of Artucid pottery. In sounding trenches early 1st millennium locally made pottery was found.

In the 1969 season the mediaeval occupation was removed and deep cuttings were made on the length and breadth of the mound, reaching the natural conglomerate in some places. Major occupations recorded in the stratigraphy were Mediaeval, very slight Roman, Late Hellenistic, and in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd millennia B.C.

Further work on the mound in 1970 revealed a mud brick house of the Roman period with pottery in place in its rooms. This house had been destroyed in a very fierce fire. On the skirts of the mound a number of trenches were dug to natural rock on which early bronze age levels were found. Also in 1970 a Hellenistic cemetery was found some 500 m. from Kalaycık mound. Quite rich and varied grave goods were found with the burials which were in pottery vessels.

In the area of Ağın itself, in 1968, excavation was concentrated on three points; an area called Hoşrik on the north side of the Ağın çay valley; a mound called Kalecik on the south side of the valley halfway between Ağın and the Euphrates and a necropolis further down the valley just outside Kaşpınar village.

Finds at Hoşrik were varied. A church of the 6th century A.D. with nave and two aisles, was cleared. Elsewhere a 3rd century A.D. Roman granary was found and in a nearby trench sherds of middle bronze age date came to light.

¹ Report kindly submitted by Doç. Dr. Ümit Serdaroğlu.

On the Kalecik mound the upper parts of a walled structure with its internal divisions were cleared by surface stripping. This structure probably served as a fortress. It had square towers which remained only as foundations. It was oval in plan and is partly eroded by the waters of the Ağın çayı which flows past it. On the floors of this badly damaged and burnt level many Byzantine pots and metal objects including two Maltese crosses were found. The abundance of Roman pottery fragments found in the collapsed roof earth of this structure indicated the existence of a Roman settlement on or near the mound.

In work at the Necropolis soil was cleared from graves, single or in groups of two or three, cut in the limestone hillside sloping down to the track to Kaşpınar village. Grave goods included tear-glasses and eye-liner bottles with oval bases and thin necks. Two of these were found together with the liner-applicators made of thin slivers of bone. Important finds of gold grave gifts were also made, including bracelets, earrings, rings, pendants and diadem leaves. Especially important were the coins found, ranging in date from Trajan to Commodus by which the necropolis can be dated by and large to the 2nd century A.D. Work continued on the Necropolis in 1969 and 1970 with similar results.

In the 1969 season the Byzantine remains were removed from Kalecik and a Roman occupation of several phases was examined. The Roman period buildings had rubble stone foundations, mud brick walls and flat roofs. Pottery found included 2nd century A.D. imported fine wares and locally made coarse wares. Store rooms containing pithoi were also found. Sounding trenches in the area between the mound and the hills at the valley side found the Roman occupation at a depth of 4 m. 20 from the present surface. Thus an idea of the extent of the Roman and Byzantine settlements was obtained. The Roman occupation of the mound was preceded by one of the late Bronze Age with characteristic monochrome *Bucchero* wares. This level had been destroyed in a fierce fire.

In 1970 four trenches were dug in the north side of Tepecik facing the river and the late Bronze Age occupation was further examined. On the south side of the mound the Roman occupation was further investigated.

Also in the Ağın area, on the west bank of the Euphrates, roughly opposite Kalaycık mound, lies a site named Kilise Yazısı Tepe. This site was found on examination in 1969 and 1970 to be not a place in continuous occupation but rather a fortification. Work was concentrated on clearing its surrounding walls. Coins and pottery found during the excavation indicated an occupation in the 2nd–3rd centuries A.D. The defences were planned in relation to the local topography and were found to include the whole of the hill. The walls, with foundations made of rather large stones, were in places up to a metre high. They were in general covered with a mud plaster. There were rectangular towers with walls a metre thick which were especially remarkable because they projected more to the interior of the fortification than to the exterior.

*DARDANOS*¹

The ruins of Dardanos lie by the main road from Çanakkale to İzmir about 10 km. from Çanakkale. On the side facing the main road there is a military

¹ Translation of report kindly submitted by Bay İlhan Akşit.

cemetery, dating from 1915, on the spot where two officers, Hasan and Mevsuf, fell in the First World War.

A dirt road, leading to a beach camp, passes immediately beside the sign marking the cemetery. The mosaics are located exactly midway between the main road and the sea. The Mosaic area is thus situated between the site of Dardanos itself and the tumulus cemetery belonging to the city.

The city remained undisturbed until 1959 when a cement factory was being constructed on the 25 m. high tepe and some antiquities came to light and these objects provided the Ministry with an opportunity to excavate.

At the request of the General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums a team, under the leadership of Rüstem Duyuran (then Director of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums), began work in December and despite the inclemency of the weather opened up the tumulus.

When the tumulus was opened on and under the stone beds in the burial chamber were 25 skeletons with many examples of gold jewellery on or near them.² As there were gold diadems, earrings, necklaces and decorative circles like medallions it may be suggested that this was the family tomb of the Kings of Dardanos.

The tomb consists of a passage, entry-chamber and main chamber. The entrance of the monument is inscribed:

“This is (the tomb) of Skamander, son of Makaris”

“This is (the tomb) of Skamander”

“This is (the tomb) of Skamander, son of Makaris”

According to Professor Zafer Taslıkloğlu, of the University of Istanbul, the construction of the tomb is to be dated to the 6th century B.C., on the basis of this inscription.³ Each epitaph belonged to a different person; they lived at different times but were buried in the same tomb. The initial line of the inscription was written in the Aeolic dialect and records that Skamandrios, son of Makaris was the first occupant of the tomb. The Skamandrios of the second epitaph must probably be his grandchild.

At the same time, an epitaph reading “This is (the tomb) of Onyenades, son of Karin”, occurs in a second inscription above the door of the main chamber. This inscription, in contrast with the first, is written in the Ionic form. The votive-offerings found in the tomb-chamber are, in general, dated to the 4th century B.C. The tomb, therefore, was constructed in the 6th century, and was used until the 4th century by the family of Makaris. The finding of nearly 400 objects testify to the continuous use of the tomb. An inscription on a bronze vessel found in the tomb-chamber can be dated to the 1st century B.C.⁴ and therefore the tomb was opened and used at that time.

Apart from this tomb which was used from the 6th century to the fourth and was then closed until used in the 1st century, other tombs in the same area belonging to different royal families are most probably represented by tumuli such as Küptepe, Göztepe and Akçatepe. It is our intention to investigate carefully this

² *TAD* X/1 (1960), 64.

³ *Tarih Dergisi* X/3 nos. 17–18 (1963), 161 ff.

⁴ *ibid.* 173.

field which is somewhat removed from the researches carried out in the region of Troy.

If one remembers that in the city of Dardanos (the objects from which are now exhibited in the Museum at Çanakkale) in the year 84 B.C. a peace was concluded between Sulla and Mithridates, it may be seen that this place was treated with the same respect, in the Roman period, as Ilion. The mosaics we are here dealing with must belong to an age which accorded this respect to Dardanos. The presence of mosaics in this area was recognised in 1965 in the course of road-building works. The mosaic area is the property of the village of Kusköy, Çanakkale. Permission to excavate was given by the owner of the field after the harvest was over. Excavations began on 20th August 1970 with the aim of uncovering the mosaics and on the first day of excavation it was discovered that they continued underneath the dirt-road. At the end of six days an area of 2.5×4 m. had been cleared, at a depth of 1.5 m. Unfortunately, some areas of the mosaics had been damaged by road-falls caused by earthquakes and as a result had collapsed. It was possible, without damage, to lift the intact sections in eleven pieces. In the museum the surface of the mosaics which were encrusted with lime were cleaned and the patterns and colours revealed.

A study of the mosaics shows that the main *motifs* consist of circles and broad pentagons made up from combinations of circles. Black-coloured mosaic frames the circle motifs (which are joined together) and then after three lines of mosaic there is another circle motif again framed with black mosaic. Inside every circle there are four triangular patterns joining the three lines together in the middle by means of red and white mosaic, i.e. channels of mosaic, black on the outsides, three lines of white on the inside join the circles together. In the areas which resemble squares (of framed circles) four kinds of patterns are obvious:

1. "Daisy". The leaves are made up, alternately, from four red and four white leaves. The red are smaller, the white longer, wider and more pointed.
2. "Dahlia". The big leaves are white, the small leaves between the big are purple. The background is red.
3. "Four-petalled flowers". Between four long leaves (of white mosaic) there are four purple circles; these combine with large leaves (outlined with two rows of white mosaic). In this way a four-petalled flower is formed into a single rosette. The background is, again, red.
4. Guilloche (in double units). The edge is outlined in black mosaic. One loop of the pattern is made up from bands of (in order, from outside to inside) black, red, purple, white and finally black mosaic. The background is yellow. The other loop similarly is black, three rows of white and another black.

The border of the mosaic areas is a plaited motif. From outside to the pattern on the inside, brown, white, red, green mosaic is used.

Following these come six rows of white mosaic (outlined in black). On the edge are semi-circles linked to one another by the outer border; the inside is made up of red and white mosaic.

The mosaic is splendidly laid out, in a broad and even manner. The colours commonly used are purple, red, green and white and for the backgrounds yellow and red. All patterns are outlined with black.

On the left side of the mosaic area a second room came to light with

mosaics, the patterns of which resemble the above but are simpler and smaller in scale. These mosaics are less well founded beneath and are loosely and poorly laid. On a white background is a motif in red, resembling a tree-pattern. The border is a plaited pattern. The mosaic and the motifs are simpler than the others. The surface was heavily encrusted and was thought to be single-coloured but after cleaning in the Museum emerged as multi-coloured.

These mosaics must belong to separate rooms. Although it had been assumed during the excavations that there was only a single room, at the end of careful work it was seen that the removal of a wall had combined two rooms into one; the space left by the wall had been filled in with white mosaic.

*KAUNOS 1968–70*¹

An official preliminary report on the tests carried out in the years 1966 and 1967, in order to make a basic foundation for researches at Kaunos, has already been published.² As was made clear in this preliminary report, because the results of the first tests were profitable, work was continued at Kaunos between 1968–1970.

Excavations were carried out in 1968–70 in these areas.

1. The area of a temple, which came to light in a trench behind the stoa.
2. The theatre.
3. The fountain house.
4. Between the fountain house and the Stoa.(the Agora).

1. According to the inscriptions previously published by Bean³ the names of the gods Apollo, Poseidon, Artemis and Aphrodite are known from Kaunos, and that of Zeus Xenios from an inscribed rock published by Paavo Roos.⁴ Therefore, it was likely that temples of various gods would be found at Kaunos. As a matter of fact according to the survey of our team at Kaunos the presence of four temples has been established. Besides these it was expected that the temple or temples named on an unusual inscription of Hellenistic date from behind the stoa would be found not far away. Therefore in 1968 excavation was begun at the spot on the slope of the hill behind the Stoa where two columns had been found and at the end of the work of 1968–69 a temple came to light in this trench. It is a Doric temple in antis. A fragment of a decorated metope with triglyphs which was found previously in this area must belong to this temple. At the front of the temple which was 9.65 m. long was an artificial terrace. In a test trench opened in front of the temple the bulk of the pottery was of Hellenistic date. Among this some red figured pieces and one with decoration of concentric circles on the outside came to light. Of this piece both the fabric and the decoration can be considered to belong to an earlier period. If this is so, then, on the basis of this find, the history of Kaunos would go back to the 10th century B.C. But we must confess that this evidence is so far derived from one piece only and it is necessary to be very cautious in making deductions from it.

¹ Translation of report kindly submitted by Prof. Dr. Baki Ögün.

² *Bellesten* 32 (No. 126) (1965), 146 ff. *TAD* 16/1 (1967), 121 ff.

³ *JHS* 73 (1953), 27 ff. Nos. 7, 9, 12 and 16. No. 7 was also published by L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949), 178.

⁴ *Op. Ath.* 8 (1968), 160.

As the bulk of the pottery which came to light in the test trench opened on the terrace in front of the temple was Hellenistic, the temple must have been built in Late Hellenistic times at the earliest. In front of the temple there was found a structure, circular in plan, like a reservoir, with columns around on the sides. In the middle of this reservoir there was a circular stone like a table and on the east a "structure" on three steps like an exedra. Under the table-like stone a cavity like a drain appeared. The function and period of this construction are not precisely understood. It could be contemporary with the earliest temple. On top and beside the temple unimportant houses were built in later times. In one of these a coin of Constantine was found. On the north-east of the round building and south-east of the temple in an even higher level, the foundation of a church with three aisles and an apse came to light. Many tombs were found beside the church. These tombs were covered with upright tiles. From this it may be understood that this area which once had contained the building of a temple continued to be a sacred area.

2. In 1968 work was started in the theatre.⁵ The ruined sections were cleaned in the 1968 and 1969 seasons and the seats and votive bases among the rubble were sorted out. In 1970 some of these stones were restored to their positions.

3. Fountain House (Nymphaion).

The text of the most important of the inscriptions published by Bean in 1954 was at that time described with no uncertainty as customs regulations.⁶ Because of this reading the name Customs House was given to the remains on which this inscription was carved. Because there were many stones on the surface it was thought that it would be possible to restore the building partially and that some more inscriptions might come to light. So work was begun in 1969. After the sides were cleared it was obvious that the stones were more numerous than had been thought and in a short time the whole building was re-erected. When the restoration was completed it was realised that this was not a Customs House but a Nymphaion. The external dimensions of the building are nearly 8 m. wide and 5.20 m. long. The floor was covered with large slabs. In front of the building was a low enclosure wall 95 cm. high. On front of this wall was a stone flagged approach to the building consisting of a stairway with three steps; this gave access on to the street. On the top step of the stairs were traces of two columns and these showed that the building was "in antis" in plan. From a trench opened in the street in front of the fountain house came an architrave block bearing the name of Vespasian. However, the official inscription of the Customs Regulations had already been dated to the 1st century A.D. Therefore the inscription must have been carved on the south wall of the fountain house facing the harbour as soon as the building was completed.

4. In the 1970 season, the remaining space behind the Stoa, which was found in 1966–1967, and the fountain house was excavated. Here seven single statue bases and a group base like an exedra came to light. All of these were inscribed. This year eleven new inscriptions were found at Kaunos.

⁵ Our colleague Dr. Ümit Serdaroğlu has published a study of the theatre, *TAD* 16/1 (1967), 133 ff.

⁶ *JHS* 74 (1954), 97, no. 38.

*SARDIS, 1970*¹

The thirteenth campaign of the Harvard-Cornell Expedition to Sardis was directed by G. M. A. Hanfmann, assisted by C. H. Greenewalt, Jr. The Corning Museum of Glass continued its participation. The expedition had suffered a grievous loss by the death on 30th January, 1970, of the Associate Director of the Expedition, Albert Henry Detweiler, who had a share in the project since 1956. He was succeeded as Associate Director by Professor Stephen W. Jacobs, Cornell University.

Work at the Artemis precinct centred on the altar ('LA') of Artemis. Under the guidance of K. J. Frazer, with C. H. Greenewalt, Jr., as archaeologist and D. Van Zanten as architect, important new insights were gained. For the archaic inner altar (LA I), the trimming of a base course (*euthynteria*), which originally reached farther east, and the cutting back of one of the steps have suggested to Frazer the possibility that the altar was originally approached by a staircase from the east. Priest and goddess would have faced west toward the Lydian cemeteries across the Pactolus. It is known from Lydian inscriptions that these graves were protected by Artemis (R. Gusmani, *Lydisches Worterbuch*, 1964, No. 1, 64). The later, expanded altar (LA II) was closely aligned with the axis of the Hellenistic temple. Contrary to the opinion expressed in the 1969 report, sherd finds indicate, according to Greenewalt, that the altar was enlarged and turned eastward already in the Achaemenian period (5th to 4th century B.C.). Detailed investigation of Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine monuments and structures of the Artemis precinct was continued by Hanfmann, Van Zanten, and M. Darnall.

The south side of the sector "Pactolus North" was studied by architects S. Carter and L. Satkowski. A. Ramage unravelled the sequence of Lydian and Persian structures under the Roman "Street of the Pipes" (*cf.*, *BASOR* 170 [April 1963] 24). Cleaning of Lydian basements yielded Chiote and Corinthian pottery. Four Lydian pots, an iron knife, and burned animal bones, constituting a so-called "puppy burial" (*cf.*, *BASORs* 166 [April 1962] 8–9 and 170 [April 1963] 10–11), were found under the eastern end of the southern apsidal building, which perhaps has some connection with the water supply. A major wall, traced in the eastern part of the sector, appears to have bordered a precinct adjacent to the now-famous Gold Refinery area.

At the Lydian market sector ("Lydian Trench" south of the modern highway), G. F. Swift expanded and completed work on Lydian strata, especially in the centre and along the western side. In building 'O', a hearth and a storage jar were found; next to building 'K' (7th century B.C.) there came to light a large double axe of iron. Swift now distinguishes Lydian Level 1, *ca.* *99-00, end of 7th century and early 6th century B.C. (small scattered shops, a well); Lydian Level 2, *ca.* *98-00–*97-50 (four shops forming an enclosure on west side; fragmentary structures in the east); and Lydian Level 3, *ca.* *97-50–*96-50, early to mid-7th century, violently destroyed by the Kimmerians.

Among the sculptural finds is a relief displaying two horned and "bearded" serpents flanking a sacrificial bowl, apparently re-used in a late wall below a steep slope with Lydian burials on the west bank of the Pactolus. Possibly alluding to

¹ Summary by G. M. A. Hanfmann, Field Director.

heroized dead (*cf.*, J. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 325 ff., fig. 98), the relief is the first of this subject found at Sardis.

A fine, half-life-size head of Zeus, late Hellenistic or early Roman, was a chance find.

Other chance finds of sculpture included a piece with an Early Imperial inscription in Greek on one side and, on the other, a relief with a recumbent youth in Persian (?) attire (Attis?) and a standing cloaked male figure. The fragment of a small "Hermes Propylaios" herm with drapery thrown over it raises interesting problems of attribution as several famous Classical groups (Kephisodotos' *Hermes Dionysophoros*; Praxiteles' *Dionysos*; Lysippos' *Sisyphos II*) had similar herms.

In the eastern part of the "House of Bronzes" area, adjacent to the "Lydian Market", a trench was dug across the Roman street (now officially designated "HOB' Colonnaded Street") at the findspot of an Early Byzantine inscription recording building operations and mentioning a "tetrapylon" (*BASOR* 199 [Oct. 1970] 29, fig. 16). A two-storied façade was found thrown (by earthquake?) into the street; its major brick arch displayed a cross of 5th or 6th century A.D. form carved on the marble keystone.

Additional investigations of the South West Gate of the city wall revealed a (guard?) room destroyed perhaps in 616 A.D.; an *ampulla* (small flask) with crosses was among the finds.

The "Flying Towers" (*Sardis I*, 1922, p. 17, fig. 6) "perilously balanced" on the western ridge of the citadel were studied and mapped for the first time by Greenewalt, and S. Carter, and photographed by E. Gombosi. The final study of the upper citadel remains to be done.

North of the modern highway, part of the intersection of the two ancient roads at the southeast corner of the Synagogue was excavated under the direction of A. R. Seager, architect in charge of Synagogue research. The juncture of the colonnades was emphasised by a two-step high platform projecting from the northern sidewalk into the east-west avenue. The platform supported four piers, perhaps the remains of an arch. In the lower course of the platform was a re-used inscription honouring, according to L. Robert's kind advice, Germanicus, nephew of Tiberius (*Germanikon Theon*). The vehicular part of the east-west avenue rose in a ramp toward the intersection, probably a repaving. Built into the roadway was a late Roman inscription in verse for someone who restored a building (*krepeida krateren*).

North of the platform, at the east end of the line of Byzantine shops, a small makeshift room with brick walls and packed with column shafts yielded more than 400 bronze coins. They, and an earlier lot found in 1963, may have come from metal containers, traces of which were still visible on a brick platform along the west wall. According to A. Ramage, the bulk of the small bronzes dates from 330–350 and 380–420 A.D.; the latest coins date to the 7th century A.D.

Numerous pits were dug in the main hall of the Synagogue; the lifting of mosaics of the first three bays (counted from the west) enabled R. L. Vann to study the conditions in and under the mosaic bedding. Of importance was the coin of Claudius Gothicus (268–270 A.D.) found under the bedding of the third bay, which contained one of the earlier mosaics with the inscription of Aurelius

Alexandros (*BASOR* 187 [Oct. 1967] 29, 36, fig. 46). Some mosaics of the main hall may have been laid earlier than the fourth century mosaics of the Forecourt. A piece of a marble floor, earlier than the mosaic pavement, was found under the first bay. Seager continued his researches into the architectural history of the building; at least four major phases may be distinguished.

The stylobate of the eastern entrance to the Synagogue was cleared. Two pieces of the curious platform, which at a late phase rose 1 m. above the Synagogue porch, have been consolidated and preserved. Parts of three columns were put in place in the entrance colonnade. All mosaics of the Forecourt were set back in place under the direction of L. J. Majewski, who, together with architect T. Yalcinkaya, supervised the lifting and resetting of three bays of mosaics in the main hall. Structural consolidation of the apse of the main hall and building up of the south and north walls to even height were finished. Partial marble revetment of the apse was completed. Gates with iron bars were provided for the eastern and southern entrances and for a small door at the west end of the Synagogue. Four bays of mosaics in the main hall remain to be lifted and re-set; clearance and consolidation need to be done in the entrance area, in the Byzantine Shops adjacent to the Synagogue, and in the adjoining part of the palaestra.

In the large restoration, begun in 1964, of the Marble Court of the Roman gymnasium, supervising architect M. C. Bolgil, assisted by T. Yalcinkaya, completed the north and south wings and closed the tops of all three sides. Two piers and six columns of the screen colonnade were erected including some casts of the fine head capitals. Much finishing remains to be done (placing of pilasters; revetment of podiums and walls; marble floors) as well as cleaning and landscaping of the palaestra area, but with the exception of one feature in the end walls of the top storey, major structural work has been finished. In addition to the Marble Court proper, the immediately adjacent entrances of the units known as North and South Halls were also restored. These form a continuous design with the façade of Marble Court.

Recording of unexcavated ruins which are much endangered by agriculture and construction has made good progress with R. L. Vann in charge. Work was done on the so-called "Odeum", the theatre, the stadium, a Byzantine fort, as well as on structures "A" (probably the Roman Agora), "D" (cathedral church?), and "C" (Roman basilica). M. Darnall completed detailed drawings of the church ("M") near the Artemis temple.

L. J. Majewski continued intensive study of the wall paintings and mosaics, S. M. Goldstein investigated several technological and metallurgical problems in the field and laboratory. Jane A. Scott studied lamps, and N. H. Ramage stone sculpture.

G. W. Olson, Department of Agronomy, Cornell University, collaborated with M. Özyüğü, Soil and Fertilizer Research Institute of Turkey, Ankara, and with soil conservation officers in Ankara and Manisa in a study of Sardis soils which were found to be mostly Entisols, Aridisols, and Inceptisols formed in severely eroded conglomerate or colluvial and alluvial deposits. Soils in alluvial and colluvial materials were dated by correlations with archaeological data. Extensive alluvial sediments were deposited over ruins after about 600 B.C. Large landslides after earthquakes covered parts of the city in the first and ninth centuries A.D.

Settling pots in Roman water systems, alluvial deposits over Roman structures, and large amounts of animal bones in dumps indicate that soil erosion was serious. Soil structure in some soils provided a record of past soil movement, and indicated directions likely to be taken by future landslides. In addition to helping to understand the past at Sardis, soil information can be used to help preserve the standing and restored ruins and to landscape the site.

A number of major pieces of sculpture and the majority of mosaics hitherto kept at the camp were transferred from Sardis to Manisa Museum.

*XANTHOS, 1970*¹

The Letoon

The campaign of 1970 was directed, as in the preceding year, to the Nymphaeum, Temple B, and the region to the north of the temples.

The excavation of the Nymphaeum was pursued intensively in the southern part of the building. Resuming the work interrupted in 1968, we cleared the southern side of the edifice down to the foundations. In the thick layer of destruction we found, besides a great mass of bricks and tiles from the ruined walls, many pieces of mural sculpture and a fragment of a female head in marble. At the level of the foundations an important water conduit came to light, apparently contemporary with the construction of the Nymphaeum.

We further completed the excavation of the southern wing of the portico. This wing ended in a façade pierced by an opening for a double door, the well-preserved sill of which led on to a staircase of at least three degrees gradient, made out of fine white limestone slabs. This staircase corresponds to that at the end of the north wing of the portico, which connected the portico with the body of the building facing it to the east. The complete clearance of the south wing of the portico, only the lower courses of which are constructed in stone, made possible a study of the stylobate as a whole and enabled us to repair the slabs which originally carried the columns or pillars.

At the foot of the stylobate, inside the basin, in the mud which almost entirely filled the basin, were found several pieces of entablature: six new blocks from the cornice and the frieze, a complete architrave block and an almost intact capital from an anta.

Complementary soundings enabled us to determine the siting and ground plan of Temple B, the peristasis of which had been largely cleared in previous campaigns. Erected on the stylobate, without any intervening base, the columns, to the number of thirty (6 X 11, those at the angles being counted twice) each had twenty flutes with flat fillets. The remains of a Doric entablature show corresponding dimensions and conform to the intercolumniations of the temple. The gutter was incorporated in the cornice; on the more important fragments the *doucine* is decorated with palmettes and lotuses.

The walls of the cella must have been arranged like those of Temple A. Beyond the pronaos the front part of the cella contained a sort of impluvium with a central mosaic panel (lyre, rosette, bow and quiver). If this arrangement belongs to the Hellenistic epoch, the choice of motifs could be of interest for the

¹Report translated from information kindly supplied by Professor Dr. Henri Metzger.

history of the sanctuary. The exploration of the back part of the cella and the clearance of the surroundings of the temple have yet to be completed.

In the region to the north of the sanctuary we continued the excavation of the two levels identified in the course of the preceding campaign. The buildings of Hellenistic date included a huge rectangular basin; this was connected to a monumental staircase which for its three lowest steps made use of a staircase belonging to an earlier building. Of this building, belonging to the Persian or Lycian period, we can say nothing except that it ran from east to west to a length of at least thirty metres and contained a water channel. We do not know where this channel led to, nor do we know how the buildings ran to the north and west. We can only say at present that water, with basin and channels, appears to have played a large part in them. We were much surprised to find, to the north of the temples, buildings which seemed in principle to have affinities with the Nymphaeum excavated to the south-west of these same temples.

The City

In 1970 we reopened the excavation of Xanthos itself in order to determine more precisely the history of the city in the early Christian period. We naturally selected the enormous Basilica which occupies one of the great terraces half-way up the slope in the eastern quarter. The dig revealed an edifice, the dimensions of which recall the basilicas of the great urban centres, especially the Acheiropoietos of Thessalonica. The projecting semicircular apse contained a synthronon of several steps, faced with marble. The stylobate, made of reused blocks, marked the limit of three naves. Their floor was covered with a pavement of mosaic which is not well preserved except for its eastern third. In the central nave the design is a vast composition based on circles and lozenges; further west there is a design of decorative motifs. The naves communicated with the narthex by five passages, one for each of the lateral naves, three for the central one, an arrangement to be found in certain churches at Istanbul (St. Sophia, St. Jean de Stoudion, St. Irene). The doorposts of the central nave date from the imperial age and were chosen for their particularly decorative character. The narthex in its lateral parts had a pavement of *opus sectile*. To the north it led on to adjacent buildings which have not been excavated. The building seems to have been abandoned at the end of the early Christian period, but to have been reoccupied in middle Byzantine times (tenth to twelfth centuries) according to the evidence of certain reconstructions in the northern part of the narthex and especially the frescoes discovered at the eastern end of the central nave. They cover the inner face of the eastern wall and the south-eastern angle of the nave. Several persons are there depicted; in the south-eastern angle an inscription allows the identification of the saint dressed in a white tunic and carrying in his hand a censer as St. Stephen.

Hattušili II Once More

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HATTUŠILI II ONCE MORE

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As could be expected, my article entitled "The Predecessors of Šuppiluliuma Again"¹ has evoked different reactions. O. R. Gurney, in his review of the monograph by H. Otten which prompted my article,² expressed full agreement with my view. As will be remembered, the main point was that a king Ḫattušili II, whom Otten had tried to eliminate, actually existed, and that he was the father of Šuppiluliuma.³

Independently of my article (which is discussed in an Addendum) O. Carruba collected a number of historical fragments which, in his view, referred to Ḫattušili II or at least could refer to him.⁴ This was aimed at Otten's remark (op. cit. p. 14=110) that such a king was *only* known from the Aleppo treaty. Valuable as Carruba's collection of these fragments is in itself, unfortunately none of them is conclusive. Those collected under "II. Hattusili e Pijamaradu?" can easily refer to Ḫattušili III. The only one that seemed to be decisive for the earlier date, KBo 19 80, lost its force once the preliminary reading DUMU.MEŠ ^mGIŠ.PA.DINGIR-[LÍ] (i.e. Ḫattušili) was corrected into DUMU.MEŠ ^mKu-pa-an-t[a-^DKAL].⁵ Of the texts discussed under "III. Hattusili e la 'regalità' " and "IV. Hattusili II nella 'regalità' " KUB 6 47 is inconclusive. For KUB 21 24 I agree that it refers most probably to "Šuppiluliuma, [son of] Ḫattušili," but a different interpretation⁶ is not entirely to be excluded. KUB 36 109 definitely refers to the early period and would be decisive if the Ḫattušili mentioned in it were the newly installed king; this is in my opinion highly probable but cannot strictly be proven. As a result we may say that Carruba's attribution of KUB 21 24 and 26 109

1. JNES 29 (1970) 73-77.

2. OLZ 67 (1972) 451-54, review of H. Otten, *Die hethitischen historischen Quellen und die altorientalische Chronologie* (1968).

3. As seen by B. Hrozný in 1919 (BoSt 3 95); cf. E. F. Weidner, BoSt 8 (1923) 4 n. 4 with ref. to Hrozný, BoSt 5 53, and to KBo 6 28. Though Hrozný gives no source in the two passages quoted, he must have known the text which he later published as KBo 6 28.

4. "Hattusili II," *Studi Miceni ed Egeo-Anatolici* 14 (1971) 75-94.

5. P. 83, addendum (in brackets) to note 21. The photograph confirms the latter reading, including traces of *ta*. Obviously Carruba had originally used the reading of the preliminary "Grabungs-Umschrift" and was unable to change his conclusions on the basis of the improved copy in KBo 19.

6. Cf. A. Kammenhuber, Or. NS 39 (1970) 297 n. 1, quoted by Carruba, 86 n. 28.

to Ḫattušili II is quite likely once the existence of that king is accepted, but that none of the fragments suffices for real proof.

M. Astour⁷ took issue with my statement that the passage in the Aleppo treaty mentioning the people of Aštata and Nuḫašše and the king of Mitanni could not refer to the time of Ḫattušili I. He went to great length to prove that all these countries did exist already then. I cannot argue against his evidence; he is right in saying that the political situation alluded to in the treaty may have existed during the Hittite Old Kingdom. However, in the context of the preamble to the treaty the natural interpretation is still the one that takes the events in chronological order: Ḫattušili I (line 12), Muršili I (13), Tudḫaliya (15), Ḫattušili II (19ff.), Šuppiluliuma (33ff.). The possible existence of Mitanni and other political entities at the time of Ḫattušili I does not make Otten's *ad hoc* interpretation of lines 19ff. as referring back to the Ḫattušili of line 12 any more plausible, nor does it suffice to eliminate Ḫattušili II.

The decisive evidence still is the genealogy of Ḫattušili III in KBo 6 28. H. Otten devoted a special article⁸ to the refutation of my interpretation (which, after all, was simply a revival of Hrozný's!).⁹ After careful study of Otten's arguments I can only maintain my original translation and understanding (JNES 29 75):

“Thus (speaks) the Tabarna Ḫattušili, the Great King, king of Ḫatti, the hero, beloved of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the Storm-god of Nerik, and Ištar of Šamuḫa; son of Muršili, the Great King, king of Ḫatti, the hero; grandson of Šuppiluliuma, the Great King, king of Ḫatti, the he[ro; and(?) great-gr]andson¹⁰ of Ḫattušili, the Great King; (one) of the seed of the king of Kuššar (who was) s[ingl]ed out by the gods.”

In JNES 29 75 I wrote “offspring” rather than “(one) of the seed”; the change in wording will be explained presently.

Otten is right in pointing out that NUMUN-aš is always genitive, contrary to J. Friedrich's listing as nominative, HW 289, which I had

7. “Ḫattušiliš, Ḫalab, and Ḫanigalbat,” JNES 31 (1972) 102–109.

8. “Die Genealogie Ḫattušilis III. nach KBo VI 28,” ZA 61 (1971) 233–38.

9. That this old reconstruction of the sequence was later replaced by Forrer's, and that Forrer's had to be given up after the discovery of Šuppiluliuma II by Laroche, is common knowledge; for details see the articles quoted here in notes 1 and 2. It is hard to understand why the correct interpretation needs so much defense fifty years later and after the alternative has been eliminated!

10. The restoration [DUMU.DU]MU.DUMU-ŠU is required by the preceding two terms. If there is space for one more sign, as Otten, p. 237, suggests, Š is the likely restoration; four-fold DUMU is not only unattested (as he admits) but would “jump” one step of the genealogy. Besides, wide spaces between words in these lines would allow a restoration without an additional sign as given in JNES 29 75.

originally taken for granted. He is also right in saying (p. 236) that therefore he would have preferred if I had proposed (as an alternative to his) the rendering “Urenkel des H., Grosskönigs, des (. . .) Samens des Königs von Kuššar,” where the genitive NUMUN-*aš* would be in apposition to *Ḫattušili* LUGAL.GAL which is genitive after *ŠA*. The reason why I left my translation “great-grandson of H., the Great King, offspring of the king of Kuššar . . .” unchanged even after I became aware of the case of NUMUN-*aš*, is the fact that in this English version the word “offspring” can easily be taken as apposition to “H. the Great King” just as Otten says. But it need not be.

As early as 1949, F. Sommer pointed out¹¹ that NUMUN-*aš* occurs as a “free” genitive (i.e., with the *regens* “one of . . .,” “person of . . .” omitted) in the function of dative, nominative, and accusative: KBo 4 10:11: *nat damel* NUMUN-*aš* *lē piyanzi ŠA* “*Ulmi-Tešub-pat* NUMUN-*aš* *daddu*” “Let them not give it (the country) to (a man) of the seed of someone else, only (a man) of the seed of Ulmi-Tešub shall take it!”; KBo 6 29+(Götze NBr 48) iii 18: DINGIR-*LUM damel* NUMUN-*aš* *piran* EGIR-*pa* *lē tarnai* “Let the deity not admit (anyone) of another seed!” (in contrast to line 17 which has the ergative *damaiš* NUMUN-*anza* as subject).

This, then, allows us to take NUMUN-*aš* “of the seed” in KBo 6 28:5 as the same kind of “free” genitive in the sense of “a man of the seed”; and in this way it may be apposition to *Ḫattušili* (III) of line 1.

There remains the question of how to connect the words *šunit k[anešša]ndaš* of line 5. The restoration, proposed by Goetze, is plausible; but regardless of the restoration of the whole word, [. . .-a]*n-da-aš* is almost certainly genitive of a participle determined by the instrumental *šunit*. Does it belong to NUMUN-*aš* or to *ŠA* LUGAL *Kuššar*? Otten combines it with NUMUN-*aš* (p. 238): “Nachkomme des *Ḫattušili*, des Grosskönigs, des Königs von Kuššar, des durch die Gottheit erwählten Samens.” In this rendering, which Otten offers as his final interpretation, “Samen” stands alone, i.e., without a genitive depending on it. One immediately asks: “Whose seed?” In the version of p. 236 (mentioned above) he at least says “des (von der Gottheit erwählten) Samens des Königs von Kuššar,” where NUMUN has a genitive depending on it as expected. However, the attribute “singled out by the deity” seems out of place if referring to the *Ḫattušili* of line 4 (unless one follows Otten in identifying him with the king of Kuššar). It much rather suits the king of Kuššar himself (as indeed it does in Otten’s interpretation). However, *šunit kaneššandaš* can be attributed to *ŠA* LUGAL *Kuššar* also in our interpretation. Even a quick perusal of Friedrich’s grammar yielded one example (more could probably be found) of a participle

11. ArOr 17/2 (Symbolae Hrozný 2, 1949) 376f. n. 2.

determined by an instrumental which follows, rather than precedes, the noun which it modifies.¹² É.MEŠ.DINGIR.MEŠ-*ta parku IŠTU KU-BABBAR GUŠKIN unuwanta INA KUR URUḪatti-pat ešzi* “You have pure temples adorned with silver and gold only in Ḫatti.” As a result, the last two items of the genealogy can be taken to mean that Ḫattušili III was “great-grandson of Ḫattušili (II), the Great King, (and a man) of the seed of the king of Kuššar (who was) chosen¹³ by the gods.”

As an alternative, *šiuunit kaneššandaš* can also be taken as modifying NUMUN-*aš* even with our understanding of the latter as “free” genitive. In this case Ḫattušili III is “great-grandson of Ḫattušili (II), the Great King, (and a man) of the god-chosen seed of the king of Kuššar.” The implication that the whole descendance of Ḫattušili I down to the speaker was “chosen” is not impossible, especially not in the mouth of Ḫattušili III.

One may simply write “great-grandson of Ḫattušili, the Great King; (one) of the seed of the king of Kuššar chosen by the gods,” and leave it to the reader to decide whether he understands the participle as modifying the seed or the king of Kuššar. It is hard to tell how a Hittite would have taken it.

There remain two more details in Otten’s article which call for comment.

1. P. 237 with n. 9: To quote Goetze for the (alleged) “variation between DUMU.DUMU.DUMU, NUMUN, and ŠAG.BAL.BAL” is obsolete after I have shown that in all available occurrences DUMU.-DUMU.DUMU means only “great-grandson,” and the supposed “variation” only occurs in our text. Furthermore, in KUB 11 35 i 3–5, [DUMU].DUMU.DUMU-ŠU (the restoration is beyond doubt) is followed by, hence different from, ŠĀ.BAL.BAL! Tudḫaliya IV calls himself great-grandson of Šuppiluliuma and “offspring” of his namesake Tudḫaliya (“II”).¹⁴ That a king, at the beginning of an historical introduction (KUB 23 1 i 15 and 21), uses *ABI ABI* incorrectly for great-grandfather

12. J. Friedrich, *Heth. Elementarbuch* I² (1960) p. 117 § 193, a, refers to KUB 24 1, i.e., the text in O. R. Gurney, *AAA* 27 (1940) 18, line A i 25f.

13. For the semantic range of the verb *kaneš-* see E. Laroche, *RHA* 19/68 (1961) 27–29: from “recognize” to “single out, select” to “favor,” the translation suggested by the Apology of Ḫattušili. Otten’s rendering “erwählt” is appropriate, so I here use “chosen” where recommended by the context.

14. Otten, p. 234 n. 3, refers to this text without giving its full wording or mentioning the occurrence of both terms while accepting my restorations implied in JNES 29 75 n. 15. The same restorations were made by A. Goetze, *JCS* 22 (1968) 49 [not “48”]. His statement that “intermediary links in the chain of ancestors may be omitted whenever it leads back beyond the grandfather” is correct, with the proviso that in both KUB 11 35 and KBo 6 28 the omission comes beyond the great-grandfather. From my previous article as well as from the present one it is clear that I cannot follow Goetze in his conclusion that Šuppiluliuma’s father is Tudḫaliya!

(or vaguely for “ancestor”) is one thing, but the consistent use of the sequence DUMU, DUMU.DUMU, and DUMU.DUMU.DUMU in genealogies is something else.

2. P. 235 with n. 6: I did not quote “Sommer’s rule” (according to which ŠA is not repeated in an apposition) as *reason* for not taking ŠA LUGAL *Kuššar* as apposition to *Ḫattušili* LUGAL.GAL, but only said that our text did not constitute an exception to that rule. In JNES 29 75 n. 16 the change from “can also” to “must” was made on the basis of my new understanding of the whole genealogy, not for the sake of the “rule.” That “Sommer’s rule” has exceptions has been known to me for a long time, since KUB 36 89 rev. 44 offers the same combination as KUB 41 29 now adduced by Otten. I agree with him that these examples make it possible, even likely, to take ŠA^{SAL}AMA.DINGIR-LĪ-KA KUB 14 7 i 17 as apposition to ŠA^{SAL}Dan[*uḫepa*] of line 16; but that has no bearing on our text.

In conclusion I maintain that Ḫattušili II existed and was the father of Šuppiluliuma I, and that the Aleppo treaty mentions him. In addition, I am now inclined to think that two of Carruba’s texts probably also refer to him.

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Hittite Hieroglyphic Seal Impressions from Korucutepe

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HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC SEAL IMPRESSIONS FROM KORUCUTEPE*

HANS G. GÜTERBOCK, *Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*

EXCAVATIONS at the mound called Korucutepe in the area which is to be flooded by the Keban Dam on the upper Euphrates in eastern Turkey were conducted in 1968 as a Joint Expedition of the Universities of Chicago and of California at Los Angeles, Professors Maurits van Loon and Giorgio Buccellati serving as codirectors. In 1969 and 1970, with the participation of the University of Amsterdam, it became The Joint Expedition of the Universities of Chicago, California (Los Angeles) and Amsterdam, with the writer as Expedition Director, Professor van Loon as Field Director, and Professor Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate heading the Dutch group. A report on the results of these three seasons will be published in a later issue of this journal;¹ it seems advisable, however, to make the hieroglyphic seal inscriptions available at this time.

In 1968, twelve clay bullae (including fragments) of the type best known from Boğazköy were discovered in a shallow pit in square O 21. A brief description of the find circumstances can be found in the *METU* report for 1968, p. 98.² The present writer, who spent that season as guest of the University of Istanbul Expedition at the neighboring site of Tepecik, was kindly invited by M. van Loon to study these bullae and to prepare them for publication.

Of the roughly circular pit only the southern half falling into the square O 21 was cleared in 1968. When we excavated its northern half, in O 20, in 1969, only two more bullae were found. However, during that same season the Elâzığ Museum confiscated seven more bullae (and one stamp seal) which had obviously come from our mound. Since the scarp between O 21 and O 20 as well as the surface of O 20 showed no traces of interference it is unlikely that they were dug up between the two seasons. It seems more probable that they went astray while the excavation of 1968 was in progress,

* This article constitutes Part VIII of the preliminary report on the excavations at Korucutepe, the rest of which will appear in the October 1973 issue of this journal.

¹ The following preliminary reports have so far appeared: *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* (*Turkish Review of Archaeology*) 17, pt. 1, 1968 (Ankara, 1969): 79–82 (on the 1968 season, by van Loon and Buccellati); 18, pt. 2, 1969 (1970): 123–28 (1969 season, by van Loon and H. G. Güterbock); 19, pt. 1, 1970 (1972): 127–31 (1970 season, by the same); Middle East Technical University, Keban Project Publications, Serial (*sic*) 1, Publication No. 1: *1968 Summer Work, Text and Plates*, Ankara, 1970, pp. 73–87 (Turkish), and pp. 89–102 (English, by van Loon and Buccellati); the same, Series 1, No. 2: *Keban Project 1969 Activities*, Ankara, 1971, pp. 47–57 (Turkish), and pp. 59–68 (English, van Loon) and 69 (Güterbock). These two volumes are cited hereafter “*METU* 1968” and “*METU* 1969,” respectively. Professor Machteld Mellink’s reports on “*Archeaology in Asia Minor*” in

the *American Journal of Archaeology* (hereafter *AJA*) contain the following sections on Korucutepe: for the season of 1968: *AJA* 73 (1969): 210 f.; for 1969: *AJA* 74 (1970): 165; and for 1970: *AJA* 75 (1971): 167 f.

Other abbreviations used are: *HW* = J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, with its *Erg.(änzungshefte)*; *JCS* = *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*; *KBo* = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* (*Wissenschaftliche Veröff. der Dtsch. Orient-Gesellschaft*); *KUB* = *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*; *RHA* = *Revue Hittite et asianique*, quoted by fascicle; *SBo* = *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, 1 and 2 (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiheft 5 and 7 [1940 and 1942]), by seal number unless quoted as “p.”

² Unnumbered plates are between the Turkish (pp. 73–87) and English versions (pp. 89–102) of the report by M. van Loon and G. Buccellati. Fig. 1 is the grid plan showing the location of O 21 in the southern part of the mound; figs. 10 and 14–16 illustrate some of the bullae.

or that the claim heard at the time, to the effect that they had been found years earlier in the course of earth movements, may be true after all. But there was general agreement that these bullae came from Korucutepe. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Mrs. Ferhan Memişoğlu, the Director of the Museum of Elâzığ, for her kind permission to study these bullae and to include them in this publication.

Apart from the bullae, which can be dated to the thirteenth century B.C., a clay lump with four impressions of one seal was found in 1969 near the early second millennium city wall, though not in a clear stratum. In type it is older than the bullae. It will be included here because the impression was made with a seal that belongs to a known type of hieroglyphic seals, although no hieroglyphs are recognizable in the impressions.

The question of how the bullae got to Korucutepe must be asked but can hardly be answered. That they were found in a pit would indicate that they were discarded after having served their purpose of authenticating whatever document, package, or other object they may have been attached to. These may have been containers sealed on the spot for a certain period until the time was proper for an authorized person to open them; or they may have been sealed documents or packages that arrived from other places. The fact that among the seals there are some that belong to "kings"—not Hittite "Great Kings"—can equally well be understood if these rulers resided at Korucutepe itself, in another city of the same region, or hundreds of miles away! At least it can be said that the use of hieroglyphic seals was not unknown in the area, since one biconvex (or "lentoid") seal of the common type was found years ago in a large mound near Ağansık (now Aşağı Ağınsı),³ a village only a few miles west of Korucutepe, and some seals of the same type were recently excavated in the nearby mounds of Norşuntepe and Tepecik.

No. 1A. KRC68-321: Bulla with flat back showing impression of a strap. Sealed surface slightly concave, left upper part forced up and bent over while wet. The impression is incomplete since the seal was larger than the surface of the bulla. Illustrated: *AJA* 73 (1969), pl. 57, fig. 4; *METU* 1968, fig. 14.

No. 1B. MusElz. No. 112: Conical bulla, partial impression including part of the circular border line at right but only the front part of the figure.

Two impressions of the same seal, showing a god striding toward the right, wearing the usual kilt and turned-up shoes. His left arm is stretched forward, the right hand holds a shouldered bow. The headdress is lost in both impressions.

Behind, i.e., to the left of the divine figure, there are traces of two hieroglyphs in A (lost in B); they must have belonged to the "secondary group" (called "Nebengruppe" in *SBo* 2, p. 41) which usually is either a title or some formula of blessing. For a possible restoration see below, sub No. 2.

In front of the figure there is the sign for Šarrumma (L 80, M 71)⁴ surmounted by two antithetic hands. This is clearly the "main group" ("Hauptgruppe") which is the name of the seal owner. This name contains the divine name Šarrumma as second element; possibilities of interpreting the first part of the name will be discussed under the next number.

³ *The Cornell Expedition to Asia Minor* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1911), p. 44, pl. 23, republished by I. J. Gelb in *Anadolu Araştırmaları 2: In Memoriam H. Th. Bossert* (1965), pp. 223 f. and pl. 25. The mound in question almost certainly is Norşuntepe.

⁴ Hieroglyphs are identified by their numbers in

the following sign lists: L = E. Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites*, Pt. 1: *L'écriture* (Paris, 1960); M = P. Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar*, 2d edition (Wiesbaden, 1962); occasionally also G = H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy* 2 (1942), pp. 84-104.

No. 2A. KRC68-403: Conical bulla with flat impression of the central part of a seal. Illustrated: *AJA* 73 (1969), pl. 57, fig. 5; *METU* 1968, fig. 16.

No. 2B. MusElz. No. 113: Conical bulla with partial impression of the same seal, including more than A above and on left, less below and on right. Partial impression on side of cone: part of the divine figure.

The impression on B includes parts of two cuneiform signs beyond the circular line on the left top. While these traces are too little to allow for a restoration, they show that the seal was bilingual. The use of both scripts is most common for royal seals,⁵ and in B the hieroglyph KING (L 17, M 275) is well preserved on the left.

The seal shows a god striding to the right like the one on No. 1, also with one arm stretched forward and the other hand holding the bow. The feet are not in the impression on either bulla, but the pointed hat with one horn, characteristic of Hittite gods, is preserved.

The hieroglyphic legend is divided into several groups. In the "main group," i.e., the name of the seal owner, the remnants in both A and B allow us to restore the same spelling as in seal No. 1: two antithetic hands over *Šarrumma*. The sign KING behind the god, already mentioned, characterizes this man as king (but not "great king"!). Below KING there are traces which, as a result of different damage, look somewhat different in A and B: only a straight line slightly descending to the right remains in B; in A there is a little more left, which may be part of the "profile" (L 19, 21; M 17). A restoration, on the left, to KING, HE[RO] (L 17 and part of 21, facing right) is possible but remains conjectural. Returning to No. 1, it is possible that the traces on the left side of 1A may belong to the same two titles.

What distinguishes No. 2 from No. 1 is the addition, in smaller hieroglyphs, of a second name with title, arranged in two columns below the outstretched arm of the god. The name itself clearly reads *ki-lu-x-ḫe-ba* (L 446, 186, x, 215, 334). The column to the left of this is composed of three elements: the volute, GREAT (L 363, M 184), a hand similar to L 44-45, below which there is only one vertical element resembling a pointed oval rather than a simple line; it is not the "word divider" (L 386, M 386) normally found in the group for CHILD (L 45, M 44). In the interpretation of this group I gratefully follow a suggestion made during the excavation by Philo Houwink ten Cate, who compared the cuneiform title DUMU.SAL.GAL, literally "great daughter," i.e., "princess," applied to a king's wife who is not reigning as Tawananna, as is the case with Kaššul(iy)awi(ya), the wife of Muršili II.⁶ On the seal *SBo* 1 104 (and, damaged, 37) her title is written with the combination KING + CHILD, and according to the photograph, *SBo* 1 pl. VI, the element below the "hand" in no. 104 is again a pointed oval, here even with a clear groove inside. It seems possible, thus, that DAUGHTER was—occasionally at least—differentiated from SON by the use of the WOMAN sign (L 79, M 324,1) below the "hand."⁷

⁵ Best known from the seals of Great Kings of Hatti. Examples belonging to lesser rulers are the famous "Tarkondemos" seal of a king of Mira and the stamp seal of Ini-Tešub, king of Carchemish, *Ugaritica* 3 (*Mission de Ras Shamra* 8, 1956), pp. 22 f., figs. 27-29 (and the cylinder seals, *ibid.*, figs. 30 ff.).

⁶ In *KBo* 4 6. Compare obv. 16 and 18 with rev. 21 and 24 for interchange between her title and her name. Cf. *KBo* 18 1 rev.

⁷ L 46 quotes under 2. "princesse," after *Gà-su-la-*

wi on the bullae from Boğazköy, the relief of Tell Açana (unfinished signs, not clear), *Malatya* 6 (bibliography in W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen zur spätethitischen Kunst* [Bonn, 1971], p. 520 under *Malatya* A/7), where there is nothing below the "hand," and seals Tarsus 14 and 17 (Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, vol. 2 [Princeton, 1956], figs. 401 and 405): in no. 14 the sign is broken, but in no. 17 it has the same shape as on our No. 2B.

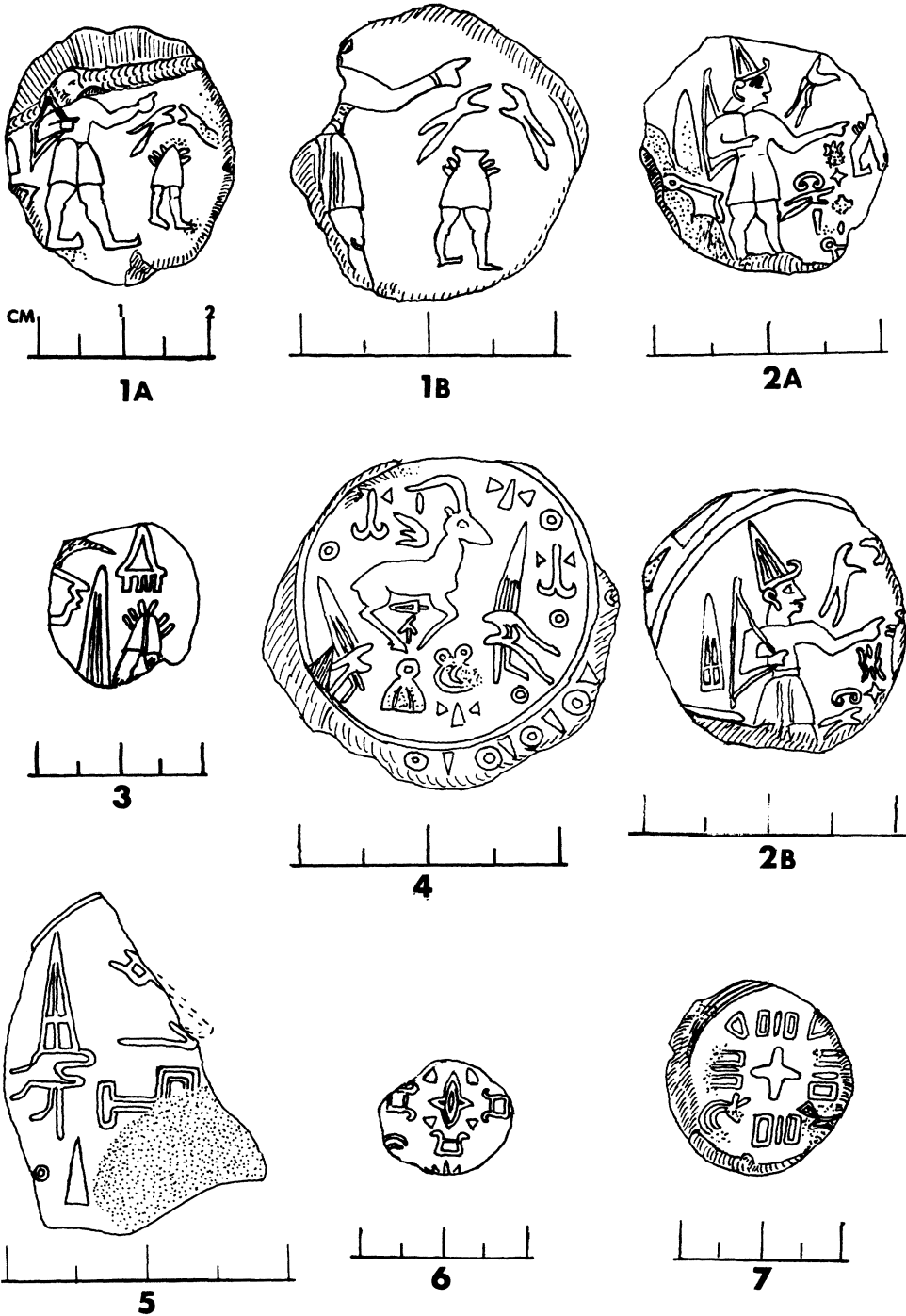


FIG. 1.—Drawings of seals Nos. 1A-7

PLATE 3



FIG. 2.—Photos of seals Nos. 1A-11

We thus are dealing with the common seal of a (local) “king” and a “princess” associated with him, presumably as his wife. Her name is easy to complete, since there is a lady named Kiluṣ-Ḥepa known from two vow texts (*NH* 579).⁸ Since Laroche proposed the reading *uṣ* for the lozenge in the name of Šaušga, it would be a welcome confirmation if the third hieroglyph in the name on No. 2A could be identified as the same sign (L 421); unfortunately that sign is too damaged (flattened while wet) for a clear decision, but the identity with L 421 is not impossible.

As just mentioned, the name of Kiluṣhepa occurs in two vow texts⁹ which restore each other in part.

KUB 15 1 iii 48 ff.:

(48) [SAL.LUGAL-za-ká]n A-NA DUMU.NITA LUGAL KUR ^{URU}I-šu-wa

(49) [še-er kiš-an] IK-RU-UB ma-a-an DUMU.NITA

(50) [e-di-iz] GIG-za TI-eš-zi

(51) [...x-mi ŠA LUGAL KUR ^{URU}I-šu-wa

(52) [...G]ÍR BAL TUR!¹ I ZI KÙ.BABBAR-ia

(53) [KI.LAL.BI NÚ] GÁL A-NA DINGIR-LIM pi-iḫ-ḫi

(54) [......]fKi-lu-uš-ḫé-pa-ma-za SISKUR ^{LÚ}SANGA-ma-za

(55) [......]ši-ip-pa-an-da-i

[The Queen] vowed [thus for] the son of the King of Išuwa: “If the boy recovers from [this] illness, I shall give to the deity [...]... of the King of Išuwa a [...]... and a “life” (symbol) of silver, [its weight unde]rmined.”

[For(?)] Kiluṣhepa, however, an offering the priest [...] will offer.

KUB 15 3 iv 5 ff.:

(5) SAL.LUGAL-za ku-e-da-ni UD-ti [...]

(6) nu-za-kán SAL.LUGAL DUMU.NITA LUGAL KUR [^{URU}I-šu-wa še-er kiš-an IK-RU-UB]

(7) ma-a-an-wa-ra-aš e-di-iz [GIG-az TI-eš-zi....]

(8) wa-aš-ši-iz-zi A-NA DINGIR-LIM-ia-wa [...]

(9) pi-iḫ-ḫi KI.LAL.BI N[Ú GÁL]

(10) ma-a-an-na fKi-lu-uš-ḫé-pa-aš [...]

(11) nu-un-na-aš fKi-lu-uš-ḫé-pa-aš [...]

(12) l-e-da-ni UD-ti wa-aš-šu-u-e-ni [...]

On the day on which the Queen [...], the Queen [vowed thus for] the son of the king of [Išuwa]: “If he [recovers] from this [illness], he shall put on [...], and to the deity I shall give [...], its weight un[determined].”

And if Kiluṣhepa [...], then for us Kiluṣhepa [...] in one day we shall put on [...] (end of text).

A Hittite queen—she is probably Puduḫepa—would hardly make such vows for the

⁸ *NH* = E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1966) = *Études Linguistiques*, 4; quoted by numbers. Add *KUB* 40 80, a “deposition in court” text (not included in *StBoT* 4 though related to *KUB* 40 90 treated there pp. 67 f.) which mentions

the death of Kiluṣhipa (line 2) as well as two other names represented by the Korucutepe bullae: m.^DISTAR.LÚ (Šaušga-ziti, No. 4) in 3, 5, 7, 27, and Lupakki (No. 6) in 12 f. and 27.

⁹ The third, *KUB* 15 30 ii 5, adds nothing.

health of a boy if he were not somehow related to her, and the mention of Kiluṣḥepa right after him in both texts seems to imply some relationship with her, too. The conclusion that Kiluṣḥepa was the boy's mother and thus the wife of the king of Iṣuwa is easily drawn but impossible to prove. It would well suit our bullae where a Kiluṣḥepa, designated as "princess," is sharing the seal with a king. And the fact that Korucutepe is situated in the region where scholars have always located the country of Iṣuwa¹⁰ would round out the picture.

Can the king be identified? Two kings of Iṣuwa are known whose names have *Šarrumma* as second part: Ari-Šarrumma,¹¹ a witness in the Ulmi-Tešub treaty, and Ehli-Šarrumma, mentioned in the letter of a king of Ḫanigalbat.¹² The Ulmi-Tešub treaty was, as Laroche has shown (*RHA* 48, 40 ff.), completed under Tudḫaliya rather than under his father, Ḫattuṣili III, but even so, Ari-Šarrumma was a contemporary of Puduḥepa and could well be the king of Iṣuwa mentioned in the vows. For Ehli-Šarrumma, Klengel¹³ has shown good reasons for dating him after Ari-Šarrumma: he is called DUMU.LUGAL "king's son" in a text that mentions Ḫišni and Tuttu, both known as contemporaries of Ari-Šarrumma from the Ulmi-Tešub treaty.

These two Šarrumma names of kings of Iṣuwa known from cuneiform texts may be confronted with the two royal names having Šarrumma as second element found on Kurucutepe seals: one is the name represented by Nos. 1 and 2, the other is on No. 3 (see below) where the first element is the sign L 416, M 266b. While it is by no means certain that the kings whose seals were impressed on bullae unearthed at Korucutepe were kings of Iṣuwa—the bullae may have come from a distant land!—or that, even if this were the case, the two attested Šarrumma names were the only ones, it is tempting to try to match the two sets of names. In particular, the occurrence, on No. 2, of the name Kiluṣḥepa together with a Šarrumma name, while a lady of that name is associated with Iṣuwa at a time when Ari-Šarrumma is mentioned as king of that country, causes one to look for possibilities of finding that name on the bullae Nos. 1 and 2.

My first idea was to take *ari-* as derived from the Hurrian verbal root *ar-* "to give"¹⁴ and to interpret the antithetic hands as ideogram for "to give," assuming (a) that the syllabic value *pi* of one of the "hand" signs presupposes that it originally was an ideogram for the verb, and (b) that an ideogram could be read in whichever language was appropriate. For (a) I found an example in the new stone inscription from the fountain chamber at Boğazköy,¹⁵ and for (b) one can adduce what Laroche wrote on the Storm-god sign under L 199, I, as well as my hypothesis on Ḫišmi-Šarrumma.¹⁶ Leaving the Korucutepe seals aside for a moment, the application of these two principles would yield a satisfactory reading for the "aedicula name" of Muwatalli in *SBo* 1 nos. 39–40: *Ari-Tešub-ba*.¹⁷

¹⁰ Mainly on the basis of inscriptions of Shalmaneser III; see J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959), p. 40. Cf. in general, H. Klengel, "Die Hethiter und Iṣuwa," *Oriens Antiquus* 7 (1968): 63–73.

¹¹ *KBo* 4 10 rev. 29; *NH* 126.

¹² *IBoT* 1 34, edited by H. Klengel, *Orientalia* n.s. 32 (1963): 280–91. Cf. *NH* 229.

¹³ Klengel, *Orientalia* n.s. 32 (1963): 288 ff. The text quoted there as *Bo* 1629 is now *KUB* 40 96.

¹⁴ On *ari* in proper names, participle "given" of the root *ar-*, see Laroche, *NH*, p. 351; A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient* (Heidelberg:

Carl Winter, 1968), p. 261 and pages listed there. I am indebted to my Munich colleague for having reminded me of this treatment of the names.

¹⁵ *Boğazköy* 4 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1969) = *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* Nr. 14, p. 52 with n. 5. The best-known example of ideograms in a proper name is, of course, L 322–215–391 corresponding to cuneiform *kū.tūl-ma* for *Šuppi-luḫiya-ma*.

¹⁶ Apud Laroche, *Ugaritica* 3, pp. 118 f.

¹⁷ As stated *Boğazköy* 4, p. 52, n. 4, the shape in *SBo* 1 40–41 is in favor of equating L 270 with L 66.

However, the application of these principles to the names written on our Nos. 1 and 2 encounters this difficulty: The shape of the two antithetic hands is not that of L 66, "the hand that gives,"¹⁸ but rather that of L 41, "the hand that takes"¹⁹ or possibly of the hand which stands for "to place, to put" (L 65, M 48).

This discrepancy in the shape of the hands may lead—and doubtlessly will lead some scholars—simply to reject the equation of the name on seals Nos. 1 and 2 with Ari-Šarrumma. However, since this identification is, as explained above, favored by the association with Kilušhepa, I prefer the following tentative solution: The two antithetic hands might be an ideogram for "give/given/gift" despite the diverging form of the single hands. One might even argue that it was not so much the position of the thumb that mattered in the case of "two hands" but rather the direction of the pair as a whole. Thus, "two hands up" would have been the expression for "to give" in contrast to the "two hands down" (L 42, M 56a) whose only attested syllabic value *ta* (in the name of Queen Tanuhepa) presupposes the ideographic value "to take."

As a result, the identification of King X-Šarrumma on the seals Nos. 1 and 2 with Ari-Šarrumma of Išuwa, while not certain, remains possible. Whether future finds will bear out the hypothesis offered here remains to be seen.

No. 3. KRC68-364: Conical bulla with partial impression of a hieroglyphic seal. Illustrated *AJA* 73 (1969), pl. 57, fig. 6; *METU* 1968, fig. 15 (inverted).

The legend runs from right to left. The name is composed of L 416 (M 266b) and Šarrumma. Left of it, KING and the profile sign, probably part of the title L 21, HERO(?).

The sign L 416 is only known to occur in the Empire period as first element of proper names.²⁰ Without going into hypotheses one has to state that this is another only half-readable name, Y-Šarrumma, of an unknown king.

If, however, one tries to match the two hieroglyphic Šarrumma names with the two known names of kings of Išuwa, one may—hypothetically again!—argue as follows: The meaning of Hurrian *ehli* is known: "salut, sauver."²¹ If, still assuming that a hieroglyphic ideogram can be read in various languages, we look for a sign that comes close to this notion, the one that offers itself is L 165, M 147, which serves as ideogram for a number of words (noun, adjective, verb) of propitious meaning. As far as I can see from Laroche's references, it only occurs in texts of the first millennium, and one of its variants contains the elements of L 416: a triangle over three²² vertical lines (though surrounded by pairs of "rays"). Could it be that L 416 is the old form of L 165, and that it could be used as ideogram for *ehli* in Hurrian names?²³

No. 4. MusElz. No. 117: Conical bulla with seal impression. The round center part of the seal is complete, and a section of the frame is also in the impression. The frame consists of alternating circles and triangles, cf. *SBo* 2, p. 31, B, 1.

¹⁸ M 49; cf. the Boğazköy variants under G 18.

¹⁹ *tā* as syllable; old forms of *tā* under G 14. Meriggi lists the old form under 43a, *ta*⁴, as distinct from M 55, *tā*.

²⁰ It is to be kept apart from L 319 which only in Carchemish, A 22 b, looks similar. My own attempt of 1950 (quoted under L 416) is to be given up. Under L 319 the variants from A 22 b and A 27 e³ were interchanged by mistake.

²¹ J. Friedrich, *HW* 3. Erg. p. 48 gives (Substantiv) "Heil," (Verb) "retten" after Laroche ("brieflich"). The latter has now published his interpretation,

which was anticipated by B. Landsberger (*JCS* 8 [1954]: 57, n. 111), in *Ugaritica* 5, pp. 456 f., on the basis of the quadrilingual vocabulary, *Ugaritica* 5, pp. 242 f., no. 137 ii 17, copy on p. 420.

²² As on the Aginsī seal, see above, p. 136 and n. 3; others have four.

²³ Of the names listed by Laroche under no. 416, the one with *-ziti*, should, of course, be read with one of the Luwian values, possibly the divine name listed under L 165, 6. His suggestion that 416 may contain the triangle, L 370 "BIEN, SANTÉ" would well suit its connection with 165.

The name in the center of the seal reads Šaušga-ziti: the animal (ibex?) is given in full (cf. L 104), with the signs for *-uš-ga* (L 421, 434) hanging from its horn as usual. The two signs for *ziti* (L 312, 376) are set between the legs of the animal. This Šaušgaziti is characterized as prince by L 46, M 276 framing the name on either side. The field is filled with symbols: the circle (L 402), both L 440 and 441, and two unidentified signs below the animal. For the name see *NH* 1143 and above, n. 8.

No. 5. KRC69–257: Fragment of a bulla with only part of the inscription. Described *METU* 1969, p. 69.

Preserved are the title PRINCE (L 46) and parts of two signs of the name. The first can be restored to *u(wa)* (L 105, form 3); the second, also damaged, is not readily identifiable. The small circle and pointed triangle below are to be taken as symbols or fillers.

No. 6. KRC68–285: Small bulla with impression of the central part of a seal but not the entire central field. Illustrated *METU* 1968, fig. 10, right.

The sign in the middle is *lu* (L 445, M 316); radiating from it in (originally) four directions are *pa* (L 334, M 328) and (restored) *ki* (L 446, M 214), the pointed ends of which are preserved on one side. Between the four branches of this cross-shaped arrangement there are, close to the center, four small triangles and, farther out but visible on one side, parts of another, unidentified sign.

The name *Lu-pa-ki* is well known and belongs to several persons (*NH* 708; cf. above, n. 8). On the seal *SBo* 2 54 it is written in the same cruciform pattern but with L 186 and with the title SCRIBE-*la* (L 326, M 258) in the angles.²⁴

No. 7. KRC68–339: Conical bulla with impression of almost the whole central field of a seal, including part of the border but not the frame. Illustrated *METU* 1968, fig. 10, left.

The name is arranged in the same form as on No. 6 and consists of *lu* (L 186 = 445, M 316) as center and *wa* (L 439, M 394) in all four directions. In two of the angles there are triangles, in the other two there are unclear signs, one of them perhaps comparable to the one on Nos. 6 and 8–10.

The name *Lu-wa* occurs, again in the same crosslike pattern, on the bulla *SBo* 2 204 (cf. *NH* 711) but in a much more elaborate design: here the title SCRIBE + 2 strokes (L 326 + 385) fills the angles; an inner frame consists of circles and triangles, and an outer frame repeats the name and title, *Lu-wa* SCRIBE-385, antithetically, and interspersed with L 440.

While our Nos. 6 and 7 are different in detail from *SBo* 2 54 and 204, it is nevertheless interesting to note that they all share the cruciform arrangement of the signs—apparently suggested by the shape of the *lu*—and that two of the Korucutepe seals represent names also attested at Boğazköy, whether belonging to the same individuals or not.

²⁴ One bearer of this name is a *kartappu* “charioteer” according to *KUB* 31 68:39; in line 41 follows a king of Išūwa. And *KBo* 18 4 is a letter from a king of Išūwa to “the Chief of Charioteers, my dear

father.” Is Lupakki, the owner of seal No. 6, the same as the charioteer? Is he the father of a king of Išūwa? Is this why his seal came to Korucutepe? Cf. n. 8.

No. 8. MusElz. No. 110;

No. 9. MusElz. No. 111;

No. 10. MusElz. No. 114: Three bullae with impressions of seals representing the same name but in detail differing from one another, hence made with different stamps.

The name is *Ma-la-ma* (L 110–175–110, M 104–180–104); it does not occur among the names registered in *NH*.

As secondary group all three seals show a large sign, similar to G 55 and, especially, to the sign on *SBo* 2 200 which S. Alp correctly separated from the adjacent *na*.²⁵ Laroche registered these as shape (2) under L 135 “oiseaux divers,” but whether it is meant to be a bird is uncertain. It appears on the right in No. 8, on the left in Nos. 9 and 10. Opposite it, Nos. 8 and 9 have L 409 (G 145), but No. 10 has a four-pointed star instead. Other fillers are: more such stars, triangles, L 440 and 441, freely and differently arranged on the three seals. Only in No. 9 part of the frame is preserved, consisting of alternating circles and triangles.

Whether there were three men named Malama or only one, and if the latter, why he had three different but similar seals, is impossible to decide.

No. 11. KRC68–404: Bulla with impression of almost the entire central field of a seal.

The three signs in the center are L 110–327–107, M 104–346–108, read *ma-sa₅-mu(wa)* or *ma-s¹-mu*, respectively. A name Maša-muwa is attested (*NH* 771). However, on the left there is a sign which looks like the upright variant of L 214, M 203, *ná*, and it is tempting to consider this as part of the name despite its position which could be a matter of composition in the limited round field, because *Masana-muwa would be a meaningful (though unattested) Luwian name meaning “Offspring of a god.”

On the right there is a triangle and an inverted(!) sign L 441; two small four-pointed stars are fillers.

No. 12. KRC69–334: Bulla, the tip of the cone shape broken; seal surface well preserved and containing the whole central field of a hieroglyphic seal. Discussed *METU* 1969, p. 69.

The title on the left and right is “master of the country,” composed of L 228, M 198 COUNTRY and L 390, M 371 LORD and corresponding to the cuneiform writing *EN.KUR-TI* (Akkadian *bēl mātī*).²⁶

The central group representing the name consists of twice the sign L 376, M 387, 1, usually read *i*, and the profile, L 19, M 17, read *á*, which would yield a name *I-i-a*.

However, if one followed Bossert’s last articles²⁷ and applied one of the values *zi* or *za* to L 376,²⁸ one would get a name Ziziya or Zaza’a. None of these forms is attested, so far, as a name, and the decision for or against Bossert’s readings will depend on a careful checking of all occurrences of the signs in hieroglyphic texts.

²⁵ S. Alp, *Zur Lesung von manchen Personennamen auf den hieroglyphenhethitischen Siegeln und Inschriften* (Ankara, 1950) = *Ankara Üniv. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi yayımlarından* No. 65: *Hititoloji Enstitüsü*, No. 1, pp. 37 f., as against my listing G 10.

²⁶ Cf. L 390, 3 (on p. 210) and, for the cuneiform, E. von Schuler, *Die Kaškäer* (Berlin, 1965) = *Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen*

Archäologie, vol. 3, p. 148.

²⁷ “Ist die B-L Schrift im wesentlichen entziffert?,” *Orientalia* n.s. 29 (1960): 423–42, especially 433; “Zur Vokalisation des Luwischen,” *ibid.*, 30 (1961): 314–22, both posthumously published.

²⁸ In the Empire period the differentiation of L 377, M 387, 2 by two oblique lines at the bottom was not yet made.

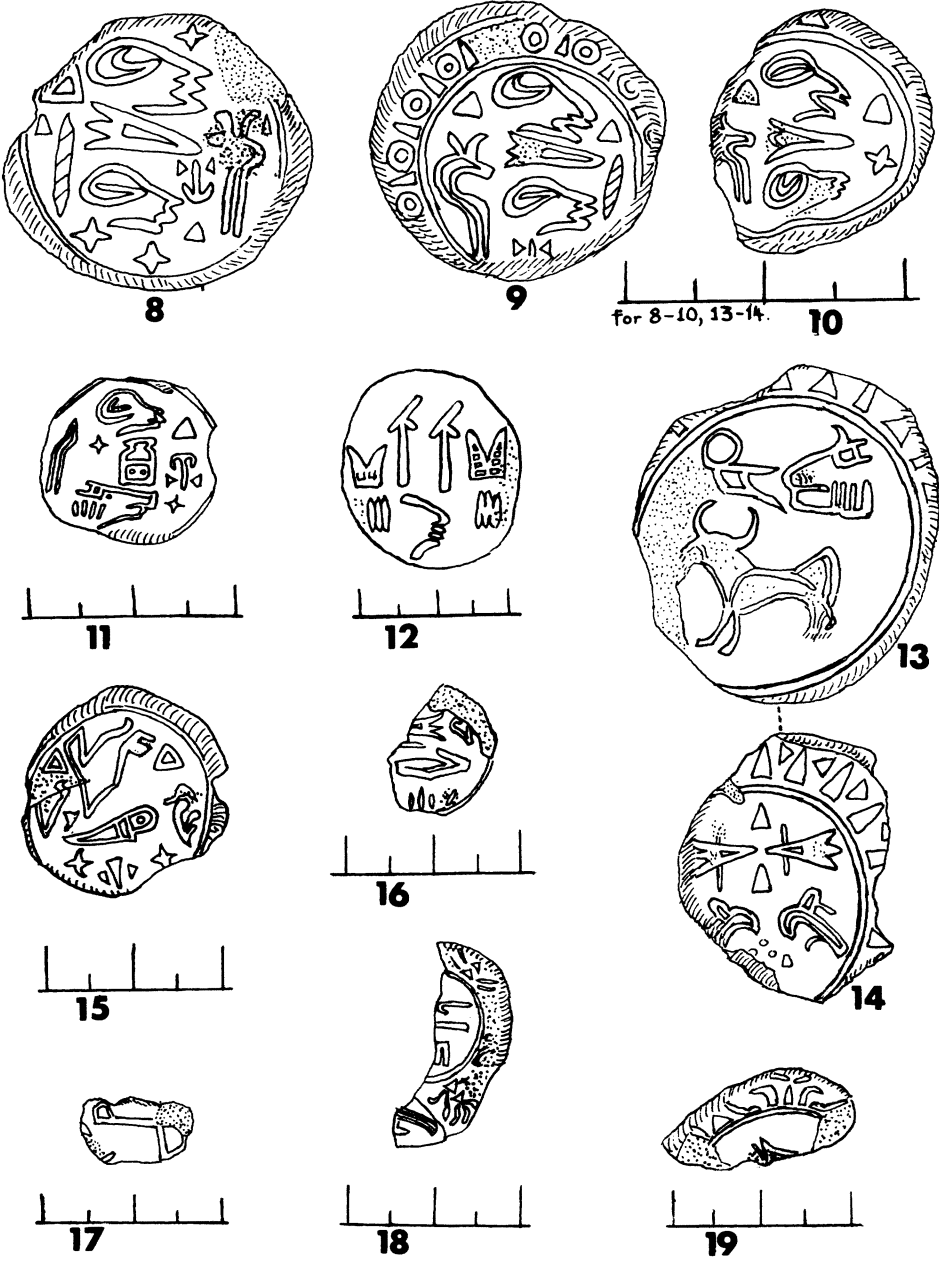


FIG. 3.—Drawings of seals Nos. 8-19

PLATE 4

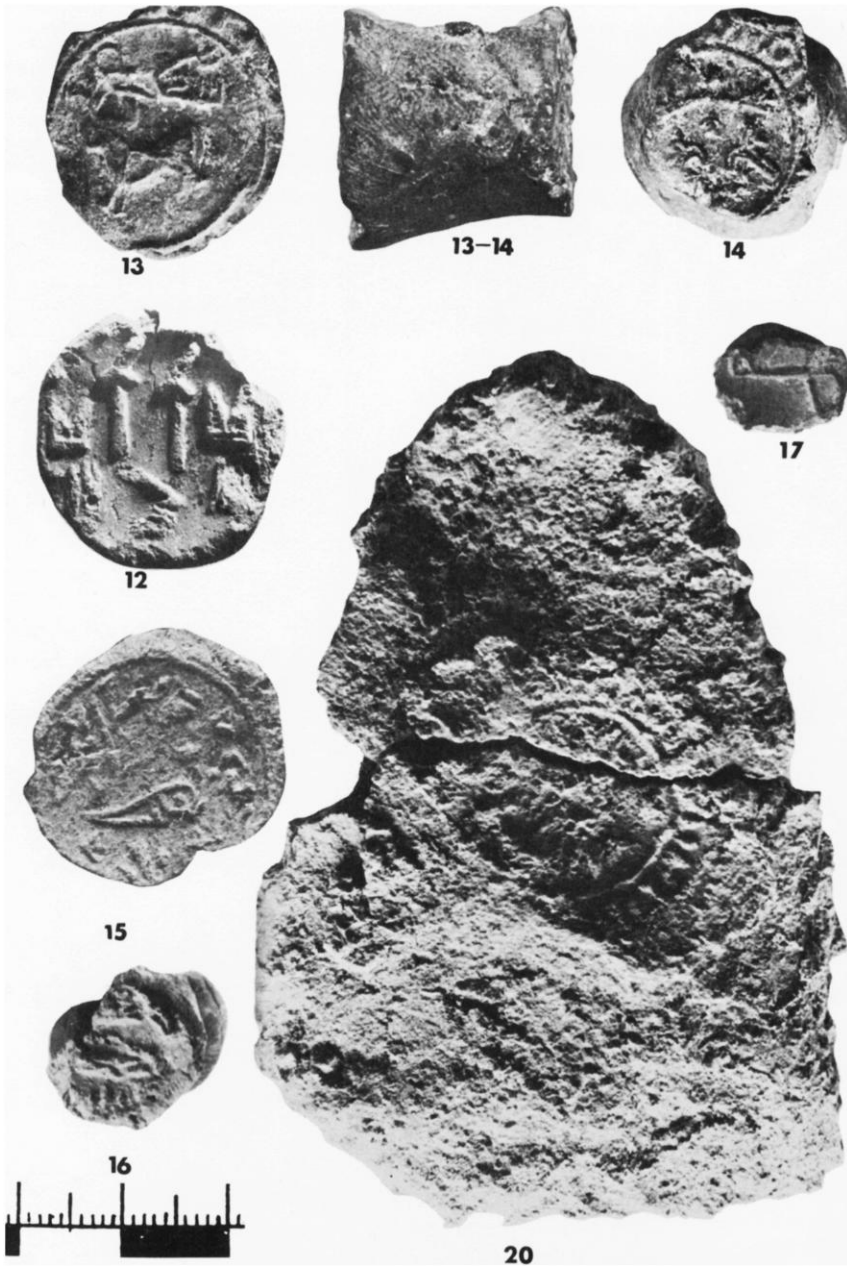


FIG. 4.—Photos of seals Nos. 12-17, 20

Nos. 13–14. MusElz. No. 116. Two impressions on either end of a bulla of roughly cylindrical shape (see fig. 4); for such “double bullae” see *SBo* 2, p. 3.

No. 13 shows only a small section of its frame made up of wide and narrow triangles.

The central field is complete, showing the full picture of a bull facing left. Above it, also facing left, are two signs: the first looks like a combination of a circle and a very simplified hand, for which I can find no example; following it is *mu(wa)*, L 107, M 108. Whether the full-figure bull is part of the name (*u(wa)* after *mu*?) remains undecided, as long as the first sign is not read.

In No. 14 the frame consists of alternating symbols: a pointed triangle and L 440.²⁹ The center field is only partly impressed, but there is enough to show that the same group of two signs was repeated antithetically. They are L 177 and 283, M 181a and 295. Both are ideograms of unknown meaning and reading, so the name cannot be read. Triangles and dots serve as fillers.

Why and how such “double bullae” were produced can only be guessed at. It may be that two persons had to “sign and countersign” a shipment or document, which would mean that the two seals belonged to different persons. Or the two impressions could have been produced with the two sides of a two-faced seal; *SBo* 2 218–19 is a bulla with impressions of two seals that are stylistically so similar that they could well represent the two sides of one disc seal, and the difference in the names (or spelling?) is not a decisive criterion since such differences occur on two-faced seals.

No. 15. KRC68–266. Bulla-shaped like a truncated cone but with rounded top. This was the first bulla found in the first season. Illustrated in *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 17 pt. 1, 1968 (Ankara, 1969), p. 82, fig. 4 (inverted).

The center field is almost complete. Of the main group only *li* (L 278, M 284) is clear. The sign above it may be a form of a bird like L 131, 134, or 135, but nothing is gained from this for the reading of the name.

The secondary group, on either side, begins with a triangle, but the sign below it is damaged on both sides, and the remnants look different. Four-pointed stars and an inverted sign L 440 are fillers.

The next four numbers are bullae whose seal impressions are incomplete, either because of the small size of the lump of clay or as a result of breakage.

No. 16. KRC68–362: One recognizes only *la* and *na*.

No. 17. KRC68–291: Unidentified traces, not clear how to turn.

No. 18. KRC68–290, and No. 19. KRC68–286: On both, the small existing part of the field does not allow for identification of the incomplete signs, but both had rather elaborate frames, apparently composed of stylized plant motifs, on No. 18 also possibly a bird. Comparable elements are in the frames of *SBo* 2 nos. 38, 58, 208, 210, and 213–15.

No. 20. KRC68–287. Irregular piece of clay with one complete but partly effaced impression of a circular stamp seal.

The seal has a frame composed of L 440 and a triangle like No. 14. The name begins

²⁹ For this combination cf. *SBo* 2, pp. 31 f., sub B 2. The sign L 440 is G 175.

with the W-shaped symbol of the Storm-god, L 199, M 398. The sign below it is too damaged for identification. The secondary group seems to consist of only a triangle.

No. 21. KRC69-102: Irregular lump of clay with four impressions of one round seal, two complete and two broken. Found in the vicinity of the old city wall. (Cf. *METU* 1969, p. 69.)

In the center which, according to parallels, must have had some hieroglyphs, only very faint traces can be made out. They are so faint that they could not be included in the drawing.

The very wide circular frame is divided in two parts, each filled with a different kind of guilloche: one a real tress pattern, the other a series of loops. These two bands are separated from each other by small seated figures, one being fairly well visible, the other in traces. The better preserved figure has a typical "Hittite altar" in front and the combination crescent and star in the back. Accordingly, these figures (at least one but probably both) are deities.

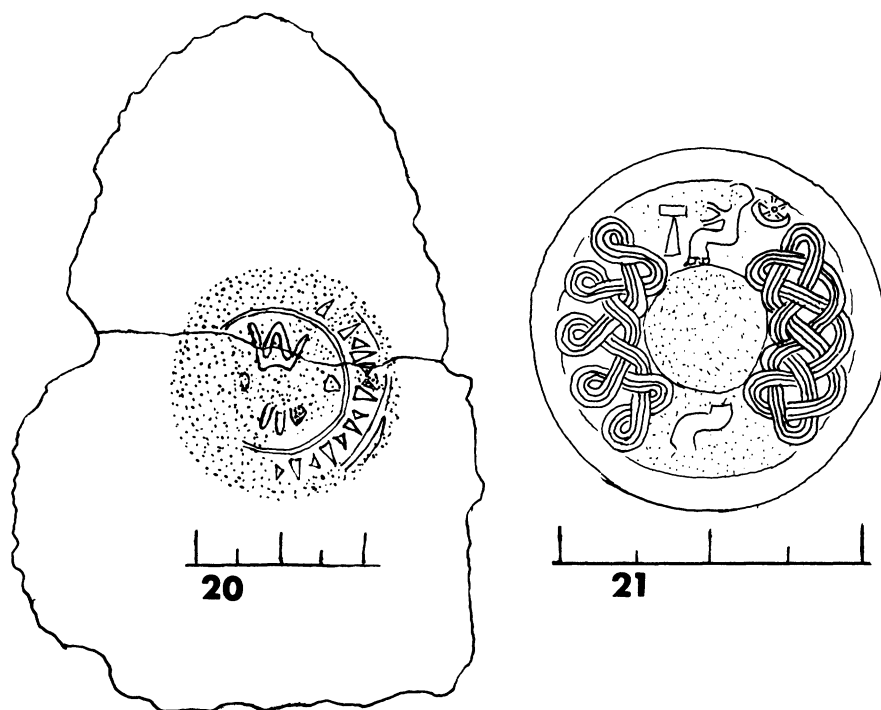


FIG. 5.—Drawings of seals Nos. 20-21

This type of seal is known from other examples, all actual seals. One, complete with "hammer" handle, is in The Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore,³⁰ another in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,³¹ and a third, with handle broken, was found in Boğazköy.³²

³⁰ C. H. Gordon, "Western Asiatic Seals in the Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq* 6 (1939): 25, pl. 9, no. 72.

³¹ L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets . . . de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1910), no. 649.

³² T. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy*, pt. 1 (Berlin, 1967) = 76. *Wissensch. Veröff. der Dtsch. Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 94 on pl. 9, pp. 26 and 61.



FIG. 6.—Photos of seals Nos. 7, 15, 18-19, 21

Still another example, comparable but differing in composition, was found at Höyük near Alaca.³³ The Boğazköy seal was found in Level 3 of the Lower City; Beran dates it to the Old Kingdom, mainly because it has a hieroglyphic inscription. In Höyük the information supplied by the excavator, 4.80–5.00 m. deep, corresponds in its context to what he called Old Hittite. At Korucutepe, the fact that the object was found in the vicinity of the city wall fits well into this time range, but the find circumstances were not such that an exact correlation between the wall and the seal could be established.

³³ H. G. Güterbock, in H. Z. Koşay, *Les Fouilles d'Alaca Höyük . . . Rapport . . . 1937–39* (Ankara, 1951) = *Türk Tarih Kurumu Yay.*, V. Seri, no. 5, p. 193, no. 5 and pl. 80, 3 (Al.c.34).



Appendix: Hittite Parallels

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APPENDIX: HITTITE PARALLELS

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THE Hittite parallels referred to by W. G. Lambert, above, pp. 270 and 298, are in fact quite isolated clauses contained in Hittite prayers. These Hittite texts resemble the Akkadian prayers in their general intent but differ from them as compositions. There are two such prayers. Both are addressed to the personal god of the adorant who asks to be relieved of his suffering. Both are preceded by a prayer to the Sun-god which ends in the request that the Sun-god transmit to the personal god the prayer which follows.

The two prayers in question are imbedded in two types of compositions: a shorter and a longer one. The shorter compositions contain only one of the two prayers. They are written in what may be called standard Hittite, and their extant copies may have been written at any time during the New Kingdom (fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.). The longer type of compositions contains both prayers, each in turn preceded by one addressed to the Sun. There are two versions of this long type. One is put into the mouth of a prince Kantuzzili¹ who belongs to the time before Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1400 B.C.); the other version, which calls the adorant simply "son of mankind," is contained on the same tablets as the great hymnic prayer to the Sun-god discussed in an earlier paper.² Both these versions exhibit characteristics of the older language, the Kantuzzili version more so than the other.

The short version is contained in two published copies, listed under *CTH* 374:

1. *KUB* 30 11 + 31 135 (+) 130, here A, and
2. *KUB* 36 75, here B (to which 1698/u is an unpublished duplicate without variants).

Parts of the great Sun prayer are preserved on the obverse of A and in cols. i and ii of B. The transition from the prayer to the Sun to the personal prayer is in A rev. 2' ff. and B ii 7' ff. The following transliteration is based on the better-preserved copy B.

- (B ii 7) *nu-ut-ta ka-a-ša LUGAL-uš* 'a'-ru-w[a-i-mi(?)]
 (8) *nu-ut-ta me-mi-iš-ki-mi*
 (9) *ku-iš-mu DINGIR-LUM ki-i i-na-an-na pa-iš*
 (10) *nu-uš-ša-an DINGIR-LUM a-pa-a-aš ma-a-an ne-[(e-pi-ši)]*
 (11) *ma-a-na-aš ták-ni-i*
zi-ga ^DUTU-uš *kat-ti-iš-ši* [pa-i-ši]
 (12) *nu i-it A-NA DINGIR-LIM a-pé-e-da-ni me-e-mi*
 (13) *ú-uk-za ne-ku DINGIR-IA tu-uk ku-it i-i[(a-nu-u)]n*
 (14) *nu ku-it wa-aš-ta-a-aḫ-ḫu-un*
 (15) *DINGIR-IA ša-am-na-a-eš-mu zi-ik*
da-an-du-[(ki-iš-na)-aš-mu(?)] (16) *zi-ik i-ia-aš*
ú-ga-at-ta ki-nu-un ku-it (17) *i-ia-nu-un*

¹ *KUB* 30 10, listed by E. Laroche in his *Catalogue des textes hittites* (1971) (hereafter *CTH*) as no. 373. This prayer will be quoted as *Kant*.

² H. G. Güterbock, "The Composition of Hittite Prayers to the Sun," *JAOS* 78 (1958): 237-45 (here-

after *JAOS* 78). The text is listed as *CTH* 372. It will be quoted by this number unless a reference to the exact location of a passage in the cuneiform editions is called for.

(18) ^LUDAM.GÀR LÚ-*iš* ^DUTU-*i* *kat-ta-an* GIŠ.ERÍN (19) *har-zi*
n[u (GIŠ.ERÍN *mar-ša*)]-*nu-uz-zi*
ú-ga (20) [(A-NA DINGIR-IA *ku-it i*)]-*ia-nu-un*

Variants: 9 *i-na-an* A 3; 11 [*pa-i-ši*] restored after *CTH* 372 A ii 13 = *RA* 45 (1951): 132; 13 [*ne*]-*ek-ku* A 5; 16 *ú-ga* A-NA DINGIR-IA [*ku-i*]*t* A 7-8; 18 [^LUDAM.GÀR(?)]-*ma* (space on warped surface sufficient? Cf. ^LUDAM.GÀR-*ša* *Kant.* rev. 12', p. 326 below) A 9.

- (7) Now behold, I, the king, am praying to you
 and telling you:
 Whichever god gave me this illness,
 whether that god is in heaven
 or whether he is on earth,
 you, the Sun-god will go to him.
 Go, say to that god:
- (13) "O my god, what have I ever³ done to you?
 And in what have I sinned?
 O my god, you created me,
 you made [me] a mortal:
 What have I now done to you (var.: to my god)?
 The merchant, a man, holds the scales under the sun
 and falsifies the scales:
 but I, what have I done to my god?"

Here, the beginning of the personal prayer, lines 13-20, corresponds to the beginning of the Akkadian prayer, p. 278 above, lines 71-77. The continuation differs from the Akkadian; it contains a lament over the speaker's illness and a cry for mercy, similar but not quite identical with the corresponding sections of the Prayer of Kantuzzili.⁴

Turning now to the latter, one of the long compositions mentioned above which contain two personal prayers, we may start with an observation made earlier⁵ to the effect that the prayer of Kantuzzili parallels the personal prayer which follows the hymnic prayer to the Sun in *CTH* 372, and that, to judge from the size of the portion lost at the top of the tablet, it most probably also began with the prayer to the Sun.

The transitional section is better preserved in *CTH* 372 than in *Kant.*, though its beginning is lost even there. Its preserved part in *CTH* 372 reads as follows:⁶

That god has turned his eyes to another side
 and does not give (this) son of mankind (a chance) to act.
 Whether that god is in heaven
 or whether he is on earth,
 you, the Sun-god, will go to him
 Go, speak to that god and transmit to him the words of the son of mankind.

In the Kantuzzili prayer the same wording can be restored from the existing parts and the parallel, with the only difference that the name Kantuzzili replaces the term

³ With this rendering of *niku* I follow H. Eichner, *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 29 (1971): 33 f. with notes 39-44.

⁴ *Kant.* rev. 14 f. helps to understand the lines immediately following here (B 21 ff., A 10 f.) which

have a counterpart in the Sumerian versions; see below, p. 326 with note 17.

⁵ *JAOS* 78 238 and 242.

⁶ *JAOS* 78 242; transliteration by E. Laroche *RA* 45 (1951): 132, lines 9-15.

“son of mankind.” As can be seen, this passage partly parallels that of the short form (lines 10–12 above).

The prayer of Kantuzzili was translated by A. Goetze in *ANET*, pp. 400 f. A new edition of this long and difficult text cannot be undertaken in the framework of this note; we therefore refer to Goetze’s translation, only elaborating on some passages.⁷

The beginning of the actual prayer⁸ is quite different from both the short text rendered above and the Akkadian prayer. It speaks of the favors bestowed upon the adorant by his god in the past. The speaker then stresses his own guiltlessness, and it is in this context that a parallel to the Akkadian prayer is found.⁹

(12) *nu A-NA(!) DINGIR-IA Ū-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka li-in-ku-un*

li-in-ga-in-na-aš-ta Ū-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka šar-ra-aḫ-ḫa-at

(13) *ši-ú-ni-mi-ma-mu ku-it šu-up-pi a-da-an-na na-at-ta a-ra*

na-at Ū-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka e-du-un

(14) *nu-za tu-ik-kam-ma-an na-at-ta pa-ap-ra-aḫ-ḫu-un*

(15) *GUD-un-aš-ta ḫa-a-li-az a-ap-pa Ū-UL ku-uš-ša-an-ka kar-šu-un*

UDU-un-aš-ta a-ša-ú-na-az EGIR-pa KI.MIN (= natta kuššanka karšun)

(16) *NINDA-an-za ú-e-mi-ia-nu-un*

na-an-za A-ḪI-TI-IA na-at-ta ku-wa-pi-ik-ki e-du-un

wa-a-tar-ma-az (17) ú-e-mi-ia-⟨nu-un⟩

na-at A-ḪI-TI-IA Ū-UL ku-wa-pi-ik-ki e-ku-un

(12) Never did I swear by my god,

and never did I then break (such) an oath.

What, (being) sacred to my god, was not right for me to eat,
that I never ate;

and I did not (thereby) make my body unclean.

(15) I never separated an ox from the pen,

I never separated a sheep from the fold.

(When) I found bread, I never ate it by myself;¹⁰

(when) I found water, I never drank it by myself.

This section thus includes parallels to lines 87, 80–81, and 83–84 of the Akkadian prayer, in this sequence. After this, the Hittite prayer again turns to other subjects, such as that recovery is only possible by the grace of the god, and that man cannot live forever. The god is then asked to reveal by what transgression the adorant caused his misfortune. This prayer closes with the words¹¹ *nu-mu na-aḫ-ša-r[a-at-ta]-an ta-aš-š(a)-nu-mar-ra a-ap-pa zi-ik-pát am-me-el DINGIR-IA pi-iš-ki* (372 *ta-aš-n[u- . .]*, *Kant.* [*ta-aš-š*]*a-nu-mar-ra*; 372 *EGIR-pa DINGIR-IA pa-a-[i]*)

⁷ The first paragraph of Goetze’s translation, obv. 2–5, has been restored to the transitional section quoted above.

⁸ *Kant.* obv. 6 ff., in *ANET*, paralleled by *CTH* 372 A ii 16 ff.

⁹ *Kant.* obv. 12 ff.; of the parallel in *CTH* 372, only the beginning of lines are preserved in *KUB* 36 79 ii 29 ff.

¹⁰ Thus I now understand *aḫiti-ia/šu* in all Boğazköy passages (cf. already F. Sommer, *HAB* 182): *KBo* 1 1 (*BoSt* 8, p. 12) obv. 38 “escaped by

himself” or “alone” in contrast to his family which was captured; *KUB* 32 123 ii 50 “the king by himself/alone” in contrast to 47 ff. where all the princes are with him. Especially in this last example “secretly” does not fit. “By himself/alone” is also possible in the broken passage *KBo* 1 15 obv. 23 (*ZA* 49 [1949]: 208). Cf. also the Akkadian version, above, p. 278 lines 83 f., which has *ina ramania*.

¹¹ *CTH* 372 ii 60 f. = *ABOT* 44 b ii 3 f. + 44 a ii 2 f., combined with *Kant.* obv. 29.

“You, my god, return to me reverence and strength!”

After this, a new prayer to the Sun-god begins.¹² Only its beginning was rendered in *JAOS* 78 243; in *Kant.* it continues to rev. 9.¹³

After a dividing line, the Sun-god is addressed again, but only in order to introduce the personal prayer.¹⁴

(10) ^DUTU-i iš-ḥa-a-mi ka-a-ša-az ^mKán-iš DINGIR-IA x-x-x-nu-uš-¹ki-mi¹
[nu-mu(?) DINGIR]-IA iš-ta-ma-aš-du

(11) ¹ú-uk¹-za ni-ku ^mKán-iš A-NA DINGIR-IA ku-it i-ia-nu-un
nu ku-it [wa-aš-ta-aḥ-ḥu-u]n

ši-i-ú-ni-mi (12) zi-ik-mu i-ia-aš

zi-ik-mu ša-am-na-a-eš

ki-nu-na-at-ta ^mK[án-iš ku-i]t i-ia-nu-un

^{LÚ}DAM.GĀR-ša (13) ¹LÚ-iš¹ ^DUTU-i ^{GIŠ}e-el-zi ḥar-zi
nu ^{GIŠ}e-el-zi mar-ša-nu-uz-zi

[ú-ga A-NA] DINGIR-IA ku-it i-ia-nu-un

(14) nu-mu É-IA i-na-ni pí-ra-an pí-tu-li-ia-aš É-ir ki-ša-at

nu-mu pí-tu-li-ia-i pí-ra-an (15) iš-ta-an-za-aš-mi-iš

ta-ma-at-ta pé-e-di za-ap-pi-iš-ki-iz-zi

(10) O Sun-god, my Lord! Behold, I, Kantuzzili, am [beseeching] my god,
[now] let my god hear me!

(11) What have I, Kantuzzili, ever done to my god?

And in what have I [sinned]?

My god,¹⁵ you made me,
you created me.

But now, what have I, Kantuzzili, done to you?

The merchant, a man, holds the scales to the sun
and falsifies the scales;

[but I], what have I done to my god?

(14) Now my house, because of the sickness, has become a house of anxiety,
and because of the anxiety my soul is flowing to another place.

This last couplet has no parallel in the Akkadian prayer, but is similar to one in the Sumerian text.¹⁶

Lines 11–13 correspond to the short text given above (pp. 323–24) and to lines 71–77 of the Akkadian version. Thereafter, the short text (copy A) and both long versions (*Kant.* and *CTH* 372) run parallel, though with variants, and differ from the Akkadian prayer. However, the couplet about the house, *Kant.* rev. 14 f., which we compared with the Sumerian version, can be restored also in the short text, copy B, whereas A seems to omit the “house” and says instead “I am anxious.”¹⁷

¹² In *Kant.* with line 1 of the reverse; *CTH* 372 A = ABoT 44 a:3 fails to mark a new section.

¹³ In *CTH* 372 A only the small fragments *KUB* 31 131 + ABoT 44 a col. iii correspond, leaving a gap before *KUB* 31 132 iii.

¹⁴ *Kant.* rev. 10 ff. with very fragmentary parallel in *CTH* 372 A = *KUB* 31 132 +. The translation in *ANET*, p. 400 last paragraph, should be revised.

¹⁵ I take *šuni-mi* as vocative and put it here because of the parallel, above, B 15. It could also

be dative and belong to line 11, as written: “In what have I sinned against my god? You created me.” But note that the last word of line 12 also belongs to the next verse.

¹⁶ Referred to by Lambert, above p. 301, as Bil. 15 f., Sum. B 12 f., and Sum. A 15 f.

¹⁷ B = *KUB* 36 75 ii 21 É-IA, 23 ZI-IA, 24 [za-a]p-pi-iš-ki-[iz-zi], but A = *KUB* 30 11 rev. 10 [pit-t]u-li-iš-ki-mi.

To sum up, we have seen that the beginning of the Akkadian incantation, lines 71–77, was also the beginning of a Hittite prayer, which, however, continued in a different vein. In the long texts of Kantuzzili and *CTH* 372, this prayer was preceded by another, also addressed to the personal god of the worshipper, which made use of some lines of the same Akkadian incantation (87, 80–81, 83–84) completely divorced from their context.

With regard to the Sun hymn we previously stated that it “may be called a free composition for which the Hittite poet has taken a great deal of inspiration from Babylonia” (*JAOS* 78 242); we went on to say of the prayer following the Sun hymn that it, too, “makes ample use of Babylonian motifs but is a free composition” (*ibid.*, 243). The above excerpts and their comparison with the Akkadian prayer edited here by Lambert will have served to illustrate this pronouncement.

Hurrian Disharmony

Author(s): Hans G. Güterbock

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Of the Week

Mariner's Mercury bonanza	220
Quasars as galactic explosions	222
What newborns recognize	222
Energy: Ford Foundation report	223
Arthritis and autoimmune reactions	223
A spinning magnetic white dwarf	223

Research Notes

Technology	224
Behavior	224
Earth	225
Environment	225

Articles

A people satellite	226
Cell membranes and cancer	228

Departments

Letters	219
Books	231

COVER: Craters riddle the surface of Mercury in a computer-enhanced mosaic of pictures taken by Mariner 10 from a distance of 124,000 miles as it approached the planet March 29. Largest of the craters is about 124 miles in diameter. Mariner 10 has produced major new findings about the innermost planet. See p. 220 (Photo: Wide World)

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To the Editor

Sagan overkill on Velikovsky?

Cornell University astronomer Carl Sagan indulged in unnecessary overkill when he compiled 56 pages of criticism to deflate the wobbly "Worlds in Collision" theories of Immanuel Velikovsky (SN: 3/2/74, p. 132). The eminent Dr. Sagan could have made much better use of his time.

Sagan seems to delight in ridiculing "wrong thinkers" who dare to dabble with ideas which run counter to what is currently accepted by the scientific establishment. This requires little courage.

In previous issues of SCIENCE NEWS, the omniscient Sagan dismisses the elusive mystery of the unidentified flying objects with a few sarcastic words. He also summarily rejects any notion that at some time during its 4 to 5 billion years of existence, earth may have been visited by beings from other worlds.

True, the idea of "ancient astronauts" has been tainted by its association with nonscientist Erich Von Daniken, who uses it as his main theme in his book, *Chariots of the Gods*. But Sagan would be wise to curb his intellectual snobbery. Even a mediocre mind like Von Daniken's can grasp and savor an intriguing idea which could ultimately prove to be correct.

Sagan's own book, *The Cosmic Connection*, may someday seem quaint for its sweeping assumptions, founded as they are on our still very limited firsthand knowledge of the universe.

William D. Conner

Science columnist

Springfield Daily News

Springfield, Ohio

Velikovsky symposium

I have been a subscriber to SCIENCE NEWS continuously since 1941. In all that time few things have stirred my interest as has "Velikovsky and the AAAS: Worlds in Collision," so ably reported in the March 2 issue. On the other side I resent the gratuitous slur at the end from Isaac Asimov.

My purpose in writing is: Where can I obtain the proceedings of the seminar which the article says will be published?

Lyle Raub

Gary, Ind.

(The co-arranger of the Velikovsky symposium, Harvard astronomer Owen Gingerich, told us that one reason for holding the sessions was to produce a documented debate that could serve as a point of reference for further discussion. He said the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1515 Massachusetts Ave. N. W., Washington, D.C. 20036, intends to publish the proceedings once difficulties over rights to the material can be worked out.—Ed.)

Hurrian disharmony

Your article on the Hurrian music (SN: 3/16/74, p. 172) is, so far, the most comprehensive and accurate report I have seen in the press. Still, as one who from the beginning played an active part in the whole story, I am disappointed to see that I am not given credit for the one contribution which is mine and at the same time decisive.

It was I who noticed that the musical terms occur in the lower part of the Hurrian tablet from Ras Shamra/Ugarit and who immediately drew the conclusion that they must in some way or other be the musical notation belonging to the text in the top part of the tablet. I announced this orally at a scholarly meeting, the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, in Brussels in the summer of 1969, and published it in the form of an article in the scholarly journal *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archeologie orientale* 64 (1970).

Lastly: Both Wulstan and I had our respective tentative musical interpretations performed: Wulstan by Oxford choir boys, whose tape was played at the Rencontre Internationale of 1971 in Paris, and I here in Chicago (sung "live" in a lecture before the combined Near Eastern and Music Departments of the University of Chicago in the fall of 1971. Admittedly Anne Kilmer's may be closer to the real thing, but it was not the first performance.

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YAZILIKAYA: APROPOS A NEW INTERPRETATION

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IN *Oriens Antiquus* 13 (1974): 211–26, V. Haas and M. Wäfler published an article entitled “Yazılıkaya und der Grosse Tempel,” in which they try to show that the rock sanctuary Yazılıkaya near Boğazköy was the place where certain purification rites were performed, in contrast to the Great Temple in the city which served for the cult. This article appeared while the new publication of the rock sanctuary¹ was in the press. It introduces an interpretation which is quite different from the possibilities considered there.² This new interpretation will be discussed here.

The authors begin with a comparison of the physical properties of Yazılıkaya and the Great Temple,³ both of which they consider as double temples: the Great Temple on the basis of P. Neve’s observation of a second adyton,⁴ Yazılıkaya because in its central relief both Tešub and Ḫebat are represented. The fact that these two chief deities are only two out of sixty-nine gods and goddesses all represented in the same room makes the definition as “double temple” highly questionable. In the Great Temple, on the other hand, the authors assume that the rooms on the long sides of the courtyard served as cult rooms for the gods (on the right) and goddesses (on the left), who formed the circles of Tešub and Ḫebat, respectively. Apart from the fact that Neve considers only four of these rooms as possible cult rooms (nos. 1, 19, 22, 34)⁵ the authors in their interpretation do not ask how the offering procession could have moved from room to room, given the very strange distribution of doors and solid walls on the two sides of the temple. They furthermore take it for granted that the Great Temple was destined for the Hurrian cult without asking where the worship of the Anatolian deities described in so many “festival” texts might have taken place.

The authors then start from the distinction between cult and magic or, as they put it, regular food offerings and purification rites. Now it is true that among those texts listing the Hurrian pantheon (or parts of it) which were adduced for comparison with Yazılıkaya first by E. Laroche and after him by H. Otten and me⁶ both categories are represented. To name only a few: *KUB* 27 13 and *KBo* 14 142 describe the cult of Tešub of Ḫalab, *KUB* 27 1 that of Šaušga of the Field; whereas *KBo* 5 2, the ritual of Ammiḫatna, aims at purifying any contaminated person, and the ritual of Muwalanni (*KBo* 11 2–5) is for the

¹ K. Bittel et al., *Das hethitische Felsenheiligtum von Yazılıkaya* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1975).

² See the sections “Datierung und Deutung” (K. Bittel) and “Die Inschriften: Schlussbetrachtung” (H. G. Güterbock).

³ The identification of the *ḫalentuwa* with the “Südareal” (p. 211, n. 1) is quite unacceptable as will be shown by H. Otten. I expressed my views on *ḫalentuwa* in “The Hittite Palace,” *Le Palais et la Royauté* (XIX^e R.A.I. 1971 [1974]): pp. 307–11; on

the South Area in “The Hittite Temple,” (XX^e R.A.I., Leiden 1972 [in press]), pp. 121 f.

⁴ P. Neve, in K. Bittel et al., *Boğazköy*, vol. IV (1969), p. 9 and Beilage 1; the same, *Festschrift H. Otten* (Wiesbaden, 1973), pp. 254 ff., fig. 1.

⁵ *Festschr. Otten* 269. Room numbers after O. Puchstein, *Boghazköi: Die Bauwerke*, WDOG 19 (1912), pl. 33.

⁶ E. Laroche, “Le panthéon de Yazılıkaya,” *JCS* 6 (1952): 115–23, based on his “Teššub, Ḫebat et leur cour,” *JCS* 2 (1948): 113–36; H. Otten, “Die Götter Nupatik, Pirinkir, Ḫešue und Ḫatni-Pišaišapḫi in den heth. Felsreliefs von Yaz.” *Anatolia* 4 (1959): 27–37; H. G. Güterbock, “The god Šuwaliyat reconsidered,” *RHA* 19, fasc. 68 (1961): 1–18.

purification of the king and resembles, in part, the *itkalzi* rites of which *KUB* 29 8, the text specifically adduced by the authors, describes one part. But here the authors jump to the conclusion that the cults described in the first group of texts took place in the Great Temple and the purification rites in Yazılıkaya. This assumption is by no means warranted.

Granting that the daily cult took place in a temple and leaving aside the question of which temple served any one god as presently unanswerable,⁷ I must object to the second assertion, namely, that Yazılıkaya was a place used only for purification rites. The authors say that purification rites were often performed outside the city because of the danger of contamination with the evils which they were to remove. It is true that Yazılıkaya lies outside the city, but it is a closed room for which the same danger would exist. Furthermore, where specific locations of magic rites are mentioned, they are out in the open country, near rivers and the like, as the authors themselves state. But Yazılıkaya does not fit that description even though it is open to the sky. The authors quote a passage from the purification ritual for the royal couple, Tudhaliya and Nikalmati, where “images” are taken to a rock (they seem to be representing the king and queen because the spell following their deposition is to make the royal couple as everlasting as the rock).⁸ Although the authors admit that this is “only a vague reference to a cultic [*sic*] place which recalls Yazılıkaya by association” (p. 218), it is obvious that this association is intended to lead the reader toward the next piece of “evidence,” a section from *KUB* 29 8 (col. i 11–27) which is supposed to offer an immediate parallel to Yazılıkaya.⁹

This section from the tenth tablet of the *itkalzi* ritual is among the above-mentioned texts which Laroche already adduced for the Hurrian pantheon as compared with Yazılıkaya; it was subsequently also included in my comparative table of male Hurrian gods.¹⁰ It differs from other such lists in that it mentions a goddess each time as being “opposite” (*menahhanda*, vis-à-vis) each male god. This was briefly noted by Laroche, l.c.; for the authors this arrangement was decisive for assuming a complete parallel to Yazılıkaya.

It does not matter a great deal that the parallel is not complete: the deities represented in reliefs nos. 44–50 are omitted, and Ištar (Šaušga), who in Yazılıkaya follows Ea on the male side, is listed with his consort, Damkina, as “opposite” him, not to speak of the difficulties raised by ^DUTU ^{URU}Arinna in both lines 14 and 23. As stated repeatedly, none of the lists corresponds to Yazılıkaya one by one, so this discrepancy in itself is no great obstacle—although it does make the parallel less “immediate.”

More importantly, other purification rites list the Hurrian gods and goddesses separately, e.g., the rituals of Ammiḥatna and Muwalanni (*KBo* 5 2 and 11 5). To this objection the authors could reply that there is no reason why one could not also approach the male and female deities in Yazılıkaya separately; what is important for them is that it was possible to do it in opposite pairs. Then, however, this one passage with the arrangement on opposite sides is no longer as typical of purification rites as the authors make it appear.

Finally, from the text of the *itkalzi* ritual itself, it is not at all likely that the ceremony

⁷ Cf. Güterbock, “The Hittite Temple” (see n. 3), pp. 115 f.

⁸ *KBo* 15 10 ii 1 f., edited by G. Szabó, *TdH* 1 (1971), pp. 20 f. The passage mentioned in n. 25 from the Old Hittite ritual, *StBot* 8 (1969) pp. 34 f. col. iii 45 f., only says “we go to a rock” in broken context.

⁹ “bietet . . . eine unmittelbare Übereinstimmung mit dem Felsheiligtum.”

¹⁰ See references in n. 6 above; list (m) in *RHA* 19: 6.

was performed in a place like Yazılıkaya. Immediately after the section translated on page 219, we read (*KUB* 29 8 i 28 ff.) that scapegoats are let loose; after a passage concerned with the purification of the paraphernalia of the gods (with the only Hittite spell so far attested in the series, lines 37–43) the incantation priest erects a gate and trees KA.GAL-TIM GIŠ.ḪI.A-ya) and ties a bird to either side of the gate. Then wood piles are placed in front of the gate on the right and left sides. Still later (ii 9–11), the client himself shoots with bow and arrow, if it is a man; if it is a woman the priest does it for her.

All this is much easier to understand if the ceremonies take place in the open country. The rest of the tablet is taken up by bathing and other cleansing actions accompanied by spells, two of which are named after “The Waters of Hebat” and “The Waters of Šaušga and Nabarbi.” Another, closely related tablet begins with a long ritual section in Hittite which deals (also?) with “The Waters of Šaušga and Nabarbi.”¹¹ Here the action takes place in front of and inside a tent, another indication that the rites were performed in the open country. If the Hurrian ritual called *itkalzi*, which is explained in Hittite as “cleansing the mouth,” has anything to do with the Mesopotamian series called *mīs pī* “washing of the mouth,” one also expects it to take place in the open.¹² By this we mean in real open country, not a closed chamber open only to the sky like Yazılıkaya, which the authors themselves at the beginning of their paper called a temple!

In sum, the article does not prove that Yazılıkaya was specifically or exclusively used for purification rites. What remains is only that the same Hurrian pantheon that was worshiped in some cult texts was also invoked in some of the rituals of purification.

In addition, the article contains some details which deserve special discussion:

(1) The word *kupti*, which repeatedly occurs in the very passage discussed by the authors, does not designate a musical instrument at all (p. 218 and n. 27). Their statement “vor den Göttern sind kleine Herde hingestellt, deren Funktion in unserem Zusammenhang jedoch unwesentlich ist” misses the point. Lines 11 f. read:

nu IŠTU ŠA 𐎶IŠKUR kueš GUNNI.MEŠ ḫarpanteš
nu ḫantezzin kuptin ANA 𐎶IŠKUR walḫanzi

Literally: “What GUNNI are heaped up on the side of Tešub, they ‘strike’ the first *kupti* for Tešub” (etc.).¹³

For GUNNI, whose ideogram literally is “place of fire,” it is hard to find a good translation (see *CAD*, K, s.v. *kinūnu* “kiln, stove, brazier”). A GUNNI can be a fixed place in a room, a “stove” or perhaps “hearth,” but can also be “brought in,” in which case it is a “brazier” (Kohlenbecken). In the text under discussion, col. i 48 ff., two GUNNI.GIŠ are “made” and later “offered,” which may best be understood if these are “GUNNIs of wood,” “woodpiles,” piles of firewood. In line 11 above, this meaning would fit the verb “heap, pile up.”

The subject of the relative clause *kueš GUNNI.MEŠ* is not resumed by a pronoun in the main clause. Such constructions occur if the resumption is either the same word as the

¹¹ *KBo* 20 129 (*CTH* 777, 5 in *RHA* 30 [1972]: 124). The damaged colophon differs from those of the other *itkalzi* texts, and the fragmentary paragraph immediately preceding it, while still mentioning “[the . . . of . . .] and Nabarbi,” twice uses the term “separately.” The relation of this text to the series remains to be determined.

¹² For an orientation about this series (with

literature) and for references to it as early as Ur III see M. Civil, *JNES* 26 (1967): 211.

¹³ The evidence available for *ḫarp-* favors Laroche’s interpretation “to heap up,” see *HW*, p. 340. Cf. H. M. Kümmel, *StBoT* 3 (1967), pp. 78 f. *ḫarpanteš* is the predicate of the relative clause; *IŠTU ŠA* means “on the side of” as in many instances.

modificand (Held, nos. 86 ff.)¹⁴ or part or all of it (nos. 122, 66), or if the resumption is thought of as being in the locative, in which case a sentence particle is usually found (*KUB* 9 2 i 2 f.; Held nos. 109, 111) but may also be lacking (no. 41). Accordingly, *kupti-* is either the same as GUNNI (in the meaning “woodpile” in contrast to *ḥašša-* “stove, hearth”?) or part of it, or the “hitting” of a *kupti-* takes place at or on the GUNNI. This leads to the following alternative interpretations: either “among the woodpiles which are heaped up on the side of Tešub they ‘hit’ the first *kupti-* for Tešub (but vis-à-vis, on the side of Ḫebat, they ‘hit’ the first *kupti-* for Ḫebat and the Sun-goddess of Arinna);” or: “at/on/upon the woodpiles which are heaped up on the side of Tešub they ‘hit/strike/drive in’ the first *kupti-* for Tešub.”

The phrase *kuptin walḥ-* remains enigmatic. The *CAD* records from Nuzi a phrase *kupta maḥāšu*.¹⁵ The exclusive occurrence of the “Akkadian” *kuptu* in Nuzi and of the “Hittite” *kupti-* in texts of Hurrian background in connection with verbs of identical meaning (*maḥāšu* = *walḥ-*) makes it virtually certain that both phrases must be treated together and that we are dealing with a “Wanderwort.” The *CAD* tentatively translates “make a pile(?)” In Boğazköy the phrase *kuptin* (or *kuptiuš*, pl.) *walḥanzi* for a deity occurs also in *CTH* 472 A i 53–55 and iv 7–10 and in Bo 4811 (unpubl.); in fragmentary context *KBo* 17 70 obv. 18–20; *KUB* 41 11 “rev.” 6 (H. A. Hoffner, *AOAT* 22 [1973]:86). In *KUB* 9 2 i 2 f. *kuptin walḥanzi* is done in a renovated temple, and in the catalogue *KUB* 30 45 iii 5 (translated with joining fragments in *CTH*, p. 161 as A 13) in a newly built one. This led E. Laroche to proposing “clou de fondation” for *kupti-* (*ArOr* 17,2 [1949]:17, n. 29), since *walḥ-*, like *maḥāšu*, may mean “drive in (a nail, peg, etc.).”¹⁶ But offerings, including animals, can be put on it (*KBo* 5 2 ii 43) or they, in turn, can also be *walḥ-*ed on it (*KUB* 9 2 i 4 ff.). Affinity with fire or firewood is again suggested by *KBo* 5 2 ii 57 f. (*ḥantezzin ḥuprušḥin* ^aISKUR-ni *kupti šipanti*)¹⁷ and by the phrase GUNNI *kuptaš* (*KBo* 11 2 i 11 ff. with dupl. 4 i 11 ff.), where *kuptaš* must be genitive of an *-a-* stem.

Could *kupti-* be a kind of pole (identifying the GUNNI as belonging to a certain deity?) or a brazier on a stand that could be driven into the ground (thus synonymous with the GUNNI *kuptaš* “pole-brazier”?)? Is the *kuptu* in Nuzi a peg marking the bricks delivered? Whatever the solution may be, it is clear that *kupti-* in our text cannot be a gong or anything like it and that the relative clause *is* relevant for the understanding of the passage.

(2) Identifications of individual deities (pp. 220–22):

There is no objection to restoring the lost name of goddess no. 52 as *Šala or the like, corresponding to Šalūš-bitinḫi of the texts. And that no. 55 should be Aya, the consort of Šamaš (Ayu-ekalti with Šimegi) was already postulated by Laroche and me,¹⁸ although the hieroglyphs are not clear at all.

¹⁴ Using examples and terminology of W. H. Held, *The Hittite Relative Sentence*, Language Dissertation no. 55 (1957). See esp. the section entitled “The Resumption,” pp. 22 ff.

¹⁵ *CAD*, K, p. 555 s.v. *kuptu* A; see also *CAD*, A 2, p. 4 s.v. *amaru* A s(ubst.) “pile of bricks.”

¹⁶ *AHW* p. 581, 2, a; *CAD*, M, in press. For Hittite cf. *KUB* 27 67 iii 67–69 as translated by A. Goetze, *ANET* 348.

¹⁷ *ḥuprušḥi* is not always or only a vessel (certainly

not a “turrine,” where the French and German “terrine” was no more than an etymological pun on *hubr-* “terra”; Laroche’s new definition as “creuset” [crucible, Schmelztiegel], *Ugaritica* 5 [1968]: 506, following E. Benveniste, is preferable) but, especially in *KBo* 5 2 ii 4–10, something that could be made of wood and burned.

¹⁸ E. Laroche, “Les dieux de Yazılıkaya,” *RHA* 27 (1969): 99; Güterbock, in *Felsenheiligtum* (see n. 1) ad no. 55.

However, there are two objections against the proposed reading Kunzišalli for goddess no. 46. One is the presence of another sign below CHILD which led us to read rather GRANDCHILD. The other is that even if “daughter” were correct and *šalli* for *šala* accepted, one does not see how *kunzi* could refer to the Stormgod.

The Twelve Gods (pp. 223 f.): That these are gods of the Netherworld is not new; it is implied in their association with Nergal. But this does not mean that they are those “Former Gods” or “Gods of the Deep” of which there are several lists.¹⁹ The number of deities in these lists varies, even though the number twelve is preferred (perhaps achieved by selection).²⁰ What is more important for the present discussion is that they contain divine couples like Enlil and Ninlil and Anum and Antum. The authors pick one list which contains twelve names *if* “Išhara’s Father and Mother” are counted separately and not in apposition to the preceding two names (which remains possible).²¹ But even so, this list contains at least one goddess, the mother of Išhara. How can she (or Ninlil or Antum in the other lists) be among the twelve sword-wielding males of Yazılıkaya?

(3) Finally, the representation of the Twelve Gods, both in rooms A and B of Yazılıkaya, with their bent knees and overlapping legs has to be mentioned here because the authors (pp. 213 f.) argue that the rows of deities are not meant to be walking in procession. They correctly observe that a striding position is the only way in which standing figures were represented. That the reliefs in Yazılıkaya could serve as cult images (like statues in a temple) is shown by the bench-like elevation in front of them which most probably served for the deposition of offerings. But that does not preclude that they were at the same time represented as following the two main deities. The Twelve are definitely not standing!

¹⁹ Güterbock, in *Neuere Hethiterforschung, Historia*, Einzelschr. 7 (1964): 55 f. with ref.

²⁰ See the tabulation by E. Forrer, in *Mélanges F. Cumont, Annuaire de l’Institut de philologie et d’histoire orientales et slaves* 4 (1936): 697–700.

²¹ Cf. C. Burde, *Hethitische medizinische Texte*, StBoT 19 (Wiesbaden, 1974), pp. 12 f.



The Hittite Seals in the Walters Art Gallery

Author(s): Hans G. Güterbock

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The Hittite Seals in the Walters Art Gallery

By HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

Chicago

IT WAS DOROTHY HILL who, in 1937, surprised the world of orientalist by the announcement that the so-called seal of Tarkondemos, long believed to be lost, actually was in the Walters Art Gallery.¹ This seal, the first bilingual, or rather digraphic, document found, played an important role in the decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphs. Strangely enough, it has still not revealed all its secrets, so that a review of the various attempts at interpreting it may be in order even now. Apart from it there are three more stamp seals bearing Hittite hieroglyphs in the Gallery. All of them were published by Cyrus Gordon in 1939.² While these, too, are still not fully readable a fresh look at them may also be worthwhile. Summaries of what is, and what is not known now seem to be a subject suited to be offered to Miss Hill on this occasion.

The four seals (figs. 1-4) represent several of the major types and periods of Hittite stamp

seals. No. 1 (57.1513, fig. 1) is the oldest, with a handle that seems to be between a "knob" and a "hammer";³ no. 2 (42.352, fig. 2) is a fully developed "hammer" of the type with circular base; no. 3 (54.264, fig. 3) is a tripod, and no. 4 (57.1512, fig. 4), the "Tarkondemos" seal, most probably once was part of a tripod. The last two belong to the Hittite Empire period (ca. 1400-1200 B.C.), but the first two are certainly older. These datings are based on the shapes of the seals, the hieroglyphs and, where applicable, the decorative or representational motifs on them. Thus, this small collection is actually quite representative of the development of Hittite glyptic art. Comments on each of the four seals follow.

1) Stamp seal, 57.1513, fig. 1, Gordon no. 72, made of silver (erroneously called iron by Gordon). Circular base, eight-sided tapered stem; on top of it a somewhat extended "knob" or underdeveloped "hammer" head, perforated lengthwise.

The seal surface is flat. It is divided into a wide outer zone and a circular center field. In the center there is one symbol or hieroglyphic sign not identified with any known sign of the fully developed script. With some stretch of the imagination one may think of a sign in stamp impressions on pottery, G 200,⁴ on handles from Boğazköy,⁵ which again may or may not be the same as G 199 = L 173. The latter occurs on seals as a title; it is the picture of a kind of spear carried by men on reliefs from Hüyük near Alaca.⁶ Whether the sign on the seal should really be equated with L 173 and, if so, whether it means that the seal belonged to a man with this title ("bearer of the spear?") remains doubtful.

The outer zone is made up of three sections of different guilloches: one regular tress pattern, one tress divided in two, and one, a double row of running spirals. In the intervals between these patterns there are anthropomorphic figures in

¹ Dorothy Kent Hill, "The Rediscovered Seal of Tarqumuwa King of Mera," *Archiv Orientalní* 9 (Prague, 1937), 307-10, pl. xxvi.

² Cyrus H. Gordon, "Western Asiatic Seals in The Walters Art Gallery," *Iraq*, British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 6 (London, 1939) (hereafter: *Iraq* 6), 3-34, esp. pp. 24 f., pl. viii f.

³ In the terms introduced by D.G. Hogarth in his *Hittite Seals* (hereafter: *HS*) (Oxford, 1920), 17-22.

⁴ References to sign lists are as follows:

L = E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites*. Part 1, *L'écriture* (Paris, 1960);

M = P. Meriggi, *Hieroglyphisch-hethitisches Glossar*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden, 1962) (hereafter: *Gloss.*);

G = sign list in H.G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, part 2, (*Archiv für Orientforschung*, suppl. 7, Berlin, 1942) (hereafter: *SBo* II), 84-104.

⁵ *SBo* II nos. 251, 252; U. Seidl, *Gefäßmarken von Boğazköy*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 88 (Berlin, 1972), pp. 52-55, nos. A 227, 228, 233, 239.

⁶ H.Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin, 1942) (hereafter: *Altanatolien*), nos. 514, 518.

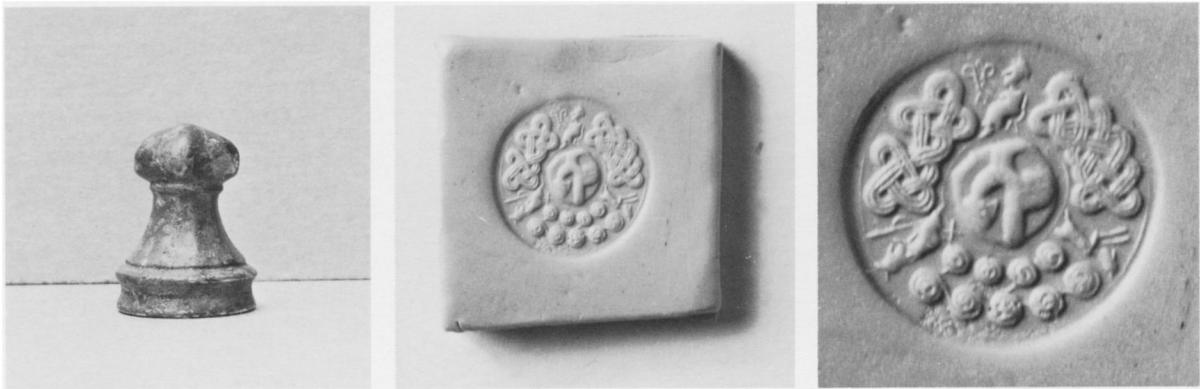


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Silver seal (57.1513) and impression (actual size and enlarged), Old Hittite period

very finely carved relief. Between the two tresses is a female seated on a chair with high back and wearing a long robe. She holds an unknown object or symbol vaguely resembling a fleur-de-lis. Both the other two figures turn their back on the spiral bands, their face toward one of the tresses. One, seated on a cross-legged stool, has a horizontal crescent on his head or round cap, and holds a spear of the kind just mentioned, point up. He seems to be male; perhaps the moon god? The other is standing with raised hands as if in adoration; he wears a long dress and a headdress with protruding point.

The style of the figures is reminiscent of that of the so-called Tyskiewicz seal in Boston and

the eight-sided stamp in Berlin;⁷ the combination of different tress and spiral patterns also recurs in that group. The particular arrangement of single figures between sections of different patterns recurs on a number of seals: one "hammer" from Alishar;⁸ one from Boğazköy⁹ coming from Lower City level 3, Old Hittite; one in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris,¹⁰ and an impression on clay found at Korucutepe.¹¹ This whole group can be safely dated to the Old Hittite period.

2) Stamp seal of haematite, 42.352, fig. 2, Gordon no. 70, with "hammer" handle and circular base, first seen at Aydın and often illustrated.¹²

⁷ W. Orthmann, *Der Alte Orient*. Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14 (Berlin, 1975) (hereafter: PKG 14), pl. 375 a and b; R.M. Boehmer, *ibid.*, p. 446 with references to earlier literature.

⁸ H.H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons of 1930–32*, part 2. Oriental Institute Publications 29 (Chicago, 1937), d 975 in fig. 251 on p. 214; p. 224.

⁹ T. Beran, *Die hethitische Glyptik von Boğazköy*, I. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 76 (Berlin, 1967), no. 94 on pp. 26, 61, and pl. 9.

¹⁰ L. Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perse et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1910), no. 649; L. Messerschmidt, *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettitarum* (hereafter: CIH) *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen (Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen) Gesellschaft* (hereafter: MVAG) 5, 4–5 (Berlin, 1900), pl. XLIV 4.

¹¹ H.G. Güterbock, "Hittite Hieroglyphic Seal Impressions from Korucutepe," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32 (Chicago, 1973), 135–47, esp. pp. 146 f. and pl. 5, no. 21.

¹² G. Perrot. Ch. Chipiez, *Judée, Sardaigne, Syrie, Cappadoce*, Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, 4 (Paris, 1887), 773 and drawing on p. 804; CIH XLIII 6; HS, p. 75, fig. 79; Bossert, *Altanatolien*, nos. 679–80; Iraq 6, pl. VIII; PKG 14, pl. 376g and p. 450.

¹³ Gordon, *Iraq* 6, 24, quotes Meriggi for the identification with M 346; see now in *Gloss.* M 346c referring to our seal. Although the shape differs from the normal, the occurrence of M 347 with a similar curved line on the seal A 1049 in the Louvre (PKG 14, pl. 376d) is in favor of the identification. Note that Laroche identifies M 346 and 347 under L 327. Even if the top part is SEAL, the added curve must somehow change the logographic value, and, by its position, this logogram must be part of the name.

HITTITE SEALS

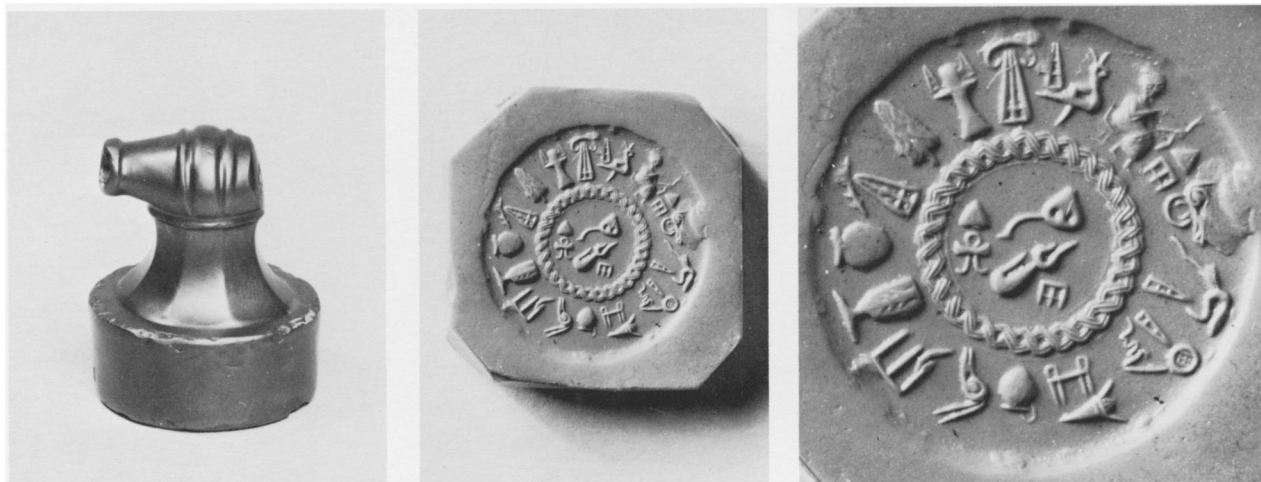


FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Haematite seal (42.352) and impression (actual size and enlarged), Old Hittite period

The seal surface is again flat and divided into an inner field and an outer zone; this time the two zones are separated by a tress pattern. The center contains a name, the title SCRIBE (L 326) and the symbols for GOOD and LIFE (L 370, L 369). The name cannot be read. While the second sign is *na* (L 35, M 36 in its most plastic shape), the first is hard to identify.¹³

The outer ring is filled with a great number of elements, including only one anthropomorphic figure. The others are either known hieroglyphs or likely to be symbols or ideograms even though they are not known from the fully developed system. Since those signs that are side-oriented all face in the same direction as the seated figure it is safe to apply the principle known from inscriptions according to which signs “look” toward the beginning of the line. Thus the sequence is counter-clockwise in the impression.

This seal should be viewed in connection with two or three similar ones kept, respectively, in the British Museum, the Albertinum in Dresden, and the Louvre.¹⁴ Their outer zones show multiple libation scenes, among them one to a seated god holding a bird. Behind the god there are five signs or symbols (or combinations of such) on all three seals, including (1) a stag’s head over two lines (the head missing on the Louvre piece!); (2) an unidentified sign above a triangle; (3) the ligature later known as “Hattusili” (in Dresden

(2) and (3) are interchanged, in the Louvre garbled); (4) two upright spears, points down; and (5) a tree in a pot or stand. This recalls the frieze on the neck of the silver stag rhyton in the Schimmel collection, which shows the two spears behind the seated god with bird, and a dead stag and a tree following(!) the spears.¹⁵

On the Walters seal the only pictorial element is the seated figure, presumably a god here too. The long row of symbols or signs has completely replaced the libation scenes. Of the symbols found in London and Dresden we have here only the stag’s head, but with a double curve beneath rather than the two lines (cf. L 102, last form), and in front, instead of in back, of the god. Whether the fourth sign after the god is a tree is not clear. Other identifiable signs are (counting signs or columns as first, second etc. after the god): (2) GREAT KING; (5) ANTLER (L 103 in horizontal position as in the Schimmel rhyton) over KING;¹⁶ (9) the donkey head (L 100); (11) *la* (L 175) over L 300(?); (12) a group recurring in a stone inscription from Boğazköy;¹⁷ (13) *kā* (L 56) over TOWN (L 225); (14) the stag head already mentioned; and (15) GOOD (L 370) over SCRIBE (L 326), a combination frequent on seals (cf. G 105). Its presence here, directly in front of the god and expressing something like “blessing for the scribe,” can be understood since the seal owner has the same title in the center field. Pic-



FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Silver alloy seal (54.264) and impression (actual size and enlarged), Hittite, 1400–1200 B.C.

tures not immediately identifiable with hieroglyphs are: a Hittite adze or *Ärmchenbeil* in position 3, surmounted by two tiny TOWN signs, and two different pots. Although there are a number of vases among hieroglyphs (L 333–357) ours rather recall the objects in the bottom row of the Tyskiewicz seal mentioned above. As a result we have to admit that, while the outer zone must be conveying some meaning or message, we are far from comprehending it, and it cannot be “read” in the sense of later hieroglyphic inscriptions.

3) Stamp seal, 54.264, fig. 3, Gordon no. 71, tripod type, made of metal (Gordon: “brass?”). The feet of the tripod show the toes by parallel incisions. Soldered to the top is a loop. The circular base is flat and bears an inscription in incised Hittite hieroglyphs.

The type is fairly frequent. All examples belong to the Empire period. Some show the figure of a man along with the inscription, others have only an inscription. The material of two tripods in the Ashmolean Museum is described as “base silver,” that of an example in Brussels as “argent bronzé.”¹⁸ Two tripod seals from sites in the Salt Lake plain are close in type: one, from Çorça near Cihanbeyli¹⁹ was described as having a silver base and an iron tripod; the other, from Çardak near Aksaray,²⁰ was thought to be bronze having a whitish-yellow sheen. It would seem that most of these seals are made of a yellowish silver

alloy, including the “brass” one in the Walters.

In the inscription, the center row must be the name. The first sign is not known in this form. It could be a very sketchy bird facing right, head down, one wing lifted to rear. But this is by no means certain, nor would it be safe to read it *ar*.²¹ The sign made of three vertical lines here in the middle of the center row must be part of the name, hence most probably a syllabic sign: *tar* or *tra*? (L 388 or 389?). The last sign, *li* (L 278), is clear. In the secondary groups, the triangle *good* stands over the pomegranate (L 155) on the right; on the left, the lower sign is unidentified. I must confess that I can read neither the name nor the title of the seal owner. The cursive script also connects this seal with the others of this type.

¹⁴ British Museum 17804; Dresden zv 1769; Louvre A 1037. All three together illustrated and discussed by L. Messerschmidt, *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 3 (Berlin, 1900), 441–7; together with the Walters seal, *CIH XLIII* 2–6; only the British Museum and Walters seals in *HS*, p. 75, figs. 78–79. Messerschmidt rejected the Louvre piece as fake, made after the Dresden one (while both were still in the hands of local people in Kayseri) with good reasons. I agree, even though Orthmann-Boehmer included it in *PKG* 14, pl. 376e and p. 450.

¹⁵ O.W. Muscarella, in *Ancient Art: The Norbert Schimmel Collection*, ed. O.W. Muscarella (Mainz, 1974), no. 123. Maybe this is the correct way of dividing the frieze; note the position of the handle!

4) The "Tarkondemos" seal, 57.1512, fig. 4, Gordon no. 69. This is only part of a stamp seal, the calotte-shaped silver seal surface. As described by Miss Hill, its back only shows traces of repair, not of having been soldered to another metal part. Yet it must have been somehow connected with a handle. It is particularly regrettable that the Çorça seal (mentioned above) is lost, since a silver surface on an iron(?) tripod might have given an idea of how the Tarkondemos calotte was mounted! The shape of the handle of the latter can only be conjectured, but a tripod seems the most likely because there is at least one example of a tripod handle of a hemispheroid seal (HS 191) and because the Walters piece seems to be ill-suited for the only other known metal type, the seal ring. The curvature of the surface, which was taken by earlier observers as an indication that the piece could not have been used as a seal, is no longer an obstacle; many strongly concave impressions are known, especially of royal seals,²² and experience has shown that impressions of the Walters seal can be easily made.

The figure of a man in the center of the seal is very well executed in the purest New Kingdom style. The cuneiform signs are also clearly those of the same period. That the maker of the seal misrepresented some only betrays his ignorance and does not mean that the seal was made after the downfall of the empire. The whole type, in the same style, is well represented among the

seal impressions from Ugarit, which belong to the thirteenth century.²³ This shows that rulers and individuals in the outlying territories used seals made in the same Hittite style, most probably by employing craftsmen trained in the same tradition.

As mentioned before, this seal, first published in 1863, was the first known digraphic document and enabled A.H. Sayce to determine the meaning of the two hieroglyphs for KING (L 17) and COUNTRY (L 228). But, ironically, the seal that gave the first decisive clue for decipherment poses so many problems that its usefulness hardly goes beyond those two word signs. These problems concern not only the hieroglyphic but also the cuneiform inscription.

The names of both the king and the country are faultily written in cuneiform in the outer ring, and the unfamiliarity of nineteenth-century Assyriologists with the Hittite type of cuneiform writing added to the difficulties. After the discovery and decipherment of the Hittite texts of Boğazköy some of these difficulties were overcome. Thus, the use of KUR "country" and URU "city" together, which seemed impossible then, is quite common in Boğazköy. And the existence of a country called Mira or Mera led to the correct emendation of the geographic name. W.F. Albright was the first to propose the reading **me-ra*. This was improved to **me-ra-a*, the form attested in the texts, by J. Friedrich,²⁴ (see fig. 5).

The name of the ruler, however, is much more

¹⁶ If one is daring one may "read" this: *Inara* (for LAMA) + *ḫaššu* ("king") and equate it with the name *Inarahšu* known from Kültepe: E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites* (Paris, 1966), no. 455. But I doubt that this is permissible!

¹⁷ H.G. Güterbock, in K. Bittel et al., *Boğazköy IV: Funde aus den Grabungen 1967 und 1968*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 14 (Berlin, 1969), 49–52 with fig. 13, see esp. p. 52 n. 3.

¹⁸ HS, p. 37, nos. 188, 189; L. Speleers, *Catalogue des intailles et des empreintes orientales du Musée Royal du Cinquantenaire* (Brussels, 1917), p. 193, no. 411.

¹⁹ H.G. Güterbock, "Un cachet hittite de Çorça," *Revue hittite et asiatique* V/35 (1939), 91 f., pl. 19, 5. I never saw the original, which was later lost.

²⁰ H.G. Güterbock, "Neue hethitische Hieroglypheninschriften und Siegel," *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi* 5 (Istanbul, 1949), 61–65 (in Turkish, 53–60), esp. p. 62 f. no. 3 and fig. 15, 3. "Eine Analyse

liegt nicht vor; an den blanken Stellen hat das Metall einen weisslichgelben Glanz." Ankara Museum, no. 8345.

²¹ Cf. L 130–134 and M 126 with addendum, *Gloss.*², p. 239.

²² Cf. such photographs as K. Bittel and H. Güterbock, *Boğazköy, Neue Untersuchungen in der hethitischen Hauptstadt*, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 1 (Berlin, 1935), pl. 24, 1 a; *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, 1, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, suppl. 5 (Berlin, 1940), pl. II, 38A; Cl.F.A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* III, Mission de Ras Shamra, 8, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, 64 (Paris, 1956), pl. IV.

²³ Cf. *ibid.*, figs. 27–29, 38–44, etc.

²⁴ W.F. Albright, "Tarquimuwa King of Mera," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 4 (1927), 137 f.; J. Friedrich, "Die kleinasiatischen Personennamen mit dem Element *muwa*," *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 (1930), 359–78, esp. 367, assuming conflation of two signs.



FIGURE 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Silver seal (57.1512): face, impression, back, Hittite, 1400–1200 B.C.

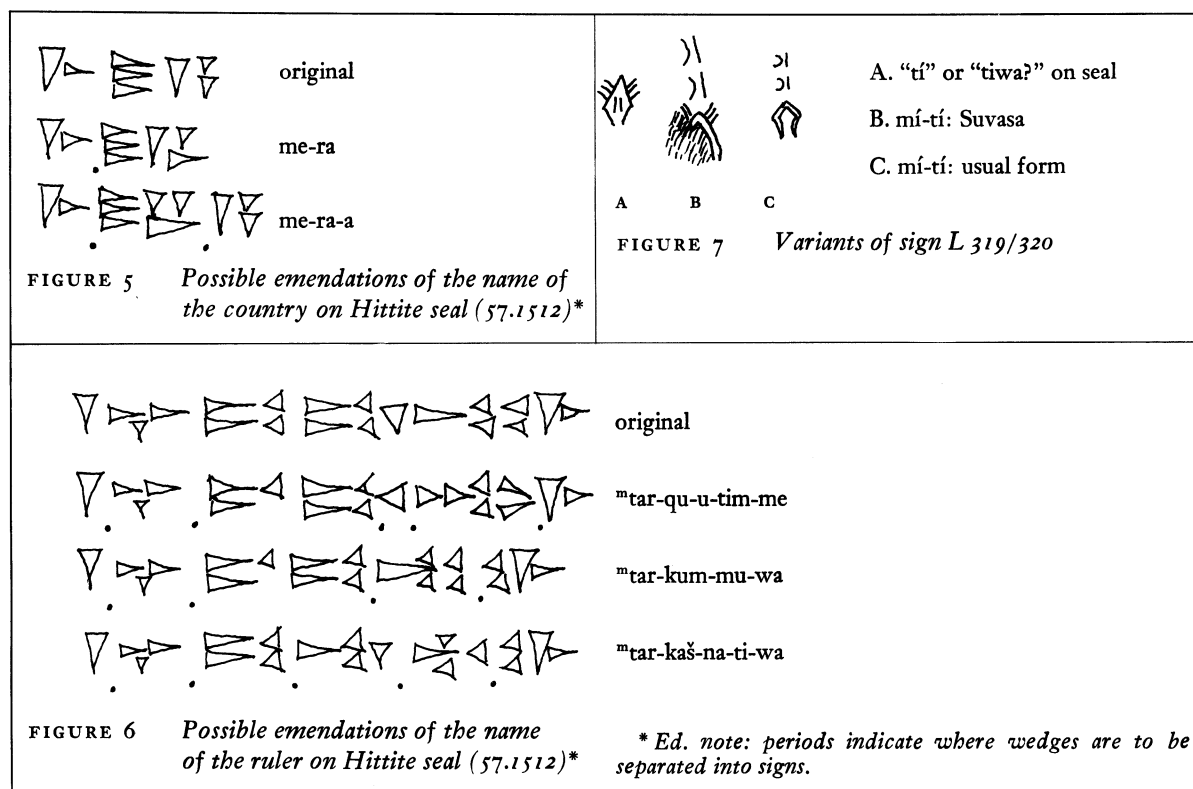
difficult to interpret (see fig. 6). The only sign that is clear after the vertical wedge introducing the personal name, is the first, *tar*. The next group of eight wedges (two horizontals, two winkelhakens, and again two horizontals and two winkelhakens) was usually taken as the sign best known as *qu* (*kum* in older periods).²⁵ In fact, however, a normal *qu*, in Boğazköy as elsewhere, should have only one winkelhaken (the sign that looks like a triangle on edge) in the middle. While the form with two occurs rarely in Babylonia, it is not used at all in Hittite cuneiform. Thus the reading *qu* (*kum*) must be considered an emendation. Without any change, the eight wedges in question are BI.BI.²⁶ A.H. Sayce emended the group into *rik*, although that sign ends in one winkelhaken and two verticals, looking like BI+İŠ, but later he accepted the reading *qu*.²⁷

The next group of wedges (fig. 6) was divided into possible signs in different ways: *-u-tim-me* was the most commonly accepted interpretation. It was this reading, *Tar-^{*}qu-u-^{*}tim-me*, which led to comparison with Greek Tarkondēmos, the name of a ruler of Cilicia mentioned by Plutarch. But here again, shapes of *tim* resembling the wedges on the seal are rare in Babylonia while the Hittite form is quite different.

Other readings rendered the existing elements more accurately: *-u-aš-še-me* of P. Jensen and *-u-mu-me* of A. Amiaud and H.V. Hilprecht.²⁸

The proposal made in 1927 by W.F. Albright (see above) to emend this section into **mu-wa* was a welcome step because it yielded a name of a known type. It was hailed as “richtige Lesung” by Friedrich (see above), who pointed out that in Hittite the only reading of the “*qu*” sign is *kum* and took the sequence *kum-mu-* as confirmation for Albright’s reading. There is a slight difference in direction between the last pairs of winkelhakens in this group, an observation that favors combining the last pair with the following vertical and horizontal wedges into *wa*, although this leaves the **mu* with one pair too little. But this could be the kind of conflation assumed also for **ra-a* as mentioned above.²⁹

Even though the new reading *tar-^{*}kum-^{*}mu-^{*}wa* was welcomed by many, it was not accepted by all scholars. I.J. Gelb went from *tar-qu-u-tim-me* to *tar-kum-mu-wa* and back to the former.³⁰ P. Meriggi, too, went from *mu-wa* back to *timme*,³¹ and in 1950 S. Alp also decided for *timme*.³² Obviously at that stage the choice of reading for the cuneiform version was influenced by considerations of the possibilities for interpreting the hieroglyphs. This now brings us to



a discussion of the hieroglyphs on the seal.

It will be seen that the same inscription occurs twice in the center field: once in front of the man and once behind him. In both cases the first sign, an animal head, looks in the same direction as the man, as usual; but the signs closer to the periphery are written in directions opposite to each other. According to the general principles

of the arrangement of signs on stamp seals, this is the normal way of writing the "secondary group," in this case the name marked by COUNTRY, from the center outward. In contrast, the "main group" containing the personal name normally "looks" to the right, i.e., is written in the right-to-left order ("right" and "left" always understood as appearing in the impression).

²⁵ First by A.D. Mordtmann, in H. Grote, ed., *Münzstudien* 3 (Leipzig, 1863), 121 ff. For later literature, see Friedrich, *op. cit.* p. 366 nn. 1 and 3.

²⁶ Thus read by P. Jensen, *Hittiter und Armenier* (Strassburg, 1898), 22, as an alternative to *qu*.

²⁷ A.H. Sayce, "The Bilingual Hittite and Cuneiform Inscription of Tarkondemos," *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 7 (1882), 294-308 (paper read in 1880): *tar-rik*. *Idem*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1922, 538, read *Tarku*.

²⁸ P. Jensen, "Zur Entzifferung der 'hittitischen' Hieroglypheninschriften," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 35 (Berlin, 1924), 245-96, esp. p. 286; for Amiaud and Hilprecht see Friedrich, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 24), p. 366, n. 3.

²⁹ Note that in Albright's drawing (*supra* n. 24), the

first two winkelhakens of *mu* should be moved further to the right.

³⁰ I.J. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs* (hereafter: *HH*), vol. 1 = *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, no. 2 (Chicago, 1931), p. 34; vol. 11 = *ibid.*, no. 14 (Chicago, 1935), p. 20; vol. III = *ibid.*, no. 21 (Chicago, 1942), p. 27.

³¹ P. Meriggi, *Die längsten Bauinschriften in "hethitischen" Hieroglyphen, nebst Glossar zu sämtlichen Texten*. *MVAG* 39, 1 (Leipzig, 1934) (hereafter: *Gloss.*) pp. 7 f. n. 2; p. 157.

³² S. Alp, *Zur Lesung von manchen Personennamen auf hieroglyphen-hethitischen Siegeln und Inschriften*. Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları No. 65, Hititoloji Enstitüsü no. 1 (Ankara, 1950), pp. 9-11.

The reading of the geographic name, the signs preceding COUNTRY, was soon found, since the reading of the sign *mi* (L 391) and the function of the additional line or "tang" as adding an *r* (or *ra*) to a sign (L 383, 2) belonged to the readings which had been established longest. The long oblique sign was known somehow to express a vowel, even though its exact value is still debated (L 450). This, then, is the name of Mira, which may be transliterated as *mi+r-ā*, or *mi+ra-*, or *mi+ra-ā*.

The name of the ruler is written with the two signs seen above KING in front of the man. In the repetition behind him only the first sign is above KING while the second is above the *mi+ra*. This is a typical example of the free arrangement of signs in the system. The early decipherers were naturally confused by it, but now that we can read the name of the country there remains no doubt that the personal name consists of only the two signs. The problem is how to "read" or interpret them, and this problem is, of course, closely connected with that of reading or emending the name in cuneiform.

Whichever reading is accepted for the latter, it has more than two syllables. Hence at least one if not both of the hieroglyphs must be logograms. Accepting *tarku(m)* as the first element of the name in cuneiform, most scholars took the animal head as the logogram for this word. This particular animal head is rather rare;³³ it can best be described as that of a he-goat with only one horn shown and a stylized goat's beard below the jaw. Gelb (*HH* 1, 34) considered Greek *tragos* and Akkadian *turāḫū* as cognates of the assumed underlying word.³⁴ Alp (see above), connecting *tarku* with *Tarḫu(nt)*, the name of the storm god, argued that the animal must be the bull, known as the sacred animal of that god. But the picture does not look like a bull's head, nor does it resemble the known hieroglyph depicting one (L 105); thus, the idea that L 101 might be the same as L 105 should be given up.

If the buck's head is *tarku*, then should not the other sign be *murwa*? This was considered by Meriggi in 1932.³⁵ In contrast, Gelb at first thought that the second sign was a ligature of L 319 and L 391, *tí+mi*,³⁶ corresponding to the reading of the cuneiform as *tarqutimme*. Meriggi

then followed Gelb by also accepting *tarqutimme* and rendering the hieroglyph *di-m[i]*. The bracket apparently was meant to express his correct observation that the small strokes emanating from the sides of the sign on the seal are 3+3, not 2+2 as they should be if they were *mi*. Gelb (*HH* III) observed the same and therefore rejected the idea of a ligature with *mi*. By adducing the inscription of Suvasa (fig. 7 B) he showed that the sign L 320 (fig. 7 A) with the 3+3 strokes is equivalent to the sign without them (fig. 7 C); in other words, that the sign on the seal is simply L 319. He read it *zi* (for reasons we cannot discuss here) and offered a form *Tarḫu-zi* as corresponding to *Tarqutimme*.³⁷

At this point the present writer entered into the discussion.³⁸ I took the emendation of the BI.BI group to *kum* for granted and argued that, since the old reading *qu* was out and *kum* could only be followed by a syllable beginning with *m*, the second part of the name could only be *murwa*. I then followed Gelb and Meriggi in taking L 320 as a form of L 319, because the sign with the additional 3+3 lines occurs in Suvasa in the word usually written L 387-319 (fig. 7, B and C). Now this word, written L 387-319 (fig. 7 C), had just

³³ L 101: "Tête de chèvre ou d'âne." We shall discuss the second possibility below. The sign on the other two seals cited there is lacking the "beard," and its function is not clear.

³⁴ The Samsat inscription mentioned by him for "*tarku(gu)*" is hardly usable; if there really is a goat's head it rather seems to be L 104 (part of *Šaušga*?).

³⁵ P. Meriggi, "Sur le déchiffrement et la langue des hiéroglyphes 'hittites,'" *Revue hittite et asianique* 2 (Paris, 1932), 3-57, esp. 32 and *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 35 (1932), 564.

³⁶ As read now. In *HH* I, he wrote *tu+me*. (In *HH* II he changed this to *Tarki(ki)+me* corresponding to *Tarqumwa*).

³⁷ S. Alp, *op. cit.* (*supra* n. 32) p. 11, thought of a ligature of L 488 with 2×4(!) strokes (twice *me*), to be read *ti-me*. But neither does our sign look like L 488, nor is there any trace of additional strokes.

³⁸ H.G. Güterbock, "Die Elemente *murwa* und *ziti* in den hethitischen Hieroglyphen," "Symbolae Hrozny," 3 = *Archiv Orientalní* 18, 1-2 (Prague, 1950), 208-38, esp. 212-14; briefly anticipated in "Die Bedeutung der Bilinguis vom Karatepe für die Entzifferung der hethitischen Hieroglyphen," *Eranos, Acta Philologica Suecana* 47 (Uppsala, 1949), 93-115, esp. 108.

then been shown by the Karatepe bilingual to mean “servant,” Phoenician *ʿbd*. While this, up to this point, was correct, my next step was fatal! Since I thought that the second sign on the seal must be read *mu-wa* I had to take it as a word sign. The fact that here it stood alone while in the word for “servant” it was preceded by L 387, I explained by taking L 387, which looks like the word divider, L 386, written twice, as a “double word divider” introducing the logogram L 319. In this I followed the example of Meriggi.³⁹ Thus I arrived at positing a word *mu-wa* “servant” which seemed to make good sense as second element in theophorous names but did not fit other occurrences of the word or element *mu-wa*, so that I had to posit two homonyms. This was rightly rejected by others,⁴⁰ and I myself have, of course, given it up. What, then, is a better solution?

A variant in Karatepe, word 293, showed that L 387 could be used for the syllable *mi*, normally

written with L 391, the four lines. This led scholars to a syllabic reading of the word for “servant” as *mi-ti*.⁴¹ For the name of the seal owner this means that the second sign is *ti*, which rules out *mu-wa* for the cuneiform version. In this I now agree with the others. But from here on I again prefer a different solution.

While **mu-wa* is out, **tim-me* is not much better. For one, the Boğazköy form of *tim* looks too different from what is on the seal, and secondly the slight difference among the last four winkelhakens and the frequency of names ending in *-wa* strongly argue for reading *-wa*, not *-me*. Since the hieroglyphic *ti* calls for something similar in the cuneiform, I propose to rearrange the wedges preceding *wa* so as to form a *ti*, an emendation requiring not more reshuffling than *mu* and less than *tim* (fig. 6, last line). The resulting **ti-wa* yields an acceptable sequence of sounds (and possibly a meaning, as will be discussed presently).

I still maintain that *qu* is out and that *kum* is possible only if followed by an *m*. Since now *mu-wa* is out, *kum* must also be abandoned. It should be remembered that the alleged *kum* really looks like BI.BI, and that the sign *bi* has another reading *kaš* which does occur in Boğazköy, especially in proper names. Concerning the hieroglyphic name, Meriggi long ago saw that the only occurrence of L 101 is in one of the lead strips from Assur, where it is followed by the full phonetic writing *tar-ka-s-na-s*.⁴² In the cuneiform version one can easily read *tar-kaš* . . . without changing anything. Following a suggestion of M. van Loon, I propose to start from these two syllables and to emend the next group of wedges to **na*. This requires relatively little change: omission of the upper horizontal of the second BI and taking the small wedge, hitherto either read *u*, or used in some reshuffling, for an undersized vertical. This, then, would yield cuneiform **tar-kaš-*na-*ti-wa*, hieroglyphic *tarkasna-ti*.

In this form the lack of the last syllable in the hieroglyphic spelling is odd. I therefore propose the hypothesis that L 320 is logogram for *tiwa*. This word looks like the bare stem form of the Luwian word for “sun,” *tiwat-*, with the known loss of the dental in word-final position. One could even imagine that the six small strokes

³⁹ *Gloss*.¹, p. 160 left top, where ** is his convention for a double word divider and DI in capital letters means L 319 (M 266, 1) used as logogram. In *Gloss*.² under M.266 he says “ob auch Ideogramm, ist fraglich.”

⁴⁰ Apart from Gelb, Meriggi, and Alp already quoted, see J. Puhvel, “‘Servant’ in Hieroglyphic Hittite,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 77 (New Haven, 1957), 137–39.

⁴¹ Or the like; see under L 387, 2 (where *ta₆* is a mistake for *ti*) and Meriggi, *Gloss*.² p. 83 s.v. *miti(a)s*. Laroche correctly remarks that it is difficult to understand why *mi* occurs almost exclusively in this word; one may also say: why this word is exclusively written with *mi*, never *mi*. Having argued that in the empire script, the old form of L 386 seemed to mean “man (vir),” (K. Bittel et al., *Boğazköy V: Funde aus den Grabungen 1970 und 1971*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 18 [Berlin, 1975], p. 74 sub. d), I wonder whether L 387 might not originally be a logogram, “man (of a) man” in a sense comparable to our saying “my man” when speaking of a subordinate. So, L 387–319 would be *MITI-ti*, and the phonetic use of L 387 in Karatepe word 293 would be derived from there. This does not affect the main argument and is offered here only on the side as a hypothesis.

⁴² Thus the present reading of Assur f, iv, 3. Meriggi, *Revue hittite et asiatique* (1932), 32 read this (*k*)*wi-r-ga-s-na-s*, but in n. 38 already said “Le mot rappelle en quelque sorte le nom *Targasnallis*.” See now *Gloss*.² s.v. *tarkasna* and P. Meriggi, *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico*, II/1 (Incunabula Graeca 14, Rome, 1967), p. 140, fr[ase] 19–20.

emanating from its upper edges are rays.⁴³

Turning from the proposed meaning of the second element to that of the first, it will be noticed that we called the animal of L 101 a goat (or buck), that we follow Meriggi in taking the animal in the Assur letter f, col. iv, as the same, but that *tarkasna-* is supposed to be the word for "donkey"!⁴⁴ The point is that the same letter has in col. iii a clear sign L 100, the donkey head, with phonetic complement *-na* which is not sufficient proof for reading the whole word **tarkasna-*, whereas in col. iv the full spelling *tar-ka-s-na-s* accompanies an entirely different picture, an animal's head with a curved horn, not two long ears, and the little protrusion under the chin as on the seal. My explanation is that the two sections of the letter refer to different ani-

mals. The context as interpreted by Meriggi⁴⁵ does not require that the animals be the same; Meriggi even writes "asini" in the first, "muli" in the second place. Thus I contend that *targasna-* is a (he-)goat, not a donkey, and that the word for "donkey" is a different word ending in . . . *-na*. With the new meaning, *targasna-* would also be a nicer base for such proper names as Targašnalli, ruler of Haballa, and our **Targašna-Tiwa*, king of Mira.⁴⁶

This is my present attempt at interpreting the famous seal inscription. I dare not call it "final"! Whatever better reading the future may bring, let us enjoy the beauty of the seal, one of the treasures of the Gallery, in gratitude to the scholar who first recognized it!

⁴³ Could the sign depict a "sun disc" of the kind known so far only from the Early Bronze Age tombs of Hüyük, e.g. the diamond-shaped example, E. Akurgal and M. Hirmer, *The Art of the Hittites* (New York, 1962), pl. 7, top, with rays like pl. 11 top?

⁴⁴ L 100, 1; Meriggi, *Gloss.*² p. 123.

⁴⁵ Meriggi, *Manuale* (*supra*, n. 42) fr. 19-20; facsimile on pl. xvii, no. 39.

⁴⁶ This interpretation was briefly proposed in *Boğazköy V* (*supra* n. 41), pp. 52 f. The seal inscription discussed there, *Targasna-wa(?)*, and the rock inscription Karabel C cannot be discussed here.

Randbemerkungen zu einigen hethitischen Gesetzen

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Randbemerkungen zu einigen hethitischen Gesetzen

Von Hans G. Güterbock, Chicago

Die folgenden kleinen Beiträge seien dem Kollegen Josef Klíma als Zeichen der Freundschaft gewidmet.

1. *annanuhḫa-*

Dieses Wort ist an drei Stellen der Hethitischen Gesetze als Adjektiv belegt. § 65 behandelt den Diebstahl eines *annanuhḫa-* Hirsches (neben demjenigen eines Ziegenbocks und eines Bergschafs, die durch das noch unklare Adjektiv *enant-* charakterisiert sind). Die Buße ist hoch: nach dem ältesten Manuskript A¹⁾ ist sie „ebenso“ wie die für einen Pflugochsen, die in § 63 von „früher“ fünfzehn auf „jetzt“ zehn Rinder verschiedenen Alters herabgesetzt ist. Analog müßten also hier zehn Stück Rotwild gemeint sein.²⁾

In § 119 (Friedrich II 16) wird das Adjektiv von einem „Teich-Vogel“, *luliyasḫ* MUŠEN, und von einem *kakkapa-* genannten Tier gebraucht, für das man, einer Anregung Landsbergers folgend, die Bedeutung „Rebhuhn“ annimmt³⁾, oder, auf anatolische Verhältnisse besser passend, „Steinhuhn“, Türkisch *keklik*. Auch hier ist die Strafe hoch: sie betrug „früher“ eine Mine Silber⁴⁾, „jetzt“ nur noch zwölf Schekel.

An der dritten Stelle, § 149 (II 38), haben frühere Interpreten geglaubt, das Substantiv als „Rind“ ergänzen zu sollen. A. Goetze schrieb vielmehr „a trained man“, und F. Imparati schloß sich ihm und Souček an⁵⁾. Daß es sich hier nicht

¹⁾ KBo VI 2 + KBo XIX 1 iii 45, Otten-Souček, AfO 21 (1966) 5.

²⁾ So wie das „ebenso“ beim Diebstahl eines Zugpferdes in § 64 nur zehn Pferde verschiedenen Alters meinen kann, so müssen auch hier zehn Tier der jeweils gleichen Art gemeint sein. Die Möglichkeit eines Diebstahls setzt ja voraus, daß die Tiere gezähmt gehalten werden konnten.

³⁾ Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch (HW) S. 342; Die Hethitischen Gesetze (HG) S. 106.

⁴⁾ Exemplar q, JCS 16 (1962) 18: [l m]A.NA K[ū.BABBAR] *piškir*.

⁵⁾ A. Goetze, ANET S. 195; F. Imparati, Le Leggi Ittite (LI) S. 283ff.; V. Souček, OLZ 1961, 467. Wie die beiden Textzeugen, a₁ = KBo VI 10 iii 28 und q ii 19, JCS 16, 19, im einzelnen zu ergänzen sind, ist nicht ganz klar. Für a₁ schlug Souček nach Photographie U[K]ū vor. Die Aufnahmen in Hrozný, Code Hittite, Taf. XVIII, und Neufeld, The Hittite Laws, Taf. XXII, zeigen, daß seit der Kopie in KBo VI ein Teil der Oberfläche verloren ging. Kollation des Originals in Istanbul 1978 ergab, daß die in Hroznýs Foto erscheinenden Senkrechten in der Bruchfläche nicht mit Sicherheit Reste von Keilen sind. Das alte Manuskript 1 hat zwischen ergänztem *ták-ku* und erhaltenem *an* nur für ein einziges Zeichen Platz, und UN (UKÜ) für Mensch ist in dieser Zeit nicht zu erwarten. Am einfachsten wäre es in q [*ták-ku* LÜ]-*an* und dann auch in a₁ [*ták*]-*ku* L[ū]-*an* zu ergänzen.

um ein Tier sondern in der Tat um einen Menschen handeln muß, zeigt die aus zwei Personen bestehende Ersatzleistung. Außerdem stehen *dampupin* in § 147 und *annanuhhan* § 149 offenbar im Gegensatz zueinander. Wenn soweit das Adjektiv in § 149 sich auf einen Menschen bezieht, entfällt das Argument, es sei nur von Tieren gesagt, während das Verbum *annanu-* nur von Menschen belegt ist⁶⁾. Die Wortbildung, Adjektiv auf *-hha-* neben Substantiven auf *-ahha-*, wird man hinnehmen müssen⁷⁾.

Was mit einem „ausgebildeten“ oder „abgerichteten“ Hirsch gemeint ist, wurde mir durch die Beobachtung von M. Mellink klar, daß der Hirsch auf dem rechten der beiden Jagdreliefs aus Hüyük einen Nasenring trägt, von dem ein Seil zum Jäger hin führt, daß er also ein „decoy“, ein zum Anlocken des Wildes benutztes Tier ist⁸⁾. Daß ein so abgerichteter Hirsch wertvoll war, versteht sich.

Die beiden Vögel des § 119 sind dann Lockvögel. Gerade bei der Wildenten- und Hühnerjagd werden solche ja gern gebraucht. Der wertvolle Teichvogel braucht dann nicht, wie Friedrich annahm, ein Ziervogel, vielleicht ein Schwan, zu sein, sondern ist wahrscheinlich eine als Lockvogel abgerichtete Ente.

2. *larputta*

Diese Verbform ist bisher nur in § 162 (II 47) belegt. Friedrich⁹⁾ ersetzte dieses Hapax durch ein anderes, **arpu-*, indem er statt *ta la-ar-pu-ut-ta* vielmehr *ta-at(!) ar-pu-ut-ta* zu lesen vorschlug. Obwohl dieses Verb **arpu-* sich an die Wörter *arpuwant-* und *arpuwatar*¹⁰⁾ anschließen läßt, ergibt es in dem Gesetzesparagraphen keinen befriedigenden Sinn.

Dem verstorbenen Kollegen K. K. Riemschneider verdanke ich den Hinweis auf das kleine Fragment 684/c, das ich kürzlich in Ankara kopieren konnte (Abb. 1). Es stimmt mit dem Exemplar j = KBo VI 26 i 20, dem bisher einzigen Textzeugen für diese Zeichenfolge, darin völlig überein, daß es deutliches *la* und vor diesem einen klaren Wortabstand aufweist. Obwohl an sich ein Schreiber einen Fehler aus seiner Vorlage übernommen haben kann, ist es nicht zu empfehlen, die beiden einzigen Textzeugen zu emendieren.

Zur Bedeutung des Verbums, das offenbar in der 3. Person Sing. Präs. Medium vorliegt, kann ich nichts Entscheidendes beitragen¹¹⁾. Auch ich denke daran, daß

⁶⁾ Friedrich, HG S. 101, Anm. 1; dazu schon Souček, a.a.O.

⁷⁾ Trotz A. Kammenhuber, HW² S. 78. Zur dort genannten Literatur noch E. H. Sturtevant, Language 14 (1938) 242; J. Puhvel, JAOS 97 (1977) 569f.

⁸⁾ M. Mellink, Anadolu (Anatolia) 14 (1970 [1972]) 18–20; Anordnung der Reliefs ebd. Fig. 2. Gute Abbildungen des ursprünglichen Zustandes bei A. Moortgat, Bergvölker, Taf. XXXV–XXXVI; H. Th. Bossert, Altanatolien, Nr. 521f.; des jetzigen Zustandes bei E. Akurgal, Die Kunst der Hethiter, Abb. 94 und 96; K. Bittel, Die Hethiter (Universum der Kunst), Abb. 224f.

⁹⁾ HG S. 109 und schon HW S. 32 und 127.

¹⁰⁾ HW S. 31, 1. Ergänzungsheft S. 2, 2. Erg. S. 8.

¹¹⁾ Vgl. die HG S. 108f. angeführten Deutungsversuche. [Eine gute Interpretation im hier angedeuteten Sinn jetzt bei C. Melchert, JCS 31 (1979) 59–62. Korr. Nachtr.]

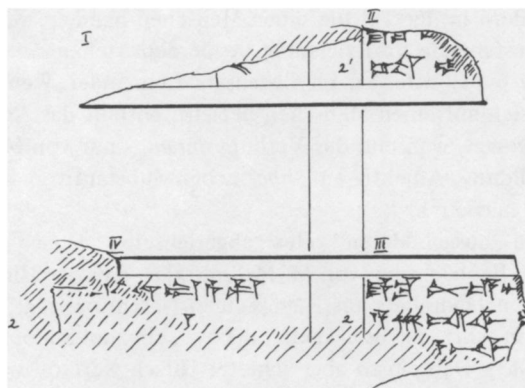


Abb. 1. Bruchstück 684/c aus Boğazköy. Museum Ankara.

es sich um unbefugtes Ableiten des Wassers aus einem Bewässerungsgraben handelt, wobei (trotz der sprachlichen Schwierigkeiten) wohl zwischen oberhalb und unterhalb des betroffenen Grundstücks unterschieden wird. Im zweiten Falle „gehört er (der Graben) ihm“; im ersten erwartet man irgendeine Sanktion: „er/es wird bestraft(?)“ oder, vielleicht eher, „er (der Graben) wird zugeschüttet(?)“. Wie dem auch sei, muß man ein Verb *larpu-*, Med., zunächst noch unbekannter Bedeutung, ansetzen.

Das Fragment 684/c enthält noch ein wenig mehr. § 162 fällt ans Ende der zweiten Kolumne. Unmittelbar anschließend liest man in Kol. iii 1–3: *ták-ku PA₅-a[n . . .] A.ŠA-iš-ši x[. . .] [ka(?)]-a-aš-wa[. . .]*. Das ergänzt die Anfänge der ersten Zeilen von § 162/I (II 47 bis) und zeigt, daß auch hier von einem Graben die Rede ist. *kuelaš A.ŠA-iš-ši* „auf wessen Feld er . . .“ gibt wenigstens einen Hinweis darauf, um was es sich handelt.

684/c iv 1 entspricht KBo VI 26 ii 52 in § 182 (II 67); leider ist auch hier die Fortsetzung verloren.

An Addition to the Prayer of Muršili to the Sungoddess and Its Implications

Author(s): Hans G. Güterbock

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AN ADDITION TO THE PRAYER OF MURŠILI TO THE SUNGODDESS AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

By HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

It is now forty years since Oliver Gurney published his dissertation entitled “Hittite Prayers of Mursili II”¹. His careful analysis of the texts as well as his translation have stood the test of time admirably. While writing, Gurney learned about the prayers to the Sungod which had been found in the 1930s, but their publication came too late for inclusion in his work.² Since then much has been written about these recent finds and their relation to the texts of Muršili.³ On this happy occasion I want to offer to my friend a hitherto unpublished fragment which forms part of the prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna (KUB 24.3), completing the beginning of column ii. It was H. Otten who recognized it as belonging to that tablet; he must have communicated this fact to E. Laroche, who included it as 544/u under nr. 376, A, in the second edition (1971) of his *Catalogue des textes hittites* (CTH). But Otten has not so far published the fragment, in contrast to additions to other solar

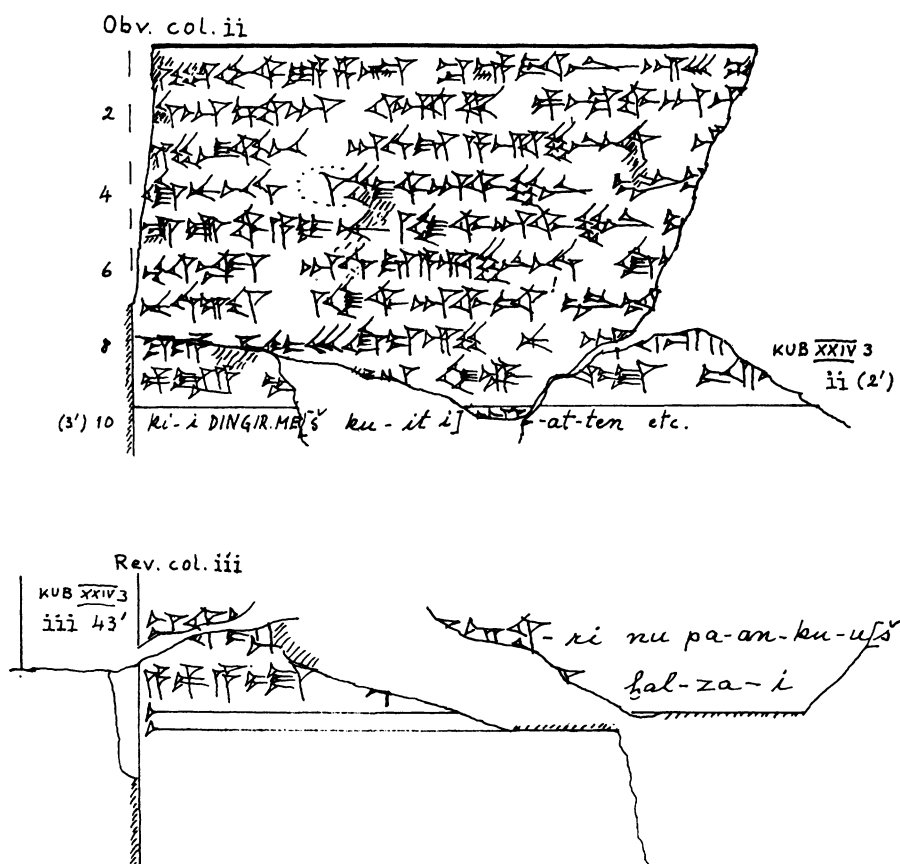


Fig. 1. 544/u with joining lines of KUB 24.3.

¹ O. R. Gurney, “Hittite Prayers of Mursili II,” *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 27 (Liverpool, 1940).

² See Gurney, op. cit. pp. 10 and 83.

³ E.g., Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *Numen* 16 (1969) 88; idem, *The Records of the Early Hittite Empire* (1970), 33–35.

hymns which we are using below. I shall first offer a hand copy of 544/u made after a photograph. The fragment comes from the Great Temple at Boğazköy and thus establishes the provenience of the tablet KUB 24.3. A transliteration and translation will be given below as part of a comparative rendering of the various hymns to solar deities.⁴

In the past I only said that Muršili's prayer contained (almost) verbatim quotations from the other hymn(s) and that according to the available space the quotation must have been shortened, but I failed to go into detail, although some of the omissions could already be observed.⁵ Now the restoration of Muršili's prayer contains the end of its hymnic part and thus gives an opportunity to compare the various hymns in detail.⁶

In presenting the wording of the Sun Hymns I differ from Laroche's listing in CTH by regrouping some of the smaller duplicates as follows:

372: A = KUB 31.127 with additions as shown in CTH. New Hittite script (NS).

From Büyükkale, Building A.

B = KUB 31.128 // A i 1–13. NS; same provenience.

D⁷ = KUB 31.133 // A i 20–45. NS; same provenience.

374.1 = KUB 30.11 + 31.135 (+) 130. Middle Hittite script (MS).

From Büyükkale, Building A.

2,A = KUB 36.75 + Bo 4696 (ZA 62, 231 f.) + 1226/u (ZA 67,56).

From Temple I.

B = KBo 22.75 + 1698/u + 221/w (ZA 64,217) // A ii. NS. From Tpl.I.

C = KUB 31.134 // A i 6'–16' (and 372 A i 29–37). From BK, Bldg.A.

3 = KUB 31.129, parall. in A and B not preserved (/ 372 A 13–18).

MS. From BK. Bldg A.

Repeated collations showed that (contrary to JAOS 78, 238, n. 13) Laroche's copies C, D, and E of 372 are not part of one and the same tablet, that D is in NS while C and E are in MS. The latter two (Laroche's 372, C, E, our 374.2, C and 3) have the same handwriting but different colour. KUB 31.134 uses the first person singular and therefore belongs to 374, not 372 (here 374.2, C).⁸ As for KUB 31.129, it may be part of the same tablet, if the difference in colour is accidental; since it has no preserved parallel in 374.2 I prefer calling it 374.3. Note that Otten's 374.3 (ZA 64, 217) is here 2, B.—KUB 31.133, on the other hand, goes with 374 in sections 14 and 18 below, but with 372 in section 19; I therefore kept it under 372.

For the sake of convenience I divided the hymns into sections which do not necessarily coincide with the paragraphs marked by rules on the tablets.⁹ Each section contains two or three clauses devoted to one theme. One might speak of "stanzas" composed of two or three "verses", but I refrain from using these technical terms.

In the translation I have chosen the less pretentious "you" for the pronoun of the second person singular rather than the archaizing "thou"; I also disregarded the difference between the real vocative and the appositional nominative, etc. (as elaborated in JAOS 65, 1945, 252–55) and translated both constructions as address. In some cases I may have

⁴ Translations only were given by the present author in *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, Vol. I: *Altorientalische Literaturen*, ed. by W. Röllig (Wiesbaden, Athenaion, 1978) (abbr. HbLit.), p. 230; *The Frontiers of Human Knowledge: Lectures held at the Quincentenary Celebration of Uppsala University 1977* (1978) (abbr. *Frontiers*), p. 136 with n. 26.

⁵ JAOS 78 (1958) 244; HbLit. 230 with n. 51; *Frontiers* 135.

⁶ Comparison of the older prayers among themselves, without that of Muršili, is the subject of an article by M. Marazzi and H. Nowicki (Würzburg), "Vorarbeiten zu den hethitischen Gebeten (CTH 372, 373, 374)," *Oriens Antiquus* 17 (1978), 257–278.

⁷ I keep this siglum so as to avoid confusion. For my reason for keeping this fragment under 372 see presently. Laroche's copies C and E are here assigned to 374; his F and G are duplicates to A col. iv and thus not needed here.

⁸ See JAOS 78, 242, n. 27. This attribution was not noted by the authors of *OrAnt.* 17, 263.

⁹ They differ from tablet to tablet; see the rendering in JAOS 78, 239–241.

chosen a translation arbitrarily, since this is not the place for detailed discussion (e.g., *ḥandant-* vs. *parā ḥandant-* or the exact meanings of *kurimma-* and *wannummiya-*).

In Muršili's prayer to the Sungoddess of Arinna the hymn begins with the following lines, which have no parallel in the older sun hymns but recur in the prayer to Telipinu:¹⁰

You, oh Sungoddess of Arinna, are an honoured deity.

Your name is honoured among names,

and your godhead is honoured among godheads.

Among the gods you alone, oh Sungoddess of Arinna, are honoured.

Great are you, oh Sungoddess of Arinna,

and there is no other god more honoured or greater than you.

The Great Sun Hymn (CTH 372) begins with a simple address to the god; the parallel with the prayer of Muršili begins after that. The other versions become available only later.

(1)

372 (i 1) ʾDUTU-*e iš-ḥa-mi*

Oh Sungod, my lord!

ḥa-an-da(-a)-an-za ḥa-an-ni-eš-na-aš (2) *iš-ḥa-aš*

Just lord of judgment!

376 (i 34) *ḥa-an-ta-an-da-ša-az* (35) [*ḥa-a*]*n-ni-eš-na-aš* EN-*aš zi-ik-pát*

You alone are the lord of just judgment.

(2)

372 (2) *ne-pi-ša-aš da-a-ga-zi-pa-aš-ša* (B: *ták-na-aš-ša*) LUGAL-*u-e*

(3) KUR-*e* (B: *ut-ne[-e]*) *zi-ik du-ud-du-uš-ki-ši*

Oh king of heaven and earth!

You are ruling the lands.

376 (35) *ne-pi-ša-aš-ša* (36) [*ták-na-a*]*š-ša* LUGAL-*u-iz-na-tar zi-ik-pát du-ud-du-uš-ki-ši*

And only you are controlling the kingship of heaven and earth.

(3)

372,A (3) *tar-ḥu-u-i-la-tar* (4) *zi-ik-pát pé-eš-ki-ši*

zi-ik-pát ḥa-an-da-an-za (5) DINGIR-*uš*

ge-en-zu-ú da-aš-ki-ši zi-ik-pát

You alone are giving strength,

you alone are a just god,

you alone are having mercy.

B (3) *ir-ḥu-ú-ša-kán zi-ik-pát zi-i[k-ki-ši]*

[. . .] (4) DINGIR-*uš ḥu-iš-nu-uš-ki-ši*

The boundaries only you set,

[you, a just(?)] god, are preserving life.

376 (37) [KUR.KUR.M]EŠ-*a[š]-kán* ZAG.ḪI.A-*uš zi-ik-pat zi-ik-ki-ši*

The boundaries of the countries only you set.

(4)

372 (A 6) *mu-ga-a-u-wa-ar zi-ik-pát e-eš-ša-at-ti* (B: *iš-ta-ma-aš-ki-ši*)

Only you fulfil (var.: listen to) the prayers.

376 (38) [*mu-g*]*a-u-wa-ar-ra zi-ik-pát iš-ta-ma-aš-ki-ši*

And only you listen to the prayers.

¹⁰ Gurney, AAA 27, 20: "Hymn of Praise" (a) To Telipinu, (KUB 24.1) ii 20–22, and p. 22: (b) To Sun-goddess of Arinna, (KUB 24.3) i, 29–34; also translated by Goetze, *Kleinasiens*, 2d. ed. (1957) 136; Güterbock, *Frontiers* 135.

- (5)
- 372 (7) *zi-ik-pát ge-en-zu-wa-la-aš* ^{DUTU-uš}
 (8) *nu ge-en-zu zi-ik-pát da-aš-ki-ši* (B omits *nu*)
 You alone are merciful, oh Sungod,
 and only you have mercy.
- 376 (39) [*zi-i*] *k-pát-za* ^{DUTU URU} *A-ri-in-na gi-in-zu-wa-la-aš* ^{DINGIR-LUM} *zi-ik*
 (40) [*nu*] *gi-in-zu zi-ik-pát da-aš-ki-ši*
 You, oh Sungoddess of Arinna, are a merciful goddess,
 and only you have mercy.
- (6)
- 372 (8) *ha-an-da(-a)-an-za-kán* (9) *an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš* (B: *an-tu-wa-ḫa-ḫa*[-*aš*])
tu-uk-pát a-aš-šu-uš
na-an zi-ik-pát (10) *šar-li-iš-ki-ši*
 The righteous person is dear to you,
 and you let him prevail.
- 376 (40) *pa-ra-a ha-an-da-an-za-ša-kán* (41) *an-tu-uḫ-wa-aḫ-ḫa-aš tu-uk-pát*
^{A-NA DUTU URU} *A-ri-in-na aš-ši-ia-an-za*
 (42) *na-an zi-ik-pát* ^{DUTU URU} *A-ri-in-na [ša]r-le-eš-ki-ši*
 The person guided in righteousness is dear (lit.: loved) to you, oh
 Sungoddess of Arinna,
 and you, oh Sungoddess of Arinna, let him prevail.
- (7)
- 372 (10) ^{DUTU-uš} *šu-wa-ru ma-ia-an-za* (11) ^{DUMU DNIN.GAL}
za-ma-kur-te-et ŠA NA₄.ZA.GÌN-aš
 Oh Sungod, you are truly the grown-up son of Ningal!
 Your beard is of lapislazuli.
- 376 omits.
- (8)
- 372 (12) *ka-a-[š]a-at-ta* ^{DUMU.LÚ.U₁₉} *LU-aš ÌR(!)-KA* (13) *a-ru-wa-a[-it]*
nu-ut-ta me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi
 Behold, the son of mankind, your servant, bowed to you
 and speaks to you.
- 374.3¹¹ (1') [*. . . a-ru-wa-a*]-*nu-un nu* [*. . .*]
 I [, the king(?), bow]ed [to you]
 and [speak to you].
- 376 omits.
- (9)
- 372 (14) *ne-pi-š[a-aš] ták-na-aš-ša hu-u-la-le-eš-ni zi-ik-pát*
 (15) ^{DUTU-uš} [*la*]^r-*a⁷-lu-ki-ma-aš*
- 374.3 (2') [*.*] *ták-na-a-aš-ša* [*. . .*] (3') [*zi-ik-pát*] ^{DUTU-uš} *la-lu*[-*. . .*]
- 376 (43) *ne-pi-ša-aš-ša-az ták-na-aš-ša hu-u-la-le-eš-ni* (44) *zi-ik-pát* ^{DUTU}
^{URU} *A-ri-in-na la-lu-uk-ki-ma-aš*
 In the circumference of heaven and earth you, oh Sungod/Sungoddess
 of Arinna are the source of light.

¹¹ KUB 31.129.

(10)

- 372 (15) ^DUTU-*e* *šar-ku-i* LUGAL-*u-e* (16) DUMU ^DNIN.GAL
ut-ni-ia-an-da-aš ša-ak-la-in (17) *iš-ḫi-ú-ul zi-ik-pát ḫa-an-te-iš-ki-ši*
^DUTU (18) *šar-ku* LUGAL-*u-e*
- 374.1¹² (1') [... ..] DUMU ^DNIN.GAL⁷
[utniyaš(?) iš-ḫi-ú-ul š[a-ak-l]a-ḫi[-in] (2') *[zikpat ^DUTU-uš(?)*
ḫa-an-t]e-eš-ki-ši
- 374.3 (4') [^DUTU]⁷-*e* *šar-ku* LUGAL-*u-e* [... ..]
 (5') *[iš-ḫi(-ú?)]-ul ša-ak-[i-in zikpat]* (6') [^DUTU-*u*š] *ḫa-an-te-es-ki[-ši]*
 Oh Sungod, mighty king, son of Ningal!
 The law and customs of the lands you establish, Sungod, (mighty king).

376 omits.

(11)

- 372 (18) DINGIR.MEŠ-*na-aš-kán iš<-tar>-na zi-ik-pát* (19) *aš-nu-an-za*
 Among the gods only you are widely worshipped.
- 374.1 (2') *na-aš-ta KUR⁷-ia⁷ iš-tar-na* (3') [... *aš(-ša?)-nu*]-*wa-an-za ^DUTU-uš*
 DINGIR-*uš zi-ik*
- 374.3 (6') [... ..] (7') *[iš-tar-n]a zi-ik-pát [... ..]*
 Throughout the country you, oh Sungod, are a widely worshipped god.
- 376 (45) KUR.KUR.ḪI.A-*ša-za-kán iš-tar-na zi-ik-pát aš-ša[-nu-w]a-an-za* DINGIR-
 LIM-*iš*
 And throughout the countries only you are a widely worshipped
 goddess.

(12)

- 372 (19) *da-a-aš-šu iš-ḫi[-i]š-ša tu-uk-pát pi-ia-an*
 (20)¹³ *ḫa-an-da-a-an-za ma-ni-ia[-aḫ]-ḫa-ia-aš iš-ḫa-a-aš zi-ik*
- 374.1 (4') *[daššu išḫišša(?) tu]-uk-pát ^DUTU-i pi-ia-an*
ḫa-an-da-an-za (5') [... ..(shorter!)]
 Strong lordship is given to you (oh Sungod),
 you are the just overlord of government.

376 omits.

(13)

- 372 (21) *da-an-ku-wa-ia-aš KUR-e[-aš] at-ta-aš an-na-aš zi-ik*
 You are father and mother to the “dark” countries.
- 374.1 (5') [... ..(?) KUR]⁷-*e*-*aš ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš at-ta-aš an-na-aš zi-ik*
- 376 (46) *nu-za KUR-e-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš at-ta-aš an-na-aš zi-ik*
 You are father and mother to all the countries.

(14)

- 372 (22) ^DUTU-*i* GAL-*li* LUGAL-*u-e*
^DEN.LÍL-*aš at-ta-aš-t[e-e]š KUR-e* (23) 4 *ḫal-ḫal-du-ma-ri ki-iš-ri-it-ti* (D:
[k]i-iš-ša[-. . .] t[i-i]a-an ḫar-zi
- 374.1 (6') [^DEN.LÍL-*aš attāšiš KUR]*⁷-*e* 4 *ḫal-ḫal-tu-u-mar tu-uk-pát ki-iš-ša-ri-it-ti*
 (7') [... ..]
 Oh Sungod, great king (omitted in 374.1)
 Your father Enlil has put the four corners of the land into your hand.

376 omits.

¹² KUB 31.130 obverse.¹³ 372, D = KUB 31.133 begins.

- (15)
- 372 (24) *ḥa-an-ni-eš-na-aš iš-ḥa-a-aš zi-ik*
nu ḥa-an-ni-eš-na-aš pé-e-di (25) *da-ri-ia-aš-ḥa-aš-ti-iš* NU GÁL
 374.1 (7–8) same as 372
 You are the lord of judgment,
 and in the place of judgment there is no tiring of you.
- 376 (47) *ḥa-an-ni-eš-na-ša-az pa-ra-a ḥa-an-da-an-za* EN-aš *zi-ik*
 (48) *nu-ut-ta ḥa-an-ni-eš-na-aš pé-di tar-ri-ia-aš-ḥa-aš* NU GÁL
 You are the divinely guided lord of judgment,
 and in the place of judgment there is no tiring of you.
- (16)
- 372 (25) *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-aš-ša-kán* (26) DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš *iš^r-tar-na* D¹UTU-uš
šar-ku-uš
 374.1 (8') *ka-ru*[-... (gap)]
 374.2,A¹⁴ (1') [... i]š^r-tar^r-na (2') [... šar-ku-u]š(!?)
 Also among the Former Gods you, oh Sungod, are mighty.
- 376 (49) *ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-ša-za-kán* DINGIR.MEŠ-aš *iš-tar-na zi-ik-pát* (50) *aš-ša-nu-wa-an-za*
 Also among the Former Gods only you are worshipped.
- (17)
- 372 (26) DINGIR.MEŠ-aš-ša-an SÍSKUR (27) *zi-ik-pát z[(i-ik-ki-š)]i* (D 8)
ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-aš-ša-an (28) [DINGIR.M]EŠ-na-aš ḤA.LA[-ŠU-NU *z*]i-ik-
pát zi-ik-ki-ši
 374.2,A (3') [... zi-ik]-pát D¹UTU-uš (4') [zikkišⁱ]
 [ka-ru-ú-i-l]i-ia-ša-aš-ša-an (5') [DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš ḤA.LA-Š]U-NU *zi-ik-*
pát zi-ik-ki-ši
 376 (50) DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš-ša-aš-ša-an SÍSKUR.ḤI.A *zi-ik-pát* (26) D¹UTU URU A-ri-
in-na zi-ik-ki-ši
ka-ru-ú-i-li-ia-aš-ša-aš-ša-an DINGIR.MEŠ-na-aš ḤA.LA.ŠU-NU *zi-ik-pát*
zi-ik-ki-ši
 To the gods you alone (oh Sungod/Sungoddess of Arinna) allot the
 sacrifices,
 and to the Former Gods only you allot their share.
- (18)
- 372 (29) [(ne-p)]i-ša-aš ^rGIŠIG^r *a-ap-pa tu-uk-pát* D¹UTU-i *ḥa-aš-kán-zi*
 (30) *n[(u-kán n)]e-pi-ša-aš KÁ-aš zi-ik-pát aš-ša-nu-wa-an-za* D¹UTU-uš (31)
šar-re-eš-ki-ši (D:[ša]r-ra-aš-ki-it-ta)
 374.2,A¹⁵ (6') [nepišaš] ^rGIŠIG^r *a-ap-pa tu-uk-pát* D¹UTU-i (7') [ḥaškan-z]i
na-aš-ta ne-pi-ša-aš KÁ-uš zi-ik-pát (8') [aš-ša-nu-w]a-an-za D¹UTU-uš
šar-ra-aš-ki-it-ta
 376 (53) [ne-p]i-ša-aš-ša[-aš] ^rGIŠIG^r EGIR-pa *tu-uk-pát ḥa-aš-kán-zi*
 (54) [nu(-za?)-ká]n or: [na-aš-t]a? ^rne^r-p[i-ša-a]š KÁ-uš *zi-ik-pát*
aš-ša-nu-wa-an-za (55) [D¹UTU URU A-ri-in-na ša]r-ri-iš-ki-it-ta
 The door leaves of heaven they throw back only for you, oh Sungod,
 and only you, widely worshipped Sungod/Sungoddess of Arinna, cross
 the gate of heaven.

¹⁴ KUB 36.75 col. i + Bo 4696, H. Otten—C. Rüster, ZA 62 (1972), 231 f.

¹⁵ Duplicate C = KUB 31.134 begins.

(19)

- 372 (32) *nu ne-pí-ša-aš* DINGIR.MEŠ-eš *tu-uk-pát* (D 12 adds: *ḪUTU-i*) *kat-ta-an ka-ni-na-an-te-eš*
 (33) *ták-na-aš-ša* DINGIR.MEŠ-eš *tu-uk-pát kat-ta-an ka-ni-na-an-te-eš*
 (D:[*ḪUTU*]^r-i⁷ KI.MIN)
 The gods of heaven bow down only to you (oh Sungod),
 and the gods of the earth bow down only to you ([oh Sung]od).
 274.2,A (9') [*nu ne*]-*pí-ša-aš* *ták-na-a-aš-ša* DINGIR.MEŠ-eš *tu-uk-pát* (10) [*ḪUTU*]-i
kat-ta-an ka-ne-na-an-te-eš
 374.1¹⁶ (2") [*nu nepišaš taknaš-š*]a DINGIR.MEŠ-eš *tu-[uk-pát . . .]*
 376 (55) *ne-pí-ša-aš-ša* (56) [*taknašša* DINGIR.MEŠ *tu-u*]*k-pát A-NA ḪUTU*
URU A-ri-in-na (56) [. . .]
 And the gods of heaven and earth bow down only to you, oh Sungod/
 Sungoddess of Arinna.

(20)

- 372 (33) *ku-it-ta* (34) *ḪUTU-uš me-mi-iš-[k]i-ši*
 DINGIR.MEŠ-ša *a-ap-pa tu-uk(!)-pát(!) a-ru-ú-e-eš-kán-zi*
 374.2,A (11) [*ku-it*]-*ta ḪUTU-uš me-mi-iš-ki-ši*
 DINGIR.MEŠ-ša (12') *a-ap-pa tu-uk* [(*ḪUTU-i*)] *a-ru-ú-iš-kán-zi* (C: *a-ru-e-eš-kán-zi*)
 374.1 (3") [*kuitta ḪUTU-uš memiški-š*]i DINGIR.MEŠ-ša *a-ap-pa t[u-uk . . .]*
 376 (57) [. . .]-x-x *ḪUTU URU A-ri-in-na me-mi-eš-ki-ši*
 (58) [. . . *A-NA ḪUTU URU A-ri-i*]n-na *a-ru-ú^r-i-iš⁷[-kán-zi]*
 Whatever you, oh Sungod/Sungoddess of Arinna say,
 the gods fall down before you, oh Sungod/Sungoddess of Arinna.

(21)

- 372 (35) *ḪUTU-uš dam-me-iš-ḫa-an-da-aš ku-ri-im-ma-aš-ša an-tu-uḫ-ḫa-aš* (36)
at-ta-aš an-na-aš zi-ik
ku-ri-im-[m]a-aš dam-m[i-i]š-ḫa-an-da-aš (37) *an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš kat-ta-wa-a-tar zi-ik-pát* (38) *šar-ni-in-ki-iš-ki-ši*
 374.2,A (13) *ḪUTU-uš ku-ri-i[m-ma(or -pa)-a(š w)]a-an-nu-mi-aš-ša* (C: *wa-an-nu-um-mi-ia[-aš-ša]*) (14') *an-na-aš [at-ta-aš] zi-ik*
 (15') *ḪUTU-uš ku-ri-i[m(-pa-aš C 11' d)]am-mi-iš-ḫa-an-ta-aš-ša*
 (16') [*an-t*]*u-uḫ-ša-aš k[at-ta-wa-t(ar z)]i-ik-pát ḪUTU-uš* (17) [*šar-ni-in-ki-iš-ki*]-*ši*
 374.1 (4") [*ḪUTU-uš dammišḫandaš(?) k*]*u-ri-im-ma-aš wa-an-nu-mi-i[a-aš . . .]*
 (5") [*ḪUTU-uš kurimmaš(?) da*]*m-me-eš-ḫa-an-ta-aš-ša an-t[u- . . .]* (6")
 [*kattawatar šar-ni-i*]n-*ki-iš-ki-ši*
 Oh Sungod, you are father and mother to the (oppressed,) lonely (and bereaved) (person),
 (oh Sungod,) only you satisfy the claims of the lonely and oppressed person.

376 broken.

(22)

- 372 (39) *ma-a-na-aš-ta ka-ru-ú-wa-ar-wa-ar ḪUTU-uš ne-pí-ša-az* (40) *ša-ra-a u-up-zi*
nu-uš-ša-an ša-ra-a-a[z-z]i-ia-aš u[t-n]i-e-aš (41) *kat-te-ra-aš-ša ut-ne-ia-aš ḫu-u-ma-an-da-aš [t]u-el-pát* (42) *ḪUTU-wa-aš <laluukkimaš> ti-ia-ri*

¹⁶ KUB 31.135 + 30.11, obverse.

- 374.1 (6") *ma-a-na-aš-t[a^{DUTU-uš}] (7") [karuwarīwar ne]-e-pi-ša-az ša-ra-a u-up[-zi]*
 (8") [*nu-uš-ša*]-an¹⁷ [*ša-ra-az-zi*]-ia-aš *kat-te-ra-aš-ša* KUR.KUR-aš [. . .]
 (9") ^rDUTU-wa-aš⁷ l[a-lu-u]k-ki-ma-aš ti-ia[-ri (or -zi)]

When in the morning the sun rises through the sky,
 then your radiance, oh Sungod, appears on all the upper and lower
 lands.

376 broken.

(23)

- 372 (42) *nu* UR.GI₇-aš ŠAH-aš-ša *ha-an-ni-eš-šar* (43) *ha-an-na-at-ta-ri*
šu-up-pa-la-an-na ha-an-ni-eš-šar iš-š[i]-it (44) *ku-i-e-eš ū-UL me-mi-iš-*
kán-zi a-pa-a-at-ta ha-an-na-at-ta-ri
 (45) *i-da-la-u-wa-aš-ša hu-u-wa-ap-pa-aš-ša an-tu-uh-ša-aš ha-an-ni-eš-*
šar (46) *zi-ik-pát ha-an-na-at-ta-ri*
 374.1 (10") *nu* ŠA UR.GI₇ [Š]A ŠAH *ha-an-ne-eš-šar zi-ik[-pát ha]-an-na-at-ta*
 (11") *šu-up-pa-la-an-na ha-an-ne-eš-šar i-iš-ši-it ku-ī[-e-e]š ū-UL me-mi-*
iš-kán-zi (12") *a-pa-at-ta ha-an-na-at-ta-ri*
i-da-la-u-wa-aš-ša hu-wa-ap-pa-aš (13") *an-tu-uh-ša[-aš ha-a]n-ne-eš-ša*
zi-ik-pát^{DUTU-uš} ha-an-na-at-ta

You decide the lawsuit of the dog and the pig,
 and the lawsuit of the animals who do not speak with their mouth, even
 that you decide;
 and only you (oh Sungod) pronounce judgment over the evil and the
 wicked person.

376 broken.

(24)

- 372 (46) *an-tu-uh-š[a-a]n-na-az ku-in* (47) DINGIR.MEŠ *ša-an-zi na-aš-ša-an ar-ha*
pa-aš-ku-wa-an-z[i]
 (48) *na-an a-ap-pa zi-ik kap-pu-u-wa-ši na-an ge-en-zu-w[a-ši]*
 374.1 (14") *an-tu-uh-ša[-an-na-a]z ku-in* DINGIR.MEŠ *ša-a-an-zi na-an-ša-an ar-ha*
 (15") *pa-aš-ku-wa-an-z[i*
na-an] a-ap-pa zi-ik-pát^{DUTU-uš} ge-en-zu-wa-ši
 376 (ii 1) [*an]-tu-uh-ši-ia-za-kán ku-e-da-ri* DINGIR.MEŠ *š[a(-a?)-an-zi]* (2) [*n]-a-an-*
ša-an ar-ha pa-aš-ku-wa-an-z[i
nanšan] (3) [*z]-i-ik-pát^{DUTU URU} A-ri-in-na g[e-en-zu-wa-ši]*

The person at whom the gods are angry and whom they reject,
 you (oh Sungoddess of Arinna) (consider him again and) have mercy
 upon him.

(25)

- 372 (49) *ku-u-un-na* LÚ.NAM.U₁₉.LU-aš ÌR-KA ^{DUTU-uš} *lu-lu-wa-a-i*
 (50) *nu^{DUTU-i} NINDA-an KAŠ ši-ip-pa-za-ki-u-wa-an ti-ia-az-zi*
 (51) *na-an ha-an-ta-an-ta-an ÌR-KA^{DUTU-uš} ki-šar-ta e-ep*
 Oh Sungod, sustain also this mortal, your servant!
 Then he will proceed to offer bread and beer to you, oh Sungod.
 Take him by the hand, oh Sungod, as your true servant!
 374.1 (16") *am-mu-ga* [LUGAL-un(?) *ma-a-an(?)*] *lu-lu-wa-i-ši*
nu^{DUTU-i} [x]x NINDA-an (17") [*KAŠ ši*]-ip[-panzakimi(?)]
nu]-mu-za ha-an-da-a-a[n-ta-an ÌR-K]A LUGAL-un (18") [*DUTU-uš*
kiššarta e-ep]-ši

¹⁷ KUB 30.11 obv. 1' in traces, continued by KUB 31.135 obv. 8'.

[If(?)] you sustain me[, the king(?)],
 then I shall offer [. . .] bread and [beer] to the Sungod,
 and you [, oh Sungod,] will take me, the king, by the hand as your tru[e
 servant].

- 376 (ii 4) *ki-nu-na* ^m*Mur-ši-DINGIR-Lì-in* LUGAL-*u-[n ÌR-KA]* (5) *lu-lu-wa-a-i*
nu ^m*Mur-ši-DINGIR-Lì-in* L[UGAL-un](6) *ÌR-KA* ^{DUTU} URU*A-ri-in-na*
ki-i[š-šar-ta e-ep]
 (7) *nu-ut-ta* ^m*Mur-ši-DINGIR-Lì-iš(! text uš)* LUGAL-*uš* [uddār] (8)¹⁸ *ku-e*
me-mi-eš-ki-iz-zi
nu ^{DUTU} URU*A[-ri-in-na GEŠTUK-an]* (9) *pa-ra-a l[a-ga-a]-an* *ḫar-ak*
na-at iš-t[a-ma-aš]

And now, sustain king Muršili [,your servant],
 and [take] k[ing] Muršili, your servant, by the h[and]!
 And to [the words] which king Muršili will speak to you,
 oh Sungoddess of Arinna, hold [your ear] inclined and listen to them!

The last lines of the new fragment of the prayer of Muršili (CTH 376,A) form the transition to the specific prayer which follows immediately. This is the Plague Prayer edited by Gurney, pp. 26–33. The scribes of Muršili terminated the hymn at this point, while in the two older versions (372 and 374) it continues. In the Great Sun Hymn (372) it runs through the end of column i and the beginning of column ii (in KUB 31.127). From about line 7 or 8 on (in FHG 1) this text has its own transition to a personal prayer.¹⁹ As was pointed out elsewhere,²⁰ the compositions listed under CTH 374 differ from 372 in the following ways:

- (a) The hymn ends with the section about Šamaš's viziers, corresponding to 372 i 65–67,²¹ leaving out the text of 372 ii 1–8.
- (b) The transitional paragraph is different in 374.²²
- (c) In 374 there follows a single personal prayer which is parallel to the reverse of the Kantuzzili text (CTH 373 = KUB 30.10), whereas both the latter and 372 contain two prayers, the second of which is introduced by another short address to the Sungod.²³

This is not the place for dealing with those prayers; we only want to show that the hymn, when combined with various prayers, could be terminated at different points; in other words, that the way in which the Muršili prayer cut off the hymn was not without precedent.

Returning now to the Muršili prayer, we found that the following sections (or 'stanzas') of the Great Sun Hymn were omitted:

- (7), the mention of Šamaš's mother Ningal and of his blue beard;
- (8), which is an unnecessary new introduction;
- (10), Šamaš, son of Ningal, as law-giver;
- (12), Šamaš at the head of government;
- (14), his rule over the four corners bestowed on him by Enlil.

For sections 21–23, which cover 10 lines in 372 and 8 long lines in 374.1, Muršili's prayer had only 5 lines according to Walther's estimate of the position of the lower edge of the tablet. Obviously some of these sections must have been omitted, but we can only guess, which.

¹⁸ This is line 1' of KUB 24.3 col. ii. Walther's estimate of ca. 10 lines is reduced to 7, so that 1' = 8.

¹⁹ For the better preserved parts (i 52–61 and 65–68) see JAOS 78, 241 and HbLit. 227, (8)–(10); for the transitional paragraph see JAOS 78, 242 and JNES 33 (1974) 324.

²⁰ JNES 33, 323–327.

²¹ KUB 36.75 + 1226/u ii 1'–6' (ZA 67,56) with duplicate KBo 22.75 + 221/w 1'–6' (ZA 64, 241).

²² Ibid. 7'–12', edited JNES 33, 323 f., with parallel KUB 30.11 rev. 2'–5'; cf. HbLit. 229.

²³ CTH 373 = KUB 30.10 rev. 10, cf. JNES 33, 326; in CTH 372 the small fragment KUB 31.132 corresponds; cf. OrAnt. 17, sketch on p. 261, col. iii 13* f.

Section (22), which repeats the idea of (9), and (23), which elaborates on Šamaš's role as judge, seem to be candidates for omission, whereas (21), which stresses the deity's care for the unlucky persons, may well have been retained. By terminating the hymns with (25) the prayer of Muršili furthermore excludes the sections about the draft animals and the viziers of Šamaš, as well as some fragmentary and unclear parts of CTH 372.

I hope that this comparative presentation of the hymns will serve a double purpose: one, to enable Hittitologists to compare the older and later versions at a glance for changes in spelling, morphology, syntax,²⁴ and even choice of theme (as in section 3); and two, to demonstrate how the scribes of Muršili went about adapting a hymn to Šamaš to a prayer addressed to the goddess of Arinna. One might say that in doing so they improved the quality of the poem.

²⁴ Some of these were briefly mentioned in *Frontiers*, p. 138. The most obvious innovation is the introduction of the particle *-za* in nominal sentences that have the pronoun of the second person as subject, for which see H. A. Hoffner, JNES 28 (1969), 225–230.

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The Hieroglyphic Inscriptions on the Hittite Cylinder, No. 25

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The Hieroglyphic Inscriptions on the Hittite Cylinder, No. 25

By Hans G. Güterbock (Chicago)

Apart from stars and the combination «*crux ansata* and triangle» (on which below) the surface of the impression contains two groups of hieroglyphs. One, consisting of five signs, is above the hands of the figure in the long robe. It consists of a vertical column of four signs and one single sign to the left of it. The four signs are:



(1) L 369¹, the «*crux ansata*», the word sign for «life»;

(2) L 90, *ti*, which here is likely to be a phonetic complement to the logogram LIFE, the full reading of which in hieroglyphic Luwian is not known;

(3–4) the combination L 312+376, which is known to represent the Luwian word *ziti* «man». In this group, L 312 is the logogram MAN, while L 376, now read *za/zi* (instead of the old reading *i*) is a phonetic indicator of the first syllable, comparable to the *tu* below the MOUNTAIN sign in the name of Tudhaliya.

Thus the name belongs to the large group of Luwian proper names composed with *ziti* as second element and meaning «Man of ...»².

The single sign on the left is attested in stamp seal impressions and one rock inscription as registered in SBo³ II, p. 102, sign no. 199. Where its function is clear it is a title: in SBo I 105 belonging to a royal prince named Mursili, in SBo II 26 to another prince. In the other occurrences it may well be a title, too. On the

Thebes cylinder it must be one, both because of its position on the side of the name and because *ziti* is always the last element of a name. An object of the same shape as this sign is held in the hands by officials on some reliefs of Höyük near Alaca⁴. It looks like a spear with some kind of crescent-shaped addition, perhaps a hand guard. In Hittite texts a court official occurs whose profession is written with the Sumerogram LÚ.GIŠ.ŠUKUR «man of the spear». He seems to be of a rather lowly rank, a member of the guard, and although there is a higher rank, called «man of the gold spear», the latter does not belong to the high officials among whom one would expect royal princes. The tentative identification of the title expressed by the spear-like sign with the «man of the spear» of the texts therefore remains problematic.

With due caution one may then «read» the inscription: «LIFE-*ti-ziti*, SPEAR(-MAN)». This must be the name of the seal owner, but it is unlikely to belong to the robed figure, which rather appears to be one of the deities in the procession. Thus the seal owner's name is simply put «in the field».

Below the name there are the two symbols for «life» and «good», the *crux ansata* (L 369) and the triangle (L 370), which are found on many seals beginning with the Old Kingdom. A conventional way of rendering them is «life and wellbeing». The same combination is also found between the robed deity and the next figure, below what may be «sun» and «stars».

There is another column of signs or symbols in front of the god who is surmounted by the winged disk. The first in this row is L 199, the logogram of the Storm-god, whose Luwian name is Tarhunts. Below it is an animal which must be a bovine because of the shape of its tail and its hooved feet, although the head is

¹) L with following number refers to the sign numbers in E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites*, part I, *L'écriture* (Paris, 1960).

²) E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites* (Études Linguistiques, IV) (Paris, 1966), pp. 324f.

³) SBo = H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy I*

(1940), II (1942) (Reprint 1967); seals are quoted by number.

⁴) K. Bittel, *Les Hittites* (L'Univers de l'Art) = *Die Hethiter* (Universum der Kunst), fig. 222 (the point of the spear held downward) and 220 (where the point was perhaps originally at the upper end).

not clear. The straight line at its rear looks like an ear rather than a horn; in the damaged front part there may have been a single horn or possibly a short horn as in the picture of a calf's head, L 109. Below the animal there are the triangle and the *crux ansata*, here in this order.



That the two signs above the triangle should represent another proper name is unlikely; one should rather think of a label inscription for the god in front of whom they appear. His identity is not clear, unless he is meant to have a dual character: the winged disk would make him a Sun-god, the lightning in his hand, a

Storm-god. The hieroglyph L 199 fits the latter, and the bull is known as that god's sacred animal. But since the name of Tarhunts above the picture of a bull is not a common combination, another explanation is called for.

Laroche read the label inscription of the small bull that accompanies Teshub in Yazılıkaya (nr. 42a) as *te-su-pi hu-pi-ti*, a syllabic rendering of a Hurrian expression meaning «calf of Teshub». He also pointed out that this is an epithet of the god Sharrumma, the son of Teshub and Hebat⁵. In fully logographic writing, L 199 — BULL or CALF may express just this: «The Storm-god's (male) calf». As label inscription to the god on the seal this would still be hard to reconcile with the winged disk over his head, since Sharrumma is otherwise not known to be connected with the sun. The inscription may rather add the name of a deity not represented in the picture, in a way comparable to the cuneiform inscription *Šamaš Aya* found on Old Babylonian seals that show only other deities. Whether or not «wellbeing and life» below the bull are meant to be read with the signs above them, in the sense of «(Let) Sharrumma (grant) wellbeing (and) life», cannot be decided.

⁵) *Syria* 40 (1963) 285–87, modified in *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 27 (fasc. 84–85) (1969) 66–69, adopted by the present writer in K. Bittel *et al.*,

Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya (1975) p. 170, with a discussion as to whether the first sign is the head of a bull or a calf.



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The Hittites and the Aegean World:

Part 1. The Ahhiyawa Problem Reconsidered

HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

As early as 1924, Emil Forrer announced his discovery of Homeric Greeks in the Hittite texts from Boğazköy.¹ Not only did he claim that Greece was meant by the term "Land of Ahhiyawa," but also that a number of personal names could be equated with the names of Homeric heroes. It did not take long for other Hittitologists to challenge this sensational claim. After critical articles by Friedrich and Goetze,² it was Sommer who presented a careful reinterpretation of all the sources with detailed philological discussion.³ He came to the conclusion that none of the points adduced by Forrer could be taken as real proof; consequently, he rejected the whole theory.

This total rejection was seen by others as going too far. Already in 1935, Schachermeyr countered with a monograph⁴ in which he concluded that, despite the lack of real proof, the assumption that the name Ahhiyawa indeed referred to Greeks was highly probable.

The discussion has continued up to the present. The most outspoken advocate of connecting Ahhiyawa with the Mycenaean Greeks was Huxley.⁵ In disagreement was Steiner, who tried to disprove every single argument used by the advocates of the theory.⁶ Most recently Košak categorically rejected the whole Ahhiyawa theory.⁷

Regardless of whether the term Ahhiyawa refers to Greeks or not, the country of that name must be placed on the map somewhere. Localization outside Asia Minor, either in Mainland Greece or on one of the islands, obviously was advocated only by the adherents of the Greek theory. Placement on the Asiatic

continent was sought both by those who regarded Ahhiyawa as simply another Anatolian country and by those who had Mycenaean settlements in mind. Such Asiatic localizations range from Cilicia through Pamphylia all along the west coast up to the Troad, and recently even to Thrace.

It is obviously impossible here to discuss all the opinions expressed and reasons adduced in this extensive literature. I shall concentrate on a few problems, mainly of text interpretation. But first, a few general observations:

One point is the increase of knowledge since the time of Forrer and Sommer. The decipherment of Linear B showed that the people whose civilization had been called Mycenaean were indeed Greeks, confirming what until then had been surmised but not proven. Also, the number of West Anatolian sites yielding Mycenaean finds has increased considerably. Another change is the redating of certain Hittite texts from the end of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth. I, among others, find the reasons for this redating quite convincing. One text among these has a direct bearing on the Ahhiyawa problem: the Indictment of Madduwattas. Still another new find is the discovery, by Harry Hoffner, of a "join" to the so-called Milawata Letter (of which we shall speak later).

The oldest source, then, is the Madduwatta text.⁸ It was written by an unnamed Hittite king who refers to both his father's and his own reigns. Goetze was able to identify these two kings as an Arnuwandas and his

¹ E. Forrer, "Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi," *MDOG* 63 (1924) 1–22; "Die Griechen in den Boghazköi-Texten," *OLZ* 27 (1924) 113–18.

² J. Friedrich, "Werden in den hethitischen Keilschrifttexten die Griechen erwähnt?," *KF* 1.1 (1927) 87–107; A. Goetze, rev. of E. Forrer, *Forschungen* 1.2 (1929): *OLZ* 33 (1930) 285–92.

³ F. Sommer, *Die Ahhiyawa-Urkunden* (*AbhBayern* n.s. 6, 1932, reprint Hildesheim 1975; hereafter *AU*).

⁴ F. Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer* (*Mitteilungen der Alt-*

orientalischen Gesellschaft 9.1–2, 1935).

⁵ G.L. Huxley, *Achaean and Greeks* (Oxford 1960).

⁶ G. Steiner, "Die Ahhiyawa-Frage heute," *Saeculum* 15 (1964) 365–92. Based on this work is the entry in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 3 (1971) 643–44, s.v. Griechen 1 (W. Röllig).

⁷ S. Košak, "The Hittites and the Greeks," *Linguistica* 20 (Ljubljana 1980) 35–48.

⁸ *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* (*KUB*) 14.1; A. Goetze, *Madduwattas* (*MVAG* 32.1; 1927, reprint Darmstadt 1968).

father, Tudhaliyas. With the redating, these are now taken as Tudhaliyas II and Arnuwandas I, three and two generations, respectively, before the great Suppiluliumas; that puts the text some thirty to fifty years before 1400 B.C. (See Addendum).

At the beginning of the text we are told that Madduwattas was driven from his country by Attarissiyas, the man of Ahhiyâ. The name of Madduwattas' country is not given. The short form Ahhiyâ (as against the more frequent Ahhiyawâ) also occurs in an oracle text of about the same period, which mentions Ahhiyâ as an enemy. Thus the short form is the older one.

Madduwattas fled to Tudhaliyas, who prevented Attarissiyas from pursuing him any farther, gave Madduwattas the land of Mt. Zippasla (not otherwise known) and made him a Hittite vassal. Among his duties as vassal is the prohibition of any contact with Attarissiyas. Thereafter Madduwattas attacked Arzawa, an enemy of the Hittites, but was utterly defeated, so that he had to be rescued by a Hittite army. Nevertheless, the king reinstated him in his old position.

Later Attarissiyas returned, seeking to kill Madduwattas. Tudhaliyas sent out a general to help Madduwattas who was unable to withstand the attack. The Hittites fought a battle against Attarissiyas, who brought 100 chariots with him. We then read: "One leader of Attarissiyas was killed, and one leader of ours, named Zidanzas, was killed." The fact that in the context of a chariot battle the death of one leader on each side is singled out, even with the name of the Hittite one, is unique in Hittite historical texts and somehow recalls Homeric battles!

Then a town named Dalawa or Talawa began hostilities against the Hittites, and the general who had just fought Attarissiyas now turned against this city. The name Talawas has been equated by most scholars with that of the city of Tlôs in Lycia, whose Lycian name was Tlawa.⁹ In the course of the operations the town of Hinduwa is mentioned; this name, which in Hittite texts occurs only here, has by some been equated with Kandyba, some 90 km. from Tlôs. It is true that both equations are based on phonetic similarity, but the proximity of the two places supports such a double identification, apart from the fact that the Lycian Tlawa is practically identical with the

Hittite form.¹⁰ While Attarissiyas' name is not connected with this city, the fact that the Hittite general who had just fought Attarissiyas in the next paragraph turns against Talawa suggests that the "man of Ahhiyâ" operated in Southwest Anatolia.

In the following parts of the text no reference to Ahhiyâ is made until the last item, the much discussed attack on Cyprus. Someone, probably king Arnuwandas, reproached Madduwattas with these words:

"Since Alašiya belongs to My Majesty, [why did you attack it?]" Madduwattas replied:

"When Attarissiyas and the man of Piggaya made raids on Alašiya, I also made raids. Neither the father of Your Majesty nor Your Majesty ever advised me (saying): 'Alašiya is mine! Recognize it as such!' Now, if Your Majesty wants captives of Alašiya to be returned, I shall return them to him." (To this, the king replied:) "Since Attarissiyas and the man of Piggaya are independent of My Majesty, while you, Madduwattas, are a subject of My Majesty, why did you join them?"

We do not know on what grounds Arnuwandas could claim Cyprus for himself or who "the man of Piggaya" may be. The verb used in connection with Alašiya is the iterative form of "to attack," which is best rendered as "make raids." The text does not speak of conquest, and raids cannot be expected to leave tangible traces.

I mention only briefly a fragment which *may* say that a Hittite king banished his wife to Ahhiyawa,¹¹ and an oracle text of Mursilis' time¹² according to which a deity of Ahhiyawa and a deity of Lazpa were going to be brought to the ailing king.

Mursilis II mentions Ahhiyawa in two places in his Annals¹³; unfortunately both are badly mutilated. Forrer (1926), Sommer (1932) and Goetze (1933) each restored and interpreted them differently.

The first mention is from the beginning of Mursilis' third year. According to Forrer,¹⁴ Uhhazitis, the ruler of Arzawa, incited the city of Millawanda to rebellion against Ahhiyawa, whereupon the Hittite king sent out the generals Gullas and Malazitis, who attacked and sacked Millawanda. This would mean that the Hittite king helped the king of Ahhiyawa

⁹ RE (1937) s.v. Tlôs, 1621–26 (W. Brandenstein).

¹⁰ Initial consonant clusters cannot be written in cuneiform; hence *tla- had to be rendered ta-la-.

¹¹ KUB 14.2; AU 298–306.

¹² KUB 5.6 ii 57, 60; AU 282–83. I follow Sommer's dating (AU

289–90) despite A. Kammenhuber, *Orakelpraxis (Texte der Hethiter 7, 1976) 27–28 n. 51*; cf. A. Archi, *SMEA 22 (1980) 354*.

¹³ A. Goetze, *Die Annalen des Mursiliš (MVAG 38 [1933, reprint Darmstadt 1967]; hereafter AM)*.

¹⁴ OLZ 27 (1924) 113–14; *Forschungen 1.1 (1926) 45*.

against a rebellious vassal, sacking his city in the course of this intervention. Sommer¹⁵ understood the beginning of the passage in a similar way, but then made the king of Ahhiyawa the subject of the sentence "sent out Gullas and Malazitis." Goetze showed that the traces of the verbal form could only belong to the first person singular preterite, not to the third,¹⁶ and thus ruled out Sommer's idea that the king of Ahhiyawa employed a general with a Luwian name. Goetze's own understanding was that Uhhazitis took the side of Ahhiyawa and caused the city of Milla-wanda to do the same, and that Mursilis dispatched the two generals. To me, this last reconstruction seems the best.

In the course of his third year Mursilis conquered Arzawa and entered its capital, Apasa, whence Uhhazitis fled "into the sea." He was later joined there by his two sons.

The account of the fourth year takes the story from there. Preserved are only the following scraps: "[...] was in [...] son of Uhhazitis [...] and he from the sea [...] with the king of Ahhiyawa [...] I sent by ship [...] (broken verb in the third singular preterite)], and they brought him back."¹⁷

Both Sommer and Goetze restored the first few lines to mean that the son of Uhhazitis, who had been "in the sea," i.e., on an island, left that place. Thereafter the two interpretations differ. Sommer thought¹⁸ that Mursilis sent the prince to the king of Ahhiyawa—he completely restored "[The (Hittite) army captured him]" in the preceding gap—continuing with another restoration: "[Since I was by the sea] I sent him by ship." (Since for Sommer Ahhiyawa was in Anatolia, this would have been along the coast.) The following "they brought back," according to him, refers to (restored) captives.

Goetze restores: "[He went away] from the sea and [came to stay] with the king of Ahhiyawa. Then I, [My Majesty], dispatched [(someone, name lost)] by boat. [The king of Ahhiyawa deliver]ed [him to him] and they brought him back."

Again, I prefer this last interpretation, except that I would rather restore "he (the emissary) [took him away]" instead of "[the king of Ahhiyawa deliver]ed." In that case the extradition mentioned by some scholars may not have been voluntary. According to

Goetze's reconstruction, the prince leaves his island of first refuge and goes to the king of Ahhiyawa, who apparently is somewhere across the water, since a ship is needed to bring the prince back. I know that this is no proof for an overseas location of Ahhiyawa. But since Goetze's interpretation remains possible, this source should not simply be dismissed.

The most famous document bearing on the relations of Hatti with Ahhiyawa is the so-called Tawagalawa Letter.¹⁹ Preserved is only the third tablet (of ca. 275 lines). From internal evidence it is clear that it was written by a Hittite king of the New Kingdom to a king of Ahhiyawa. The names of the two kings are not mentioned, since this is not the beginning of the letter. Scholars have attributed the text to Mursilis II, Muwatallis and Hattusilis III. I think that Mursilis II is out of the question, and of the other two, Hattusilis is the more likely.

Throughout the letter the king of Ahhiyawa is addressed as "My Brother." This was the standard address among sovereign kings of the time, such as those of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni and Hatti, in their letters found at Tell el-Amarna and Boğazköy. The question was raised whether or not the term implies equal rank; in other words, whether or not the address as My Brother shows that the king of Ahhiyawa was a Great King in the terminology of the time. Some thought that it did, but Sommer adduced the correspondence between the Pharaoh and the king of Cyprus as an example of the use of this address between rulers of unequal power.²⁰ There is, however, a passage in the Tawagalawa Letter that can be interpreted as showing that the king of Ahhiyawa was indeed considered a Great King.²¹

The Hittite king states that, having received a message from the king of Ahhiyawa, he said: "If anyone of my lords(?) had spoken to me—or one of my (other) Brothers—I would have listened even to *his* word." Sommer's translation continues: "But now My Brother wrote to me *as* a great king, my equal. The word of one equal to me I do not hear!"

To my knowledge the three terms "My Brother, Great King, my equal" can only be in apposition to one another. Also, Sommer's version would be rather offensive to the addressee, in contrast to the cautious, in

¹⁵ *AU* 309.

¹⁶ *AM* 235–36, text on 36–39.

¹⁷ *AM* 66–67.

¹⁸ *AU* 312–13.

¹⁹ *KUB* 14.3; *AU* 2–19, with commentary on 20–194.

²⁰ *AU* 65–66.

²¹ Col. ii 9–20, *AU* 6–7.

part even apologetic tone of the rest of the letter. I therefore translate the second clause as a rhetorical question. Such a question would express the Hittite king's displeasure with the tone of the message he had received through subtle irony rather than through the bluntness of Sommer's translation. I translate: "But now, My Brother, the Great King, my equal, has written to me; shall I not listen to the word of my equal?" So I myself drove there." From this I conclude that in the early thirteenth century Ahhiyawa was indeed considered equal to Hatti, ruled by a "Great King."

From the latter part of the same century we have the much debated passage in a treaty with Amurru (in Syria)²² in which Tudhaliyas IV enumerates the kings who are his equals: those of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and—erased—Ahhiyawa. This erasure has been taken by some as showing that Ahhiyawa *was* of equal rank, and by others, that it was *not*. It is true that in the section immediately following this list there is no mention of the king of Ahhiyawa, in contrast to the other three kings. The text considers the possibilities that the kings of Egypt and Babylonia might be either friend or foe, but calls the king of Assyria an enemy as a matter of fact. The vassal king of Amurru is told to prevent merchants from entering Assyria through his country. There follows (now) an inserted paragraph about his military duties in the war against Assyria. After that (line 23) it seems that the original text resumes the subject of the embargo by enjoining the vassal to let no ship of Ahhiyawa "go to him," i.e., unload merchandise destined for Assyria. Thus, Sommer may be right in claiming that the name Ahhiyawa got into the list of kings by mistake because the scribe thought he had to include all the countries mentioned afterward in the text. I am still inclined to think that even so the scribe would not have made this mistake if Ahhiyawa had been unimportant; but I admit that the text cannot be used as proof of its equal rank. (Intriguing is the thought that the original paragraph now erased and replaced by lines 19–22 might have dealt in some way with the king of Ahhiyawa.)

Let us now look at the contents of the Tawagalawa Letter. The main subject of the third tablet is the affair of a certain Piyamaradus, but for reasons not quite clear the first sections deal with a man named Tawagalawas or Tawakalawas. From the evidence in

this tablet it appears that his base of operation, if not his residence, is the city of Millawanda. It has generally been accepted that he was somehow close to the king of Ahhiyawa. Forrer's claim that he was the king's brother was rejected by Sommer, who thought that he had actual proof against it.²³ In the passage in question the words "your brother" and *Tawagalawa* stand side by side, each one preceded by the same Akkadian preposition. Sommer had found no clear example of such a repetition of the preposition with a noun and its apposition. He also thought that a small trace after *Tawagalawa* was the beginning of the Hittite enclitic *-ya*, "and." So he translated "with my brother and Tawagalawas." Since Sommer's time, good examples of the repeated preposition have been found in texts of Hattusilis III, and an enlarged photograph shows that the traces cannot be the beginning of *-ya*. Therefore I now return to Forrer's translation: "This charioteer used to step on the chariot together with me and with your brother Tawagalawas."

Why did the Hittite king write about this man to the king of Ahhiyawa? Where our text begins we are told that, after someone had destroyed the town of Atarimma, the people of Lukka approached the Hittite king, just as they had approached Tawagalawas, who then came "to these countries." So the Hittite king set out for the same region. When he reached Sallapa, a station on the road, he received a message from Tawagalawas, saying: "Take me on as a vassal. Send me the *tuhkanti* (so that) he will escort me to Your Majesty." Thereupon the king dispatched a high official, but Tawagalawas somehow took offense and refused to go with him. He continued by saying: "Give me the kingship here, on the spot; if not, I shall not come!"

Why should a high-ranking Ahhiyawan, actually, as just demonstrated, the king's brother, seek the overlordship of the Hittite king? The reasons, or at least antecedents, may have been contained in the preceding tablet. At least he asked for "kingship," just as other Hittite vassals were called kings. (See Addendum).

From the next station on the road the Hittite king wrote him: "If you want my overlordship, let me not find any of your men in Iyalanda when I get there!" But in fact the Hittite king was attacked at Iyalanda in three places by an unnamed "enemy," and a certain Lahurzi or Laharzi, "his brother" (whose? Tawagalawas' or the unnamed enemy's?), laid an ambush for

²² KUB 23.1 col. iv; AU 320–21. Complete edition by C. Kühne and H. Otten, *Der Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag (Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten 16, 1971) 14–17*. The tablet is full of erasures and con-

tains several insertions; hence it is certainly a draft.

²³ AU 130.

him. Somebody, however, heeded the prohibition of entering Iyalanda; I would restore his name, which is lost, as Tawagalawas rather than Lahurzis. The Hittite king takes great pains in the next lines to assure the king of Ahhiyawa that this report of what happened is true.

At this point Piyamaradus, who is the main object of the greater part of the letter, enters the narrative. The Hittite king, who was still engaged in action, summoned Piyamaradus in a letter sent to Millawanda, while simultaneously informing the king of Ahhiyawa of Piyamaradus' constant raids. The king of Ahhiyawa replied that he had instructed Atpas to hand Piyamaradus over to the Hittite king. So the Hittite king went to Millawanda, where Atpas resided. As an additional reason for going there he gave the following: "The subjects of My Brother shall hear the reproaches I shall make to Piyamaradus." (From this we learn that subjects of the king of Ahhiyawa lived in Millawanda.) But when the king arrived, Piyamaradus had already left Millawanda by boat. At least Atpas and Awayanas, his sons-in-law, heard the words of the Hittite king.

Not only Piyamaradus had left Millawanda before the king arrived, but also Tawagalawas. At this point the writer of the letter reminds the addressee of all the things he did for Tawagalawas: he sent him that high official, but he refused to go with him; now the king came in person, only to find that he had left!

This is the end of the Tawagalawas chapter. Of the parts concerning Piyamaradus let me only comment on a few points.

We just read that Piyamaradus had left Millawanda by boat. Now the writer speaks of the possibility that this man might approach the addressee with his plan to present himself to the king of Hatti. So apparently Piyamaradus is now in Ahhiyawa. The writer then assures the addressee that he has given Piyamaradus all the guarantees of safe-conduct. In addition he had also dispatched Dabala-Tarhuntas, the charioteer, to stand in for him. The writer stresses the high rank of this man by reminding the addressee of the fact that this charioteer used to step on the chariot with the writer and with Tawagalawas, and that he was related to the queen. The writer also wrote to Piyamaradus that, if the interview did not lead to a solution satisfactory to him, one of the king's men

would escort him back to Ahhiyawa. Nowhere is it said that the charioteer would do that, as some of the advocates of putting Ahhiyawa in Anatolia have claimed; on the contrary, Dabala-Tarhuntas "shall sit in his place while he comes here, until he returns there."

We cannot follow Piyamaradus' adventures; his name also occurs in other texts. From the letter it would seem that he was a protégé of the king of Ahhiyawa, despite his Luwian name, and a man of some importance.

The city of Millawanda or Milawata also is mentioned in a very fragmentary tablet that was named the "Milawata Letter."²⁴ Recently Harry Hoffner identified another fragment as joining it.²⁵ He presented his find to the *Rencontre Assyriologique* in Vienna in July 1981 and kindly allowed me to use the enlarged text here. I can only mention one point important for our topic. The text is a letter of a Hittite king to a vassal whom he addresses as "My Son." Since the addressee's own father is mentioned in the letter, it is clear that this is the address for a subordinate, known from other examples. In one place the added part shows that instead of "As we, My Majesty and (you) My Son [have set] the boundaries of Milawata," the verb restored as "set" is really "take away"; so the passage says: "As we, My Majesty, and (you) My Son, took away territory of Milawata"; and a little later: "that I did not add [(such and such places)] to the territory of Milawata for you."

Other results of his find are discussed by Hoffner in his paper which is to appear in the *Comptes Rendus* of the *Rencontre*. Here I only want to stress that instead of Milawata/Millawanda as a Hittite dependency, we now have a city from whose territory both the Hittite king and his unnamed vassal enlarge their own realms. The text is definitely late and probably belongs to Tudhaliyas IV (second half of the thirteenth century).

A fragment of another historical text²⁶ has been quoted to show that the king of Ahhiyawa was personally engaged in warfare on Anatolian soil. The fragmentary context mentions the Land of the Sheha River and Arzawa. After the verb "made war," whose subject is lost, there follows the short clause which

yas IV, but it may belong to Hattusilis III, as will be demonstrated elsewhere.

²⁴ KUB 19.55; AU 198-205.

²⁵ KUB 48.90.

²⁶ KUB 23.13; AU 314-19. The text was attributed to Tudhali-

was tentatively translated by Sommer: "The king of Ahhiyawa retreated(?)." I think that the meaning "to take refuge with, to rely upon" attested elsewhere for the verb in question yields a better sense here: "[So-and-so] made war and relied on the king of Ahhiyawa." He could rely on him from a distance, without the king's being on the scene.

Finally it is Tudhaliyas IV again who mentioned ships of Ahhiyawa that might arrive in the land of Amurru in Syria, and whose scribe deleted the name of Ahhiyawa from the list of equals.

I know full well that none of the above points is real proof for the assumption that Ahhiyawa is Greek territory, be it in Anatolia, on one of the islands, or in mainland Greece. But I want to say that, if the opponents of the theory blame the advocates for being biased in always choosing, among possible alternatives, the one that is favorable to their views, the same must be said of the opponents. They either choose that interpretation which can be used against the theory or reject all arguments that cannot be completely proved. Common sense tells me that the Hittites must have known the Mycenaeans, and that what they say about Ahhiyawa fits the picture if that name refers to them. I am not worried about the alleged linguistic difficulties: I do not think that phonetic laws apply to foreign names. As far as geography is concerned, I confess to be unable to reconstruct a map of Hittite Asia Minor; others have correctly called it "a mess." Again, those who put various Anatolian countries more and more toward the Northwest do so either for the sake of an assumed "tin route to Bohemia" or, if for other reasons, with intentional disregard of even the possibility

that Ahhiyawa may have anything to do with the Mycenaean settlements of the Southwest. For me, Garstang and Gurney's reconstruction of the route to Arzawa and the West ending in Apasa-Ephesos and Milawata-Miletos is plausible on internal evidence, apart from leading to the Mycenaean town at Miletos.

I see no evidence for the existence of a country Ahhiyawa in Asia Minor; the evidence from the fourteenth–thirteenth centuries points overseas, and I prefer mainland Greece to any of the islands as seat of the Great King of Ahhiyawa. Attarissiyas, the man of Ahhiyâ in the fifteenth century, is different; as I see it, he may have come with his 100 chariots from one of the Mycenaean settlements in the Southwest.

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ADDENDUM

In 1982 there appeared the final volume of Fritz Schachermeyr's monumental work *Die ägäische Frühzeit*, vol. 5: *Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen* (SBWien 387, 1982). The first chapter is devoted to the relations of the Hittite Empire to the Mycenaean world. Schachermeyr's review of the Ahhiyawa problem yields the same result as ours. The author also accepts the high date of the Madduwattas text. Only in identifying the two Hittite kings I chose the earlier Tudhaliyas and Arnuwandas of the genealogical table offered by O.R. Gurney in *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi Dicata* (Pavia 1979) 221. Schachermeyr, p. 26, offers an attractive explanation for why an Achaian prince might have sought the overlordship of the Hittite king.

Part 2. Archaeological Comments on Ahhiyawa-Achaians in Western Anatolia

MACHTELD J. MELLINK

The philological analysis presented by Professor Güterbock is clear and timely. He gives us new critical readings of difficult passages in the Hittite records referring to Ahhiyawa and he puts the texts in the order determined by recent studies of the development

of Hittite grammar and script. The archaeological comments follow the same order, summarizing the archaeological data¹ and applying the hypothesis Ahhiyawa-Achaians to them.

¹ For general bibliography, see the annual "Archaeology in Asia Minor" reports in this journal under the heading *Minoan and Mycenaean Sites*, especially *AJA* 75 (1971) 168–70 and following

years. A thorough survey of Aegean material from sites in Anatolia is given by Christopher Mee in *AnatSt* 28 (1978) 121–56.



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A HURRO-HITTITE HYMN TO ISHTAR

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THE HITTITE TEXT I AM HERE PRESENTING TO MY FRIEND SAMUEL KRAMER has been known for a long time. It takes up the first and part of the second column of a tablet, *Bo* 2024, published in cuneiform copy by A. Walther as *KUB* 24.7 in 1930; the tablet is now kept in the Istanbul Museum. The second part of the tablet contains the well-known tale of "The Sungod, the Cow, and the Fisherman."¹

In contrast to that tale the hymnic first part of the tablet (*CTH* 717) was for a long time more or less left aside because of the difficulties of understanding it. A. Goetze, in 1933, gave the first translation of col. i 12–32 (*AM* pp. 262f.), in which he correctly brought out the essentials. C. G. von Brandenstein (in the places cited under *CTH* 717) only commented on individual lines. Only recently have editions of the whole text been published. In 1977 there appeared an article by A. Archi, "I poteri della dea Ištar hurrita-ittita," *Oriens Antiquus* 16, 297–311, that contains a full transliteration and translation of the hymn (pp. 305–11). Almost simultaneously Ilse Wegner included individual parts of the text in her dissertation, *Gestalt und Kult der Ištar-Šawuška in Kleinasien*.² These editions have become a basis for further study and have been helpful in the preparation of this article.

¹ Abbreviations as in the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* (*CHD*) and *HW*, *HW*².

CTH, 363; part of it was made available by H. Ehelolf as early as 1926 (*OLZ* 29, 766–69); the standard edition is by J. Friedrich, *ZA* 49 (1950), 224–33. In my *Kumarbi* (1946), 119–22 I gave an outline of the story, connecting it with the tale of Appu (*CTH* 360, ed. by J. Siegelová, *StBoT* 14, 1971, 1–34) for reasons that in my mind are still valid. A new analysis of "The Hurrian Story of the Sungod, the Cow and the Fisherman" was published by H. A. Hoffner in M. A. Morrison and D. I. Owen, eds., *Studies on the Civilization*

For some time I wondered whether the hymn was an introduction to the tale of "The Sungod and the Cow." In the beginning of the story the Sungod falls in love with a beautiful cow, and (apparently as a result of their union) the cow gives birth to a human child. Was that the reason for prefacing the tale with a hymn to the goddess of love? I no longer think so. It is more likely that *KUB* 24.7 is simply a *Sammeltafel*, a tablet upon which two separate texts happen to be written. Whether the scribe who thus combined them was thinking of Ištar's role in the adventure of the cow is another question. The main reason for separating the two texts, however, is their form: the tale is told in prose, while the hymn has a clear strophic structure. Another reason may be the following: In *Kumarbi*, 119–22, I included both the Appu story and the tale of the Cow among Hittite texts of Hurrian origin, and both Friedrich (*ZA* 49, 213 ff.) and Hoffner (l.c. in note 1) followed me in this. But Siegelová (*StBoT* 14, 33f.) showed that there is no evidence for Hurrian origin in these two tales, and the repertory of preserved Hurrian mythological fragments published by M. Salvini (*SMEA* 18, 1977, 73–91) does not include a Hurrian text on Appu or the Cow story. The hymn, on the other hand, shows its Hurrian origin clearly in the names of the goddesses who are attendants of Ištar. If thus the two texts have different backgrounds, this is one more reason for keeping them apart.

I shall first present the text in transliteration and translation; this will be followed by a philological commentary and a literary analysis.

and *Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians in Honor of E. R. Lacheman* (1981), 189–94.

² *Hurritologische Studien* III = *AOAT* 36, published 1981, but, according to the preface, completed in 1976.

TRANSLITERATION

Col. i: First six lines lost; line 7 damaged.

- §1 7 [.....] *ma* ¹*la-aḥ-ḥi(?) i-ia*¹[-at/
an-t] *a-ri(?)*
8 [....] *ku-e-e*[z-za o o] ³*MEŠ(?) na-at ku-ra-*
ak-ki
9 [*ma-a-an?*] *a-ša-an-zi šar-ga-u-e-eš-ma ku-e-*
ez-za
10 [UR.SAG?].*MEŠ nu za-aḥ-ḥi-ia tar-aḥ-ḥi-iš-*
kán-zi
11 [*ku-e-ez?*]-*ma* ^{SAL.MEŠ}*e-ši-in-zi* ^{SAL.MEŠ}*KAR.*
KID-ia SIG₅-an-te-eš

- §2 12 [*wa-al-l*] *a-aḥ-ḥi-ia-aš* ^{SA} ^d*GAŠAN ḥa-an-te-ez-*
zi-uš ^{SAL.SUḪUR.LÁL.ḪI.A}
13 [^d*Ni-na*]-*at-ta-an* ^d*Ku-li-it-ta-an* ^d*Ši-en-tal-ir-*
te-in
14 [^d*Ḥa*]-*am-ra-zu-un-na-an nu-kan* ^d*IŠTAR-li é-ir*
ku-it
15 [*a-aš-ši*]-*ia-at-ta-ri nu a-pu-u-uš a-pé-e-da-ni*
é-ni
16 [*š*] ^u*wa-u-wa-an-zi u-i-ia-az-zi nu KIN-an ku-*
it an-ni-iš-kán-zi
17 [¹*na-at*¹] *ḥal-wa-am-na-az an-ni-iš-kán-zi é-ir-*
ma ku-it
18 *an-ni-iš-kán-zi na-at du-uš-ka-ra-at-ta-az-za*
(erasure)
19 *an-ni-iš-kán-zi ḥa-an-ta-ir-ma* ^{SAL.MEŠ} ^{É.GE₄.}
A-uš
20 *nu TÚG-an ša-ri-iš-kán-zi ḥa-an-da-ir-ma*
^{DUMU.MEŠ} ^{É-TI}
21 *nu A.ŠÀ-an IKU-li ḥar-ši-iš-kán-zi*

- §3 22 *wa-al-la-aḥ-ḥi-ia-aš* ^{SA} ^d*GAŠAN ap-pé-ez-zi-uš*
^{SAL.SUḪUR.LÁL.ḪI.A}
23 [^d*A-li-in* ^d*Ḥal-za-a-ri-in* ^d*Ta-ru-wi₅-in*
24 [^d*Ši-na-an-da-du-kar-ni-in wa-al-la-aḥ-ḥi nu-*
kán ^d*GAŠAN-li*
25 [*k*] *u-it é-ir pu-uk-kán nu a-pu-u-uš a-pé-e-da-*
ni é-ri
26 *a-ni-ia-u-wa-an-zi* (eras.) *u-i-ia-zi nu é-ir*
tuh[-ḥi-ma-az-z]a
27 *píd-du-li-ia-az-za e-eš-ša-an-zi nu-kán* ^{SAL} ^É
^[GE₄.A-X]
28 *kap-pí-la-a-ir nu-kán l-aš l-an* ^{SAG.DU} ^r*-an*¹
29 *šal-la-an-ni-iš-ki-iz-zi nu nam-ma ḥa-an-t[a-*
an-te-eš(?) ^{TÚG-an}
30 ^{U-UL} *ša-a-ri-ia-an-zi* ^{LÚ.MEŠ} ^{AT-HU-TIM}[-*ma*]
31 [¹*ku*¹-*ru-ri-ia*¹-*aḥ-ḥi-ir nu nam-ma A.ŠÀ-an*
^{IKU-li U-UL}]

³ Or [o - o-t]e-eš?

TRANSLATION

§1 (about six lines missing)

(7) But [when she] go[es] (or: [they] go) to war,
[. . .] on one side (are) [the . . .]s,
they are [like] pillars;
on the other side (are) the mighty [heroes],
they always win in battle;
and [on another side] (are) the *eši*-women and
'good' (shapely?) prostitutes.

§2 (12) I shall praise them, the 'first' lady atten-
dants of Ištar:

Ninatta, Kulitta, Šintal-irti (and) [H]amra-
zunna.

Whatever household is beloved by Ištar,
she sends these into that house in order to
look (after it)(?).

The work which they (the people of the house)
perform,

they perform with laughter;

(17) the house for which they care,

they care for it with joy.

The young brides have been in harmony,

and (so) they keep weaving cloth;

and the sons of the house have been in harmony,

and (so) they continue plowing the field by
the acre.

§3 (22) I shall praise them, the 'last' lady atten-
dants of Ištar:

Ali, Halzari, Taruwi (and) Šinanda-dukarni
I shall praise.

Whatever household is hated by Ištar,

she sends those into that house in order to
treat it.

They do the housework with gr[oothing] and
anguish.

(27) The you[ng brides] were at odds,

and (so) one always pulls the other by the
head,

and they no longer weave [cloth] in har-
[mony].

The brothers have become enemies,

and (so) they [no] longer plow the field [by
the acre];

- 32 ¹har¹-ši-ia-a[n-z]i ¹hal-lu-wa-nu-e-er-m[a-at-za(?)]
 33 nu nam-ma [šE? m]a-al-lu-u-wa-ar ú-ú[l ki-ša-ri(?)]
 34 nu UR.GI₇ GI[M-an šA]H(?) Ū-UL ¹ha-an-ta[-iz-zi(?)] . . . (?)
 35 nu-kán NINDA.X[o o]x ¹NA⁴ku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi-i[n]
 36 GIM-an ú-e-te-ni an-da tar-nir na[-at]
 37 ar-¹ha ¹har-ni-in-ki-i[r]

- §4 38 LÚ-iš-ma-kán DAM-ZU-ia ku-i-e-eš a-aš-ši-ia-a[n-ta-ri]
 39 nu-uš-ma-aš-kán a-aš-ši-ia-tar ZAG[-aš]-ša-an ar[-nu-wa-an-zi]
 40 na-at tu-e<-da>-az-za ^dIŠTAR-li-az-za [t]a-ra-a-an SAL¹-n[a¹-an ku-iš(?)]
 41 pu-pu-wa-la-iz-zi nu-za-kán pu-pu¹-wa-la¹-tar ZAG-aš[-ša-an]
 42 ar-nu-uz-zi na-at tu-e-da-za ^dGAŠAN-li-z[a ta-ra-a-an . . .]
 43 i.DÜG.GA na-at wa-aš-ta-ri tu-uk-ma-kán [ku-iš . . .(?)]
 44 [a-aš]-ši-ia-at-ta-ri nu-uš-ši zi-ik URU-a[š an-tu-u¹-ša-tar(?)]
 45 [ga]-la-ak-ta-ra-ši na-an an-da ka-a[-ri-ia-ši]
 46 [nu-ká]n(?) tu-e-da-az¹-pát ^dIŠTAR-li-az a-pé-e [. . . (?)]
 47 [o]-x ar-¹ha Ū-UL ku-it-ki iš-da[m-ma-aš-ša-an-zi]

- §5 48 [ma-a-a]n SAL-TUM-ma A-NA LÚ¹MU-TI-ŠU pu-u[k-kán-za na-an zi-ik]
 49 [^dGAŠAN-iš(?)] pu-ug-qa-nu-wa-an ¹har-t[i] ma-a-an [LÚ-iš-ma A-NA DAM-ŠU(?)]
 50 [im-ma(?)] pu-uk-kán-za nu-uš[-ma-aš]-kán [.]
 51 [zi-ik(?)] ^dIŠTAR-iš iš-¹hu-u-wa<-an> ¹har-ti¹ [.]
 52 [.]x na-aš mar-la-tar pu-pu-wa[la-tar]
 53 [.]x ma-na-at-kán wa-at-ku-an[-zi]
 54 [. T]i-nu-zi ap-pa-an-zi-ma[-.]
 55 [.] e-šú-wa-ar mar-la[-.]

- §6 56 [^dIŠTAR-in(?) iš-¹ha-m]i-iš-ki-mi na-an[.]
 57 [.]x-in nu-mu LÚ.X[.]
 58 (traces)

(gap of about 5 lines)

- ii 1 [. wa-aš(?)]-ta-aš-ku-wa-ar zi-ik ^dIŠ-TAR[-iš]

they have quarreled,
 (33) and (so) grinding [of grain] no longer [takes place].
 Just as the dog do[es] not [get] along with the pig(?),
 they let [. . .] bread (and?) basalt into the water like [. . .]
 and (so) they have destroyed [. . .] completely(?).

§4 (38) A man and his wife who love each other and carry their love to fulfillment: that has been decreed by you, Ištar.
 [He who] seduces a w[oman] and carries the seduction to fulfillment: that [has been decreed] by you, Ištar.
 [. . .] (43) sweet-scented oil, and it is pleasing. For him [who] is beloved [by you] you make the town[’s people] drowsy and cover him,
 (so that) thanks to you, Ištar, those [people] do not hear anything.

§5 (48) But [if] a woman is ha[ted] by her husband,
 [then you, Ištar] have caused [her] to be hated.
 [But] if [a man] is [even(?) hated [by his wife], then [you], Ištar, have heaped up [. . .] for them.
 [They/he will . . .]
 (52) and he [will commit] a foolish act, (namely) adul[tery].
 They might elope,
 [but . . .] will not save [them].
 They will be seized [. . .];
 to be [. . .] is fooli[sh](?).

§6 (56) [Of Ištar] I shall [si]ng and [. . .] her. (Two lines too fragmentary for translation, then gap of ca. 5 lines)
 (ii 1) [. . .] constant [tra]nsgression [did] you, Ištar, [commit];
 you devoured your husbands:

- 2 [.]x nu-za LÚ MU-TI-KA ar-ḥa ka-ri-i[p-ta]
 3 [ku-in-kán LÚ-a]n LÚ.ŠU.GI-aḥ-ta ku-in-ma-
 kán LÚ-an ZAG-na
 4 [ar-nu-u](?) ku-in-ma-za LÚ-an LÚGURUŠ-an-
 pát ḥar-ni-ik-ta
 5 [nu-z]a LÚ.MEŠ ḥu-el-pi GA.RAŠ.SAR i-wa-ar ar-
 ḥa ka-ri[ip-ta]
 6 [z]i-ik ^dIŠTAR-iš e-ša-ra-ši-la-aš-ma-aš a-ri-ša-
 an-d[a]
 7 GIM-an du-wa-ar-ni-iš-ki-it na-aš-za-kán ŠE.
 LÚ.SAR GIM-an¹(?)
 8 IT-T[1 NUM]UN(?) ka-ri-ip-ta na-aš-kán ar-ḥa
 ḥar-ni-ik-ta
 9 TÚG.NÍG.LÁ[M-aš-ma(?)]-aš-za GIM-an pár-ku-
 wa-ia wa-aš-še-eš-ki-ši
 10 nu ku-in [pa]-ap-ra-aḥ-ti ku-in-ma-za pár-ku-
 un-pát ar-ḥa pí-d-da-la-ši
 11 ku-in ṽu-wa-te¹-ši na-an ^{GI}ŠAN.ZA.GÀR GIM-an
 pár-ga-nu-ši
 12 ku-in-ma[-ká]n a-pé-el-pát ú-e-ta-an-da-aš pa-
 ra-a
 13 ú-wa-te-š[i] A-aš-ma (?) a-aš-ma(?) ku-wa-pí
 la-ḥu-uz-zi
 14 nu wa^r-at-ta-ru(?)¹ KÚ-iz-zi zi-iq-qa-za ^dGAŠAN-
 iš LÚ.MEŠ-uš
 15 QA-TAM-M[A zi]-in-ni-iš-ki-ši nu-uš-ši-kán
 MÁŠ.TUR.ḪI.A
 16 GIM-an [ta-r]u-up-pa-an-zi EGIR-an-da GUL-ki-
 š[i]x(?)
 17 ^{GI}Škat-ta^r-lu¹-uz-zi-ma-aš DÙ-at na-aš-kán
 Gi[R-it]

- §7 18 ANŠE-aš-ma-za GIM-an pu-un-tar-ri-ia-li-iš
 z[i-ik]
 19 SAL.LUGAL-aš ^dIŠTAR-iš x-ga-x (traces)
 20 nu-ut-ta ku-wa-pí [o] x [.]
 21 UR.MAḪ-ma-za GI[M-an]
 22 KALAG.GA-aš al-p[a-aš(?)]
 23 LÚ.MEŠ^dGURUŠ-aš-ma-za [.]
 24 SAL.MEŠ^{KI}SIKIL-aš x[.]
 25 SAL.MEŠ^dal-la-wa-an[-]
 26 zi-ik-pát ^dIŠTAR-iš

[End of hymn lost. Walther estimated the gap between line 26 and the double rule marking the end of the hymn as ca. 17 lines.]

- [One man] you made old,
 another man you [let attain] fulfillment,
 another you destroyed even in his prime:
 you devour[ed] men like fresh leek.
 (6) You, Ištar, kept breaking them like the . . .
 of their . . .
 and devoured them like coriander with (its)
 [see]d(?),
 and completely destroyed them.
 When you put clean festive garments on them,
 you soil one,
 and another you neglect even though he is
 clean(!).
 (11) Another you bring and make him high like
 a tower,
 still another you lead out to his own
 but when he pours into the waters (? when he
 first pours?)
 he keeps eating (? drinking?)
 you, Ištar, thus always finish men off.
 Afterwards(?) you keep hitting at(?) him(?)
 just as one herds kids together.
 You have made them into a threshold
 and [trample] them [with your] feet.

- §7 (18) You are stubborn like an ass, O queen
 Ištar!
 [. . .]
 And when [. . .] you [. . .]
 You are(?) like a lion [. . .]
 a terrible clo[ud . . .]
 To the young men [. . .]
 to the maidens [. . .]
 the a.-women [. . .]
 Only you, Ištar [. . .]

(§§ 8ff. lost: about 17 lines to the end of the hymn.)

COMMENTARY

i.9: Instead of [GIM-an] (Archi) I restore [ma-a-an], the same word spelled out, because it fills the space better.

Although the text uses GIM-an more often, the same tablet (same scribe, although the other text) has UR.MAḪ-aš GIM-an and ḥuwanḥueššar ma-a-an side by side in col. iii 24, 26.

10: [UR.SAG].MEŠ is free restoration based on the context and the space available.

11: SAL.MEŠ⁴_{ēšinzi}, Luwian nom. pl., not known otherwise.—SAL.MEŠ_{KAR.KID}, Akk. (sg.) *harimtu*, Hitt. reading unknown. In the Hittite Laws (§ 194) the word occurs with its basic meaning “prostitute.” The KAR.KID, often in the plural and occasionally with a chief or overseer (GAL, UGULA), plays a role in the cult festivals; for details see H. Otten, *ZA* 53 (1959), 181f. In none of these occurrences do they actually exercise their profession. The only hint is contained in a text which I called “An Initiation Rite for a Hittite Prince,” where after much eating and some drinking twelve SAL.MEŠ_{KAR.KID} are brought into the presence of the prince.⁴ For a prostitute functioning in the cult the term “hierodule,” which is commonly used, is adequate; in our context it may simply be “prostitute.”

12 and 22: In contrast, the SAL_{SUḪUR.LÁL} (also SUḪUR.LAL, i.e., LA_s and LÁ, respectively) in the Hittite texts is not a hierodule. The definition as a kind of prostitute given for *kezertu* by both the CAD and the AHW is based on late sources. For the Old Babylonian period, J. J. Finkelstein (*YOS* 13 [1972], 10f.) only considered the possibility that *kezertu* might have engaged in such activities. B. F. Batto (in 1974)⁵ flatly denied it; but M. L. Gallery⁶ argues that a certain married woman, among whose activities *harimūtu* “prostitution” is mentioned in one OB document, was a *kezertu*, although she is not explicitly so designated. For the SUḪUR.LÁL in Hittite texts, a perusal of the *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* files⁷ resulted in the following picture, supplementing and modifying the observations of J. Friedrich, *SV* 2, 155f., 170f.

(1) The S.L. plays no rôle in the cult.

(2) She belongs to the palace (Huqq. §§ 31, 32; *Dienstanw.* 16; *KUB* 14.4 iii 15). Since she is contrasted to “free” women in the first two occurrences, she must have been unfree. Nevertheless,

(3) a S.L. named Kuwattalla and designated as GEME of the king and queen received a very large estate from Arnuwanda I and Ašmunikal (ca. 1400 B.C.).⁸

⁴ *IBOT* 1.29 rev. 46–56; see Güterbock in D. Sinor, ed., *American Oriental Society Middle West Branch Semi-centennial Volume* [*Oriental Studies* 3] 1969, 99–103.

⁵ B. F. Batto, *Studies on Women at Mari*. 1974, 114f. (I owe this reference to Jo Ann Scurlock, Chicago.) J. Renger, *ZA* 58 (1967), 188 does not even mention this condition.

⁶ M. L. Gallery, “Service Obligations of the *kezertu*-Women,” *Or.* 49 (1980), 333–38. (I owe this reference to S. Košak, Chicago.)

⁷ Begun by H. A. Hoffner, Jr., continued under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

⁸ *KBo* 5.7, ed. K. K. Riemschneider, *MIO* 6 (1958), 344–55 as LS 1; her name is in rev. 47f.

(4) A S.L. of the same name, presumably the same person, is the author or co-author of several Luwian purification rituals (references in Laroche, *NH* no. 662.2). In most of the cases she appears together with a certain Šilalluḫi (*NH* no. 1148), a SAL_{ŠU.GI}, lit. “old woman” but in effect an exorcist.

(5) In some magic rituals the “tongue,” i.e., harmful speech, slander *vel sim.*, of the S.L. is exorcised with that of the palace attendant (DUMU.É.GAL), guardsman (MESEDI), *paššu*-priest (LUGUDÙ), priest (SANGA) and priestess (AMA.DINGIR); here too she belongs to the personnel of the palace (*KUB* 9.34 i 31–32 and similar texts, cf. *CHD lala-* 4, esp. 4 b 3').

(6) Deities can have S.L.s. In addition to our text there are these examples: [SAL_s]UḪUR.LÁL ^dHé-bat (*KUB* 10.92 vi 7); the same goddess is kept from falling by her SAL.MEŠ_{SUḪUR.LÁL} (*KUB* 33.106 = *Ull.* III A ii 9). Apart from our hymn Ištar also has them in *KUB* 39.93 obv. 5, a text with recitations in *habili*, one of which reads: *alikātu ša paniki ali[kātu ša arkiki]* SAL.MEŠ_{SUḪUR.LÁL-ki} SAL.MEŠ_{KAR.KID-ki} “Those who walk before you and those who wal[k behind you], your S.L.s and your hierodules.” There are 2 SAL.MEŠ_{SUḪUR.LÁL} DINGIR-LIM “of the deity” in *KUB* 31.67 iv 9, where the deity probably is [Ištar of] Lawazantiya of line 8. In *KUB* 7.54 ii 19, however, the deity meant in the phrase ŠA DINGIR-LIM SAL.MEŠ_{SUḪUR.LÁL} can only be the male god Yarri (16), most probably the counterpart to Erra.

(7) Rarely does a S.L. act in a magic ritual. In the *Ritual of Tunnawi* (CTH 409) ii 65–67 she uses nine combs to cleanse the EN.SISKUR over his whole body while he is bathing, but it is the SAL_{ŠU.GI} who brings the combs and pronounces the spell. And in *KUB* 27.29 iii 5–7 the S.L. throws water over the EN.SISKUR.

As a result we can state that the S.L. is definitely not a hierodule in Hittite texts. She is an attendant, in the palace (where she is unfree), among gods, and also an attendant of the exorcist. Specifically in this case she is a helper in bathing a person. This function brings to mind the reliefs no. 37 and 36 at Yazılıkaya, where Ninatta carries an ointment horn and Kulitta, a mirror.^{8a} There we may call them “lady’s maids” (German: *Zofen*), but in general we shall translate S.L. as “attendant woman” or “lady attendant.”

12: ^dGAŠAN is simply another logogram for Ištar, as shown by the identical phonetic complement -li- used with both ^dGAŠAN and ^dIŠTAR. Cf. ^dIŠTAR-li (14) with ^dGAŠAN-li (24), both dat. in parallel clauses. Both writings represent the still unknown Hittite name of the goddess; cf. also abl. ^dIŠTAR-li-az(-za) (i 40, 46) and ^dGAŠAN-li-z[a] (42), nom. ^dIŠTAR-iš (i 51,

^{8a} Gallery, l.c. (n. 6), 338 with n. 22, cites Finkelstein’s suggestion of 1973 that the *kezertu* was a hairdresser. This would fit the reliefs very well and encourages me to interpret the hieroglyph of no. 36, Kulitta (Laroche, *HH*, sign no. 158), as representing curls.

ii 19). The use of the Hittite name of the goddess rather than of her Hurrian name, Šauška, side by side with her Hurrian attendants Ninatta, Kulitta, Šentalirte etc. has a parallel in the Hittite version of the Hurrian Kumarbi cycle; cf. *Kumarbi*, 96. I therefore use the name Ištar rather than Šauška in the translation.

14: Of the two alternative restorations of the first sign of the name as *ha* or *na* offered by von Brandenstein, *Bildbeschr.*, 33, I prefer *ha*, *Hamrazunna*, because of the frequency of the element *hamra/i-* in Hurrian; cf. Laroche, *Gloss. hourr.*, 91f.

15: The restoration [*a-aš-ši*]-*ia-at-ta-ri* follows Götze, *AM* p. 262; for *a-aš-* . . . cf. i 38f. For the construction with the dative see Sommer, *HAB*, 185, and *HW*², 401.

15 end: The sign as copied is *-ni* rather than *-ir*. The text writes *é-ir* (*per*) for the nom./acc. (i 14, 25) and *é-ri* (*peri*) for the dat.-loc. (25), but here *é-ni* (*parni*), the more frequent form of the dat.-loc.; probably a modernization by the copyist.

16: The restoration of the first sign and with it of the verbal stem is uncertain. Goetze refrained from restoring and translating. Wegner's restoration is against the available space and results in a non-existing form. Archi's restoration [*š*]u- is preferable, but "to fill" does not yield a satisfactory sense. I think of the verb *šuwaya-* "to look" although its (unattested) infinitive should be **šuwawayanzi* rather than **šuwauwanzi*. But given the known mixing of similar verbs by the scribes (cf. Oettinger, *Stamm-bildung*, 269ff.) our interpretation seems possible.

16: For *KIN-an = anīyan* see *HW*², 88 r.; for the spelling of the simple verb *aniya-* with single *n*, of its iter.-dur. with double *n* see *HW*², 87 r.; *anniški-* with "house" as object was translated "besorgen" by Goetze (*AM*, 262), a definition which does not appear in *HW*²; presumably it is subsumed there under "behandeln" (p. 87 sub II 2 our passage is not translated). I chose "to care for" as suiting the context best.

17: For *ḫalwamnaz* see Otten apud *HW* 3.Erg., 13.

19f.: *ḫantair* has been taken in the sense of "vermählen," i.e., "to marry off, give into marriage" by the previous interpreters. But this translation does not really fit the context: why should the sons of the house have to be married in order to till the fields? Also the contrasting statements in lines 27–32 point into a different direction. Decisive for our passage are two catalog entries: *KUB* 30.56 iii 10–11 *mān UN-ši* IR.MEŠ-ŠU GEME.M[EŠ-ŠU-ya UL] SI×SĀ-anzi (i.e. *ḫandanzi*) *našma* LÚ-LUM SAL-TUM-ya UL *ḫandanzi*, which Laroche, *CTH*, 182, translates: "Quand pour une personne ses serviteurs et ses servantes [ne] s'entendent [pas], ou bien qu'un homme et sa femme ne s'accordent pas"; *KUB* 30.45 iii 6–9 with dupl. 44 iii(?) 2–5, *CTH*, 160f. as lines 14–17 of the composite text and the translation "ne sont pas d'accord." Cf. also (I took Puduḫepa for my wife) *nu ḫandawen* Ḫatt.

iii 2, which Otten, *StBoT* 24, 17, translates "wir hielten zusammen." This is a good rendering: "we understood each other, were in harmony, had good relations" would also fit. In these passages *ḫandāi-* is intransitive, whereas in line 19 of our text ^{SAL.MEŠ}É.GE₄.A-uš is the accus. pl. form. Since, however, DUMU.MEŠ É-TI (20) and ^{LÚ.MEŠ}ATHUTIM (30) can be both nom. and acc., while ^{SAL}É[.GE₄.A...] (27) is incomplete, and since in the plural improper use of the *-ēš* and *-uš* forms is frequent, I follow the examples cited in taking the verb as intransitive with "brides" as subject. This has the advantage of avoiding change of subject.

29: The restoration proposed by Archi, *ḫa-an-t[a-an-zi ṽ. UL nu TÚG-an]*, which would give a good sense also with our interpretation of the verb, seems to be too long for the available space. I therefore propose a shorter restoration yielding the same sense. The participle *ḫandant-*, attested with meanings like "corresponding to, aligned with" *et sim.*, may also serve as participle to the intrans. use assumed here.

32: For *ḫalluwanuer* see Goetze, *JAOS* 74 (1954), 188 (*HW* 1.Erg., 3). Still, the causative form here is difficult. In the Gilgamesh Epic (Otten, *Ist. Mitt.* 8, 114, line 15, to be restored after *Madd.*, 82 n. 1) Gilgamesh and Enkidu "incite" Huwawa "to violence"; but in our text we expect the young men to *be* violent, unless, of course, we assume that here the goddesses are the subject. Since the end of the line is broken, one might think of restoring a *-za* for a reciprocal meaning.⁹

33: In [o]x-al-lu-u-wa-ar I can only think of restoring [m]a- which fits the preserved traces. That the neglect of plowing would lead to curtailment of grinding grain fits the context. There is space for one more sign, for which I propose ŠE.

34: The restoration [š]AH rather than [n]ir as in line 36 is based on the fact that the line seems to contain a simile: "Just as the dog . . ." (With Archi's restoration GIM[-an tar-n]ir I cannot construe the rest of the line). *ḫa-an-ta[-...]* brings to mind the verb discussed above, although here it seems to be transitive, since there is no "and" after ŠAH. But since the next lines are so fragmentary and difficult to understand, it is not clear where such a simile would lead.

35: The traces after NINDA do not support Archi's reading NINDA.ṛ1²-[E.DÉ]ṛ.A²?; the first sign looks rather like KASKAL; cf. NINDA.KASKAL-NI *KBo* 2.17:2 (*ŠL* 597, 184). I cannot restore the next few signs. With the "basalt" the grindstone could be meant. After *kunkunuzzi[n]* there is space for another word. "Let into the water" is used in magical and medical rituals for immersing and thereby dissolving materials in water. This cannot apply to the stone, so the whole

⁹ But the form *ḫalluwanut*, *KUB* 24.7 iii 26 (Cow story, same tablet!) must be "lowered" as given in *HW* after Sommer, *HAB* 76. There seem to be two unrelated homonyms.

remains rather enigmatic. Maybe the GIM-*an* of 36 should be taken as the temporal conjunction “when”: “When they let (pret.) [the . . . (35)] into the water . . .” After *na*[. . .] in 36 there is more space than for only the enclitic pronoun *-aš* or *-an* or *-at*. If the lost word was the object, then it would have to be *na*[*-at* . . .] “and they . . .” “And they destroyed [. . .] completely.”

39 and 41f.: One expects the phrase beginning with ZAG to be the same in both places. I therefore restore ZAG[*-aš*]-*ša-an* in 39 and ZAG-*aš*[*-ša-an*] in 41, as did Wegner; the last sign in 41, as copied by Walther, can only be *aš*, not *na*. Besides, ZAG-*aš*-*ša-an* occurs KUB 31.125:7, followed by a trace that may be the beginning of *ar*, corresponding to *arnu-* in our text. The form is *kunna* (allative) “to the right” plus *-šan*. For the occurrence of this particle in the interior of a sentence see Carruba, *Part.*¹⁰ p. 20. ZAG-*aš*-*ša-pát* KUB 21.27 ii 32 could be either mistake for ZAG-*aš*-*ša-an-pát* or contain the possessive pronoun *-ša*, “to his/its right.”

ZAG-*na* is used as adverb. The right side being the propitious one, ZAG-*na* designates what is agreeable to someone, suits him, etc. Cf. *nuttakkan kuit ZAG-na nu apāt uppi* “send whatever you please” KBo 2.11 rev. 14 (A U 242); *mān tukma ul ZAG-na nu ANA UTU-ši hairāi* “if it does not suit you write to His Majesty” Kup. § 19 D iv 3f. (SV I p. 132); “Let them unload (the grain shipments) in Ura or in Laštiš[a] *kuedani URU-ri ANA DUMU-YA ZAG-na* (!, copy *-uš*) [*na*] *n apiya katta i šhuwandu*” In whichever city it suits you, my son, [let them] un[load] it there” (Bo 2810:14–17, H. Klengel, AOF I [1974], 171–73). In our text, ZAG-*na arnu-* “to bring/carry to the right,” with *aššiyatar* “love” as object,¹¹ would be “carry it to a state where it is pleasing or satisfying”; for the translation of our passages I chose “carry to fulfillment.” In line 39 I restored the verb as 3d. pi. pres. in order to make the construction parallel to 41f., with *-šmaš* (39) corresponding to *-za* (41). One could also think of restoring *ar*[*nuši*] “you (Ištar) carry the love for them to fulfillment,” but that would weaken the parallelism and be redundant in view of the next clause “that has been decreed by you, Ištar.”

41: *pupuwalāi-*, *pupuwalatar*: Wegner, op. cit., p. 142, came close to the right understanding. The basic stem ^{LÚ}*pupu-* (or *bubu-*) occurs in the Laws, § 198. This is the man with whom a married woman committed adultery in her house. Goetze (ANET, 196) translated “adulterer,” Friedrich (HG, 87) “Buhle.” In KUB 43.35:12 ^{LÚ}*pupuš aššuš* occurs

¹⁰ O. Carruba, *Die satzeinleitenden Partikeln in den indogermanischen Sprachen Anatoliens* [Incunabula Graeca 32], 1969.

¹¹ Both Archi and Wegner took it as subject, which would result in intransitive use of *arnu-*, not registered in HW². I could not find our passage in HW² at all.

in broken context which belongs in the forensic sphere but leaves us to guess what the adjective “good” is doing here. An abstract noun directly derived from this noun is ^{LÚ}*pupuwatar*, in HW I.Erg., 16, without reference, now KBo 9.73 obv. 6, the Old Hittite Habiru treaty (CTH 27): [. . . w]aštai nu ^{LÚ}*pupuwatar izzi* “sins and commits *p.*,” here perhaps “fornication” in general rather than “adultery.”

In our passage *pupuwalatar*, abstract noun derived from the verb *pupuwalāi-*, has a positive connotation. I think that the term refers to all kinds of love affairs other than marriage; for translation I chose “to seduce, seduction.”¹² In the oracle questions KUB 49.94 obv. 2–14, where someone, presumably the king (cf. line 4), “was determined by oracle with regard to the word/affair of *pupuwalatar*” (3) and where someone (again the king?) has to perform a *SISKUR pupuwalannaš* “a ritual of/against *p.*” (11), the connotation is obviously one of reproach, regardless of whether the king had actually had an affair or whether there had only been some gossip of that sort.¹³

40: For the restoration [*r*]a-ra-a-an cf. KUB 14.4 iii 24, KBo 10.7 ii 18, etc.

40 end: My restoration SAL-*n*[a-an ku-iš] is based on my understanding of *pupuwalāi-*. The traces given by Walther, while not exactly suggesting the reading SAL-*n*[a-...], at least are not excluding it (not collated).

43: *l.DÜG.GA* must have been preceded by a word at the end of 42, after restored [*tarān*]; *waštari* after E. Neu, StBoT 5, 192 (:)waš(š)- “angenehm sein” with n. 3 about our passage.

43 and 45: In restoring [*ku-iš*] and *ka-a*[*-ri-ia-ši*] I follow Archi. This latter restoration together with *ul kuitki iš-d[am-...]* (47) seems to mean that Ištar somehow prevents someone—perhaps the townspeople (44)—from noticing the lovers. This leads me to my restoration and understanding of the first word in line 45.

45: [*ga*]laktaraši, 2d sg. pres. For the first sign I can only think of *ga*, since I know of no other word continuing with

¹² Archi correctly distinguishes between this paragraph, where the verb has a positive connotation (but where his rendering “adorare, adorazione” is, to my mind, not specific enough) and the next paragraph, where it is negative and where his translation “infedeltà” is appropriate. But I am not sure that this necessitates to restore **pupuwa*[*tar*] instead of *pupuwa*[*latar*].

¹³ In the prayer of Hattušili and Puduhepa, KUB 21.27 ii 32 (cf. above under ZAG, i 39) cited by Wegner, 142, the restoration of [*pupu*]lawatar is uncertain because of the trace of a vertical at the end of the gap which is also too long for [*pu-pu-*] alone, while a spelling **[pu-pu-ú]*-... is not otherwise attested; nor do the traces in the next line fit a form of *arnu-*.

-laktar.... A noun *galaktar* is known. It designates something that is usually deposited in incantation rituals together with other objects, most frequently with *parḫuena-*. Otten, *ZA* 46, 218, n. 1, defined both words as “angenehme, süsse Produkte pflanzlicher Art.” In some instances these substances are expected to have the effect that the deity be *galankanza* (partic. pass.) “pacified, reconciled” *vel sim*. It is assumed that the verb and the plant (product) are connected at least by the magic of the assonance, if not by etymology. There is one passage where *galaktar* is inserted or stuck into some vessel.¹⁴ Thus *g.* itself is a plant, apparently one with a stem. In our passage the verb denominated from *g.* has the result, outlined above, that the lovers are not noticed.

A plant with a stem and having this effect may be the poppy, which is at home in Anatolia. I leave it open whether the Hittites extracted the sap or only used the seeds. It is tempting to connect Hitt. *galaktar* with Greek *gála*, *gálaktos* etc., Latin *lac*, *lactis*, but I must leave it to the specialists to judge this connection. The milky sap of the poppy might be the link. However, there is another word for “milk” in Hittite, *pankur* (if this tentative definition of mine is correct; *HW* 3. *Erg.*, 25).¹⁵ And according to W. Farber¹⁶ there is no evidence for the use of the poppy or of opium in ancient Mesopotamia. Thus I refrain from positing *galaktar* “poppy,” but I think that the context allows for the interpretation expressed in the translation.

51: I can only make sense out of the signs following *iš-ḫu-u-wa-* by inserting an omitted *-an* and restoring *ḫar-ti*. The object of the verb is lost.

52: For *marlatar* see *HW* 3. *Erg.*, 23; for *pu-pu-wa[-. . .]* see above. In view of the bad state of preservation of these lines the translation can only be tentative.

56: Here begins a new paragraph. Given the small size of the gap at the end of col. i it is probable that the beginning of col. ii still belongs to the same. Since *Ištar* is addressed in col. ii it is assumed here that her name was the object to “I shall sing of” (*[iš-ḫa-m]i-iš-ki-mi* with Archi).

ii 1: The restoration *[wa-aš]-ta-aš-ku-wa-ar* is based on the fact that according to the *Glossaire inverse* of P. Reichert¹⁷

¹⁴ *KBo* 22.225 ii² 5–7 with dupl. *Bo* 2646 iii 2–4 (Otten, *HTR*, 121 with obsolete translation); cf. *KBo* 22 p.vi.

¹⁵ Not to speak of *GA-uš* *KUB* 28.70 rev. 12, which could be a mistake for *GUD-uš*.

¹⁶ Walter Farber, “Drogen im alten Mesopotamien—Sumerer und Akkader,” in G. Völger, ed., *Rausch und Realität: Drogen im Kulturvergleich* (Materialienband zu einer Ausstellung des . . . Museums für Völkerkunde der Stadt Köln. Cologne, 1981), 270ff., 271; courtesy of the author.

¹⁷ Pierre Reichert, *Glossaire inverse de la langue hittite* = *RHA* 21/73 (1963), 59–143; 108.

this is the only verb that fits the preserved syllables, also because the following lines indeed describe the misdeeds of the goddess.

2: The first sign, *aš*, could be the ending of a 2d sg. pret., but I am unable to restore the verb.

3: Beginning of line restored in parallelism to the following *kuinmakan* *LÚ-an*.

3 end: The last sign is *na* rather than anything else, and according to the copy nothing is missing after it. This recalls the phrase *ZAG-na arnu-* of i 39 ff., and *[ar-nu]-[ur]* fits the space and the trace at the beginning of line 4. It is true that this, in contrast to the list of her misdeeds, would be a positive act of the goddess, but this has a parallel in line 11.

6: The last two words are *hapax legomena*. I would analyze the first as *ešarašilaš+šmaš*, gen. pl. with poss. pron. of 3d. pl.¹⁸

8 beg.: The traces look like *IT-TI* (thus also Archi), followed by traces which could belong to *NUMUN*. At least, “coriander with (its) seed(s)” would make sense.

9: . . . *[-aš-ma]* is the only restoration I can think of that fits the space and the trace and yields some sense. *TÚG. NÍG. LÁM* must be neuter according to the adj. *parkuwaya*. The restored reading would be neuter plur. ending *-a+šmaš+za*; *-šmaš* would refer to the men, since the following *kuin—kuin* presupposes a plurality.

10: Although *parkun*, strictly speaking, is from *parku-* “high,” the context here calls for *parkui-* “clean, pure.” Mixing of the two adjectives is easy to assume; it would be the mistake of a scribe who thought of the verb *parganu-* “to make high” of the next line. Archi also has “pure.”¹⁹

12–14: These lines are very difficult. *wetandaš* looks like the participle of *weda-* “to build” or perhaps *wida-* “to bring,” but neither of them fits the context. Because of *laḫḫu-* in 13 one thinks of water, but *wetandaš* is not a form of *watar*, *wetenaš*. However, there is a derived *-ant-* stem attested as *ú-i-te-na-an-za* (nom. sg.)²⁰ and *ú-i-te-na-an-te-eš*

¹⁸ For *arišand[a(-) . . .]* see *HW*², 299 with reference to *areša-*, 259. This cross-reference need not imply morphological or semantic connection.

¹⁹ It has been claimed that *parkui-* originally is the IE feminine in *-ī* from an adjective **parku-* “clean,” and that the *-i-* was retained in order to distinguish this adj. from its homonym *parku-* “high.” See O. Szemerényi in *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani*, vol. 2, 1969, 991f. with references to Holger Pedersen, *Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen*, 1938, 35f., and H. Kronasser, *Etymologie der heth. Sprache*, 1962–66, 107. If this were correct, *parkun* could be an archaic masculine form here, as tentatively suggested by Eric P. Hamp orally.

²⁰ *KBo* 10.45 ii 24 (Otten, *ZA* 54, 122); cf. *ibid.* p. 156 ad *KUB* 41.8 iv 37 = p. 139 n. 242, where, however, the

(nom. pl.),²¹ and there is a short stem *wit(a)-* (HW, 255). Thus it is conceivable that an *-ant-* stem existed also from this short stem and that our form was the dat.-loc. pl. of that.

In line 13 one might read A as logogram “water.” Since the pronoun *-aš* “he” has to follow *-ma*, not to precede it, the *-aš* here would have to be phonetic complement to A, for *wetenaš* or the hypothetical *wetandaš*. But a reading *a-aš-ma* “first” is not excluded either; cf. HW, 36 and HW², 425.

14 beg.: Since there is no quoted speech with *-wa(r)-* in this whole text, one has to separate *nu* from the following. The traces and the somehow “watery” context lead to a restoration *wa-a[ti-ta-r]u*. The following word must be an iter.-dur. form, regardless of whether it is meant to be *κῶ* (as written) or rather *NAG* (with an easy mistake): *azzikizzi* or *akkuškizzi*, not *ezzazzi* or *ekuzi*, respectively.

If all these hypotheses were correct, they would result in something like this: “But another one you lead out to his own waters(?), but when he pours into the waters (or: when he first pours?) he keeps drinking(?) the foun[tain].” And what would be meant by this?

15f.: After the plural *LÚ.MEŠ-uš* of 14 the text here returns to the singular, *-ši* “to him/her.” This pronoun probably refers to a man, not to *Ištar*, who is here addressed in the 2d person: *GUL-ki-iš[i]* (again iter.-dur., *walheškiši*). The first verb in 16 was restored to *ta-ru³-up-pa-an-zi* by both Archi and Wegner. Indeed the traces given by Walther point in this direction, and if the verb were only *uppanzi* “they send” I would be unable to explain the traces before it. Since *tarup-* is transitive, *MAŠ.TUR.ḪI.A* should be object; the 3d. pers. pl. then stands for the general subject “they” in the sense of German *man*, French *on*. This would result in a translation “When they gather the kids for him, you keep hitting/ beating afterwards(? or: from behind?).” *EGIR-anda* (*appanda*) normally means “afterwards, thereafter,” but cf. HW², pp. 148ff., *appa*³, sections III and VI.—The translation adopted is another attempt to understand the sentence.

18: *puntarriyališ* was translated “ostinato” by Archi, who already referred to the vocabulary entry *KBo* 1.50 + *KUB* 3.99, lines 11–12.²²

gú.[o o]x a[o?] = [o o]-ku = *pu-un-tar-ia-u-wa-ar*
gú.e.la.a.e = [o-o-ku] šá ANŠE = ANŠE-aš *pu-un-ta-ri-ia*
[-u-wa-ar]

“To be stubborn,” “the stubbornness of an ass” are obvious translations. Our text has an adj. in *-ali-* derived from it. The

restoration *ru-e³[-te-na-z]a*, variant to *A-az*, and the interpretation as nom. sg. are not certain. The central piece of *KUB* 41.8 iv 36–42 is now (1982) missing, so the width of the gap cannot be ascertained.

²¹ *KUB* 32.121 ii 28 (Laroche, *RA* 48, 48).

²² To be published in *MSL* 17 as *Erim-ḫuš* Bogh. C.

clause is a nominal clause with *-za*; it therefore has to be understood with the pronoun of the 2d person as subject.²³

25: For ^{SAL.MEŠ}*al-la-wa-an*[...] see HW², 57. *KUB* 45.43 ii 5–7 cited there has *ehu^d IŠTAR URU³x-x*[...] *IŠTU É al-la-wa-an*[...] *kalmušaza IŠTU É*[...](end of paragraph). “Come, O *Ištar*, from(?) the town of [...]; from the *a*-building [...], but from the house [of the king(?) get] the lituus.” The word is not listed in Laroche’s *Gloss. hourr*.

LITERARY ANALYSIS

It is immediately obvious that the text has a certain structure. “I shall praise the first attendants” (i 12, §2) and “I shall praise the last attendants” (i 22, §3) form a pair, as do “The husband and wife who love each other” (i 38, §4) and “If a woman is hated by her husband” (i 48, §5). As is the case with most Hittite literary compositions, the text is written as if it were prose, without attention to poetic ‘lines’ or stichoi.²⁴ When I was editing “The Song of Ullikummi” in *JCS* 5–6 (1951–52) the editor, Albrecht Goetze, kindly allowed me to render the text twice, once in the traditional transliteration following the lines of the tablet (i.e., the tablet chosen as main manuscript) and once in ‘broad transcription’ arranged according to syntactic units (clauses) which could be assumed to coincide with the poetic ‘lines’ (cf. *JCS* 5, 141f.). In the present case, it seems best still to transliterate the text according to the lines of the original, so as to facilitate comparison with the cuneiform copy and also to give the reader an idea of the space available in broken passages. In contrast, I arrange the translation according to the clauses supposed to be verses. In order not to clutter it I enter only a few of the original line numbers, hoping that they will enable the reader to compare the translation with the text without too much difficulty.

As will be seen from my arrangement of the lines some clauses can be combined with others to form larger units or sentences; in terms of verses, these form distichs or tristichs. In broken passages the arrangement of such units is uncertain, with the result that the distribution chosen here is by necessity arbitrary to a certain extent. Where syntactic units are

²³ H. A. Hoffner, Jr., “On the Use of Hittite *-za* in Nominal Sentences,” *JNES* 28 (1969), 225–30.

²⁴ One exception is the Hittite version of “The Great Prayer to *Ištar*” (E. Reiner and H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 21 [1967], 255–66), *KUB* 31.141, where each written line is a stichos. Note the line numbers of the Hittite version, *Hi* (1) etc. on pp. 257ff., and cf. p. 265.

very short two of them may have formed a single 'verse.'

As far as the inner structure of the stanzas or strophes (here numbered as §§) is concerned, a fair amount of parallel structure can be observed in the two pairs mentioned above, §§ 2 and 3, §§ 4 and 5.

Thus in §§ 2 and 3 the introduction "I shall praise" forms a distich with the list of four divine names. This is followed by another distich, "Whatever household is beloved/hated, she sends these/those into that house." Thereafter, however, the two distichs of §2 ending with the words "with laughter" and "with joy" are contrasted in §3 by a single line combining "groaning" and "anguish" in one sentence. Then again §2 has one distich each for the girls' weaving and the youths' plowing, whereas §3 devotes a tristich to the girls and two distichs to the youths. After this come the enigmatic lines 34–37 of the text, where both the division into clauses and the translation are problematic; but in any case these lines form an addition over and above the parallel parts—if the term be allowed, a coda.

In the second pair of stanzas (§§ 4 and 5) the comparison is made difficult by the bad state of preservation of §5. Both speak of married couples first, of other relations second. In §4 the structure is fairly regular: one tristich each for the married couple and the other lovers; then, after an incomplete and unclear line (43), another tristich on Ištar's help for the lovers. In §5 I wrote the translation in five distichs, but they include a short clause that is lost and other short clauses that may have to be combined with the next one. But while the exact wording and verse structure are problematic, the sequence: married couple—extramarital relations—consequences of the latter, is parallel to that of §4.

It is a pity that §§ 1, 6, and 7 are incomplete. In §1 it would seem that five preserved original lines (7–11) and six lost lines preceding them would have formed one, rather than two, stanzas.

Above we proposed to take the entire text from col. i 56 to ii 17 as one stanza (§6). But even if this were wrong, i.e., if the end of col. i (three preserved plus five lost lines) were a stanza by itself, the paragraph from ii 1 to 17 would still be longer than any of the others. And of §7 only the first sentence, or stich, is preserved; otherwise only unconnected words at the beginning of lines; only the length, nine lines on the tablet, is given.

About the inner structure of §6 I need not say much beyond what is expressed by the arrangement of the translation. The one feature that stands out are the

sequences of *kuin*—*kuinma* "the one—the other" clauses, from time to time interrupted by a general statement. These *kuin*—*kuinma* chains are comparable to those with *kuez*—*kuezza* "on one side—on the other side" of §1.

Concerning the contents, the structure of the text is clear—as far as preserved. §1 seems to deal with Ištar the Warrior. If understood correctly it describes those who follow her into battle. In this context the two kinds of women in the last line might be camp-followers (German: *Marketenderinnen*) and prostitutes.

In §§ 2–3 the consequences of Ištar's favor and disfavor is described as it affects whole households; in §§ 4–5, as it affects individuals. In §§ 4–5 one may say that it is the mutual love, or the lack of it, of a married couple that determines Ištar's attitude. In §§ 2–3, on the other hand, we do not learn why one household is loved and the other hated by the goddess.

§6 is the most surprising part of the whole composition. It is a long list of invectives, reminiscent of the sixth tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic, although different in detail. Not every single point is negative, though: we found that probably two statements give credit to the goddess (ii 3–4 *ZAG-na a[rnut]* and 11 *parganut*). They would underline the unpredictability of the goddess, also known from Mesopotamia,²⁵ but the overall tenure of the stanza is to show her cruelty. This cruelty or dangerousness of the Goddess of Love is, of course, an essential part of her nature; in singing about it the poet, in a sense, praises her might.

One would like to know what §7 really contained. The comparison of the goddess with a stubborn ass at its beginning lets one expect a lighter tone, but nothing is preserved that would hint at such a tone. And after §7 there must have been at least one more stanza, to judge by Walther's estimate of a minimum of 16 and a maximum of 20 lines missing.

Even in this incomplete form this text is a piece of poetry of high quality. In the form in which it has come down to us it is the work of a Hittite writer. How close he followed a Hurrian original we shall only learn if and when such a Hurrian text is discovered. Ultimately one of course looks for Mesopotamian models. I hope that Sam Kramer, the rediscoverer of Sumerian literature, will be able one time to tell us about that.

²⁵ This side of her character has been illustrated by selections from many sources in the chapter "Inanna = Infinite Variety," by Thorkild Jacobsen in his book *The Treasures of Darkness*, 1976, 135–43.

The Second Inscription on Mount Sipylus

Author(s): Hans G. Güterbock and Robert L. Alexander

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THE SECOND INSCRIPTION ON MOUNT SIPYLUS

By HANS G. GÜTERBOCK and ROBERT L. ALEXANDER

The two authors of this brief note together made a tour of Hittite monuments in Turkey in the summer of 1978.¹ RLA arrived in İzmir from abroad a few days earlier than HGG, who was detained in İstanbul by other obligations. While waiting for him, RLA revisited the Karabel² and Mt. Sipylus and thus was the first of us to notice the inscription. Since it had not been mentioned in recent years and neither of us had seen it on previous visits to the site we believed that this was a discovery. In fact it is a rediscovery, as we learned from David Hawkins, who reminded us (in correspondence) of the fact that it is included in L. Messerschmidt, *CIH* 1–2 (*MVAG* 5, 1900, 4–5) as Pl. XXXVIII no. 3. Messerschmidt's source was an article by Eduard Gollob published in 1882.³

About three metres to the right of the recess containing the well-known seated goddess, a smaller, partly worked niche contains a large boss (Pl. IXa, arrow). Although the boss has suffered a major fracture, which perhaps led to its abandonment for relief sculpture,⁴ it has a plain surface on the side toward the goddess (Pl. IXb). The hieroglyphs are inscribed here, approximately on a level with the torso of the goddess (Pl. Xa,b, Fig. 1). The inscription is arranged in two columns; the right column, with four signs, measures 65 cm.,⁵ the left one consists of three (or four? see below) signs.

The physical condition of the surface explains why the inscription was forgotten for almost a hundred years. On a northerly face and shielded by an overhang, it does not receive the sun and the consequent contrast of light and shadow. Unlike the inscription near the goddess,⁶ read EXERCITUS-*mu(wa)* by

¹ RLA wrote the description of the site, HGG the comments on the inscription itself. RLA's trip was made possible, in part, by a research assignment of the University of Iowa. He reported on the niche and its interpretation at the meeting of the Midwest Art History Society in Columbus, Ohio, on March 20–22, 1980. HGG's air fare to Turkey was covered by a travel grant of the National Endowment for the Humanities, an agency of the United States Government, enabling him to collate Hittite tablets in Turkish museums for the Hittite Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. HGG published observations pertaining to other monuments visited on that tour in *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata* (1979) 235–45. He gave a report on the Sipylus inscription at the meeting of the American Oriental Society held in San Francisco on April 15–17, 1980.

² Here he found to his distress that the two monuments in the bottom of the valley had fallen victim to road construction (blocks B and C in Güterbock, *Ist. Mitt.* 17 (1967), 63–71; Meriggi, *Manuale di Eteo Geroglifico* II, 3a serie (1975), 261–3 and pl. I as nos. 3–5, Karabel II–IV).

³ Eduard Gollob, “Zur ‘Niobestatue’ am Sipylus bei Magnesia,” *Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie* 4 (Wien 1882), 307–11, with a postscript by J. Krall, pp. 311–13; this periodical is in the library of the University of Chicago.

⁴ The shape of the boss and its position – the lower edge about a metre above a rock shelf – suggests that a frontal animal head rather than a figure or animal protome was intended. Next to the seated goddess and as an attribute identifying her, a leonine head seems probable. When completed, it would not have the degree of relief seen in the animals of the Lion Gate at Boğazköy. Rather, like the sphinxes of Alaca Höyük, the head would be emerging from a rock face.

⁵ The measurements shown in Gollob's drawing no. III (about 1·10 m.) cannot be correct.

⁶ *CIH* XXXVIII 2=4=5; Meriggi, *Manuale* II, 3a serie no. 1, p. 259 f. and pl. I.

Bossert,⁷ the signs are not raised in relief but rather incised to an original depth of two to three mm., and the partial filling of the lines by lime deposits has reduced their distinctiveness.⁸ The streaked but shiny lime-covered surface angles upward slightly so that it reflects the light of the day in an even glare that renders difficult both observation and photographic recording.

The reading of the inscription is made even more difficult by the cursive forms of the incised signs, a phenomenon observed also elsewhere.⁹ The left column is even less clear than the right; in some photographs it hardly shows at all. In addition, its first sign is broken on the left. What follows is therefore given with the greatest reserve.

The right column is written in a right-to-left direction, as the first and third signs “look” toward the right. One may identify the first three signs as¹⁰ 285 *zu(wa)*, 439 *wa*, and 175 *la*. The fourth sign might be 423 *ku* or 254. Since a name *Zuwalla* is attested¹¹ and 254 is known as logogram of a title, we are inclined to accept this second interpretation rather than a reading **Zuwalaku*. The seal of Tabrammi from Ugarit¹² adduced by Laroche under no. 254 seems to indicate that the logogram stands for the Akkadian term *ša reši*, a high official of the palace, probably a eunuch,¹³ but because of the presence of other titles on this seal this equation is not certain. According to the new evidence from Meskene-Emar the same hieroglyph stands for $\text{LÚ} \text{ÍL} = \text{nāgīru}$ “herald”.¹⁴

The left column is more difficult. Since the right column is oriented right to left one expects the left column to follow it in the same direction. But if the

⁷H. Th. Bossert, “Das hethitische Felsrelief bei Hanyeri (Gezbeli),” *Orientalia* n.s. 23 (1954), 129–47, on Sipylus pp. 144–7 and pls. xxvii–xxviii; cf. Güterbock *Studia . . . Meriggi* 238, 242.

⁸Owing to the long time required for its formation, the deposit would by itself be evidence of the antiquity of the inscription, even if it had not been seen a hundred years ago. This kind of lime incrustation is best known from Yazılıkaya, cf. B. Damm in K. Bittel et al., *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazılıkaya* (1975) 26 f.

⁹E.g. in the inscription on the stele from the fountain head in Boğazköy, Güterbock, *Boğazköy IV* (1969), 49–52 and pl. 19; Meriggi, *Manuale* II 3a serie 295 and pl. IX, no. 49, Hattusa XII.

¹⁰Hieroglyphs are identified by the numbers in E. Laroche, *Les Hiéroglyphes hittites*, I: *L'écriture* (1960).

¹¹E. Laroche, *Les noms des Hittites* (1966), no. 1579: head of a household in a list, *KUB* 31 59 ii 12; *idem*, *Supplément*, in *Hethitica* IV (1981) 52 no. 1579a: Zuwalli, an official in charge of jewellery, *KBo* 18 161 obv. 9, 12.

¹²RS 17.231 in *Ugaritica* III (1956), 55, fig. 76 f.; Laroche, *ibid.* 149–52.

¹³On the tablet RS 17.231, *PRU* IV (1956) 238 the title was read by Nougayrol *amīlša re-ši ekallim* “ša-rēši du Palais.” In the inner ring of the seal the name Tabrammi appears twice on the left side in opposite directions. Facing left, i.e. running left to right, I read only Tabrammi with title 254; facing right, read right to left, Tabrammi with a title composed of 482-312-388 which occurs on the seal *SBo* II 223. This means that the sign 312 VIR should not be connected with 254. This is confirmed by the traces of 482-312-388 alone in the outer ring on the left. On the right side of the inner ring there is only one title, 326 SCRIBA over two oblique lines, a frequent combination (see no. 105 of the sign list in *SBo* II; comparison of the seals *Boğazköy* V (1975), nos. 9 and 15, suggests that SCRIBA with two and three such lines may be two different ranks of learned men; note that SCRIBA II on no. 9 is a prince). On the socle from Boğazköy (Meriggi, *Man.* II 3a serie no. 40, Hattusa II, p. 288 f., pl. VI, the title of Tabrammi is 254 (followed by an unclear sign); on the seal *SBo* II 92 (*KUB* 25 32) he has the titles 254 and SCRIBA. In the centre field of the Ras Shamra seal the two signs under the name may be MAGNUS-254(?); I would take those on the left as SCRIBA II like in the inner ring. Which of the three titles represented in the hieroglyphic text of the seal corresponds to that mentioned in the Akkadian text of the tablet?

¹⁴Laroche, *Akkadica* 22 (1981) 14; the full evidence still awaits publication.

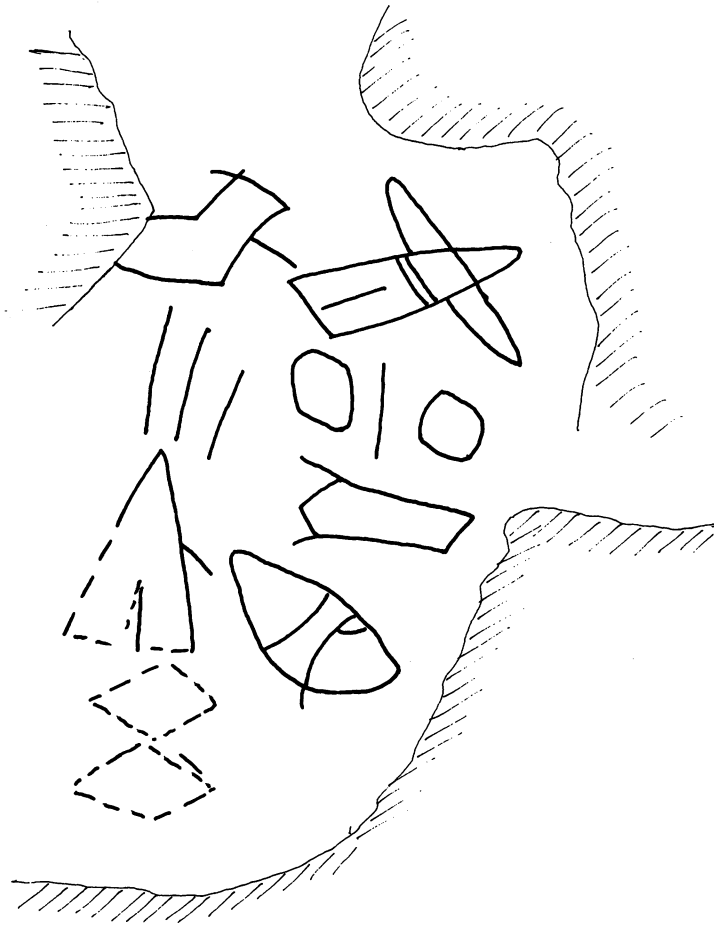


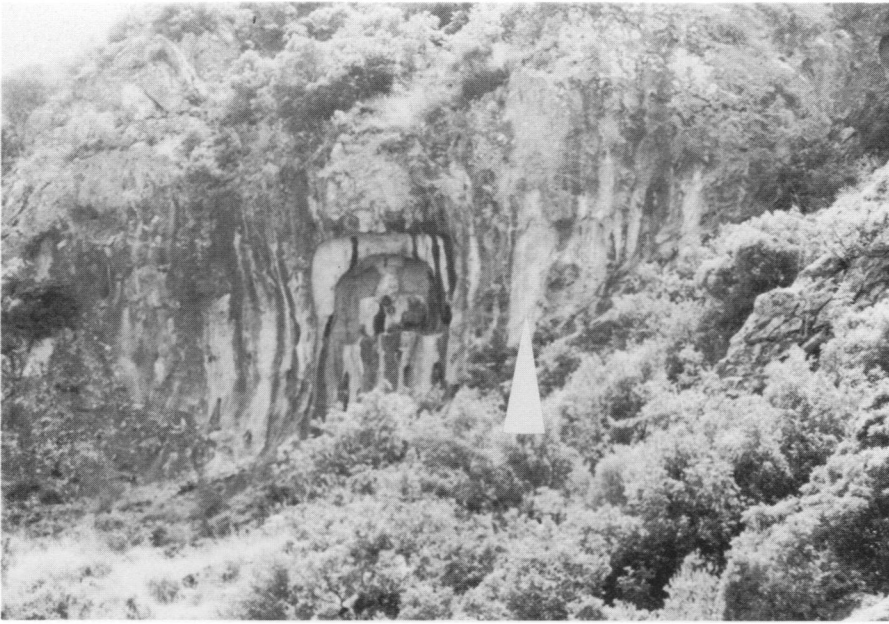
Fig. 1. Detail of the inscription

first and third signs really have the “thorn” they would be written in the opposite sense. The broken first sign looks as if it might be 90 *ti*: its direction would be in accordance with the position of the “thorn”. Two antithetic columns are frequent on seals, so e.g. on the common seals of kings and queens,¹⁵ but they are always written from the centre out, whereas here they would be written from the outside toward the centre, if indeed the left column is facing left. If the two columns were written in the same direction (as one would expect), the “thorns” on the first and third sign would have to be considered written on the wrong side or to be discarded entirely. The inverted foot sign 93 PES₂ is not known with the “thorn” and none of its usages seems to fit here. Perhaps the broken first sign is not a foot sign at all, but in that case I cannot identify it. The second sign consists clearly of three vertical lines; that would be either 388 “three” or, less probably, 390 DOMINUS in its variant form lacking the bottom line. The third sign is not clear at all but, as mentioned, seems to have the “thorn”. The fourth sign I saw only in the projection of a colour slide; we did not notice it on the rock. If it exists it resembles 424, which in its other occurrences is used for a personal name. The whole left column, thus, is not clear at all.

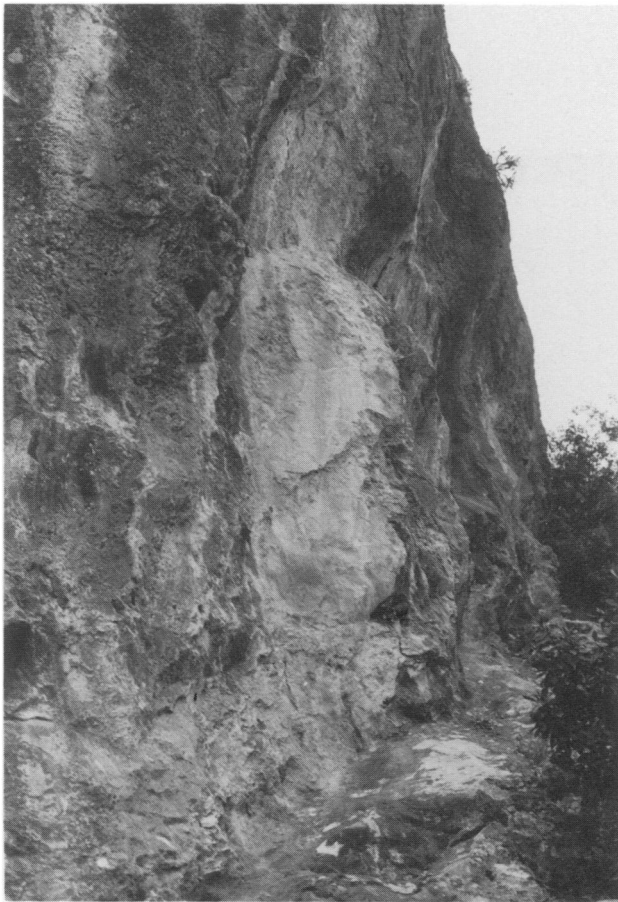
¹⁵ They have been conveniently collected by Beran, *HGB* (WVDOG 76, 1967) pls. X–XI.

To sum up, the main result of our visit is RLA's observation that there is a second niche, apparently unfinished, to the right of the well-known one, and that the inscription, seen in the past but forgotten since, is written on a protruding piece of rock which may have been intended to be carved into some sculpture, perhaps a lion. Concerning the inscription, we confirmed its existence and somewhat improved its reading — alas, not as much as one would expect and as we would wish. It is of some interest as a new example of incised hieroglyphs of the Empire period. If we may venture a guess it seems to us that it is younger than the inscription carved in relief near the picture of the goddess. We do not know who Zuwala was; certainly not the man mentioned in a list of households.

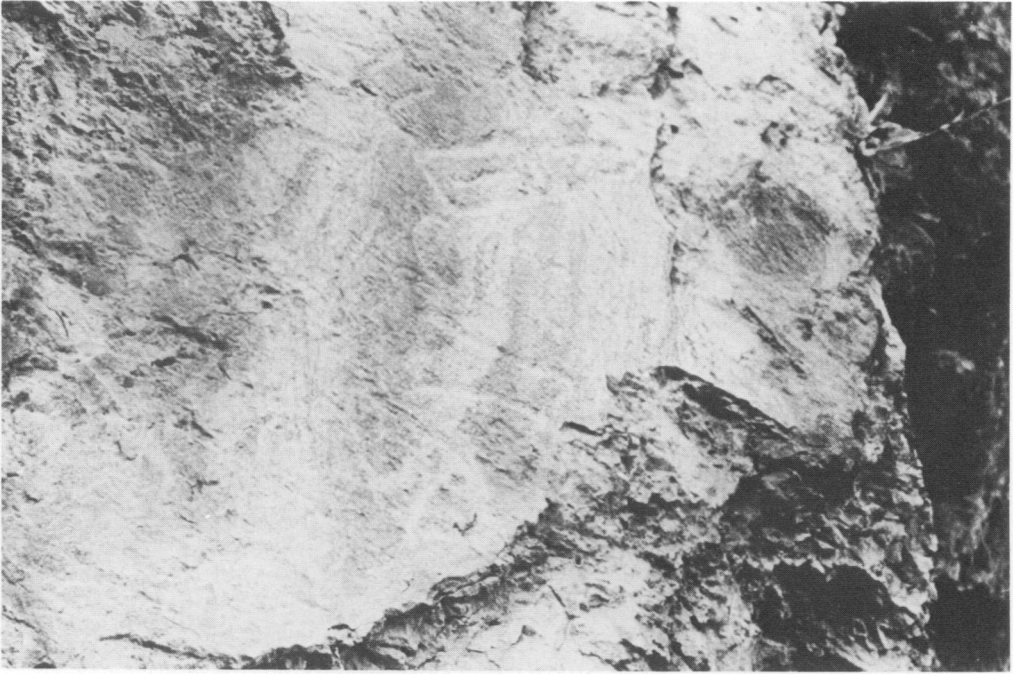
We hope that Richard Barnett will accept this note despite its meagre results as a small token of our admiration and lasting friendship.



(a) Mt. Sipylus relief. Position of second inscription marked with arrow.



(b) Mt. Sipylus relief, second inscription.



(a) Mt. Sipylus relief, second inscription.

Photograph, H. G. Güterbock.



(b) Mt. Sipylus relief, second inscription.

Courtesy of Archaeological Exploration of Sardis.



Hittites and Akhaeans: A New Look

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Hittites and Akhaeans: A New Look*

HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

Professor Emeritus, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

As early as 1924, only seven years after the Hittite language had been deciphered, Emil Forrer, a young Swiss scholar who worked on the Boghazköy tablets in Berlin, surprised the world by his announcement that he had found "Pre-Homeric Greeks in the Boghazköy texts."¹ According to him the term "Land of Ahhiyawa" occurring in some Hittite texts referred to the land of the Akhaeans. This claim was soon challenged by other Hittitologists, such as Johannes Friedrich (in 1927) and Albrecht Götze (in 1930).² In 1932 Ferdinand Sommer published a monumental book *Die Ahhijavā-Urkunden* (The Ahhiyawa Documents),³ in which he presented a re-interpretation of all the sources with detailed philological commentary. Coming to the conclusion that none of the points adduced by Forrer could be taken as real proof, he rejected the whole theory.

This total rejection was seen by others as going too far. Already in 1935 Fritz Schachermeyr countered with a monograph *Hethiter und Achäer*,⁴ in which he concluded that the assumption that the name Ahhiyawa referred to Greeks was highly probable, even though it could not be strictly proven. In the fifth volume of his monumental work *Die ägäische Frühzeit* (1982)⁵ the same author takes an even more positive stand. The most outspoken advocate of the "Greek theory" was G. L. Huxley in a monograph *Achaeans and Hittites* (1960),⁶ while Gerd Steiner in

an article of 1964 tried again to disprove every argument adduced by the proponents.⁷

The "Ahhiyawa question" has become a matter of faith—there are believers and skeptics. On the one side it is true that by strict linguistic laws *Ahhiyawā* or its older form *Ahhiyā* are not correct rendering of **Akhaiwoi* or **Akhaiwiya*, **Akhaiwa* (whatever the reconstructed form of the name of the people or the country, respectively, may be). I belong to those who think that strict phonetic laws cannot be applied to the rendering of foreign names, witness the Greek names of the Akhaemenian kings. I think that if other considerations favor the equation, the lack of correct phonetic correspondence is not a serious obstacle.

Since the days of Forrer's announcement and Sommer's rejection of the theory, our picture of the ancient world has changed. Thanks to Michael Ventris we now know that the bearers of the Mycenaean civilization were indeed Greeks; the number of West-Anatolian sites yielding Mycenaean finds has increased, and Aegean archaeologists know more about the Mycenaean thalassocracy. Common sense tells us that the Greek world was no more remote from Anatolia than Babylon or Egypt, so that it is hard to understand why the Hittites should not have known and mentioned it.

Indeed there are some indications of contacts between the two peoples. Fig. 1 is a map of Mycenaean finds in West Anatolia published by K. Bittel in 1967.⁸ Note how close to these findspots the Hittite monuments are situated (marked X): at the moun-

* Read 23 April 1983

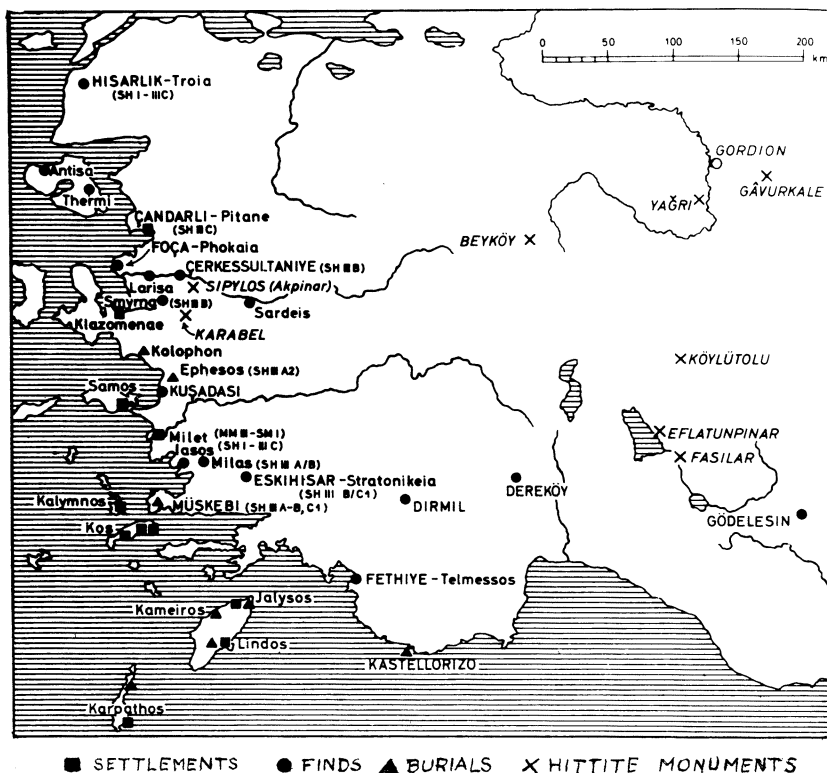


FIG. 1. Mycenaean finds in Western Anatolia
After K. Bittel, *MDOG* 98 (1967) 18 fig. 17

tain pass called Karabel (fig. 2)⁹ and on the slope of Mt. Sipylus near Magnesia (Manisa) (fig. 3).¹⁰ Both bear hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. The Karabel inscription stems from a local ruler and marks the boundary between the Hermos and Kaÿstros plains. The image of the Mother Goddess on Mt. Sipylus is accompanied by two inscriptions: one belongs to a Hittite prince who also "signed" two reliefs in the Taurus mountains of Southeast Anatolia,¹¹ presumably because he was in charge of these widely separate regions at different times, the other to a man with a Hittite name and an administrative office.¹² All three inscriptions can be dated to the thirteenth century B.C.

The pointed hat of the figure at the Karabel is the typical headdress of Hittite gods; it often is decorated with horns in varying number and place, the sign of divinity. Fig. 4

shows two examples at random.¹³ A sherd of a locally made Late Helladic crater found at Miletus (fig. 5)¹⁴ obviously depicts just such a hat. So there were people in the Mycenaean quarter of Miletus who were aware of things Hittite. At the other end, an incised drawing inside a bowl of Hittite manufacture found at Boğazköy in a level of the late fifteenth to fourteenth century (fig. 6)¹⁵ shows that some Hittites must have seen some things Aegean. Finally there is the Hittite cylinder seal found in a Mycenaean building at Thebes (fig. 7).¹⁶ Even though, according to Professor Porada's plausible reconstruction of the events, it did not come directly from the Hittites but rather as part of a whole lot of lapis cylinders sent by the king of Assyria, the find shows that Near Eastern artifacts were shipped to Greece at the time.

So much for the common sense approach.



FIG. 2. The Karabel relief
Photo: Author

What about specific problems? One basic question is whether Ahhiyawa was in Anatolia or outside it. The "believers" cited passages where it was reached by boat for a location across the sea, whether it was on one of the islands including perhaps Crete, or on the Greek mainland. The "skeptics" said that boats could have sailed along the coast of Anatolia. They stressed the necessity of disregarding the unproven and phonetically faulty equation of the names and of trying to locate Ahhiyawa in Anatolia in the framework of the historical geography of the Hittite period. But this is just where the difficulties lie. Several scholars have tried, starting from the few known fixed points, to arrange countries according to relations of one to another, but the possibilities are too many, so that a number of different "geographies" have been proposed, none of which is quite convincing. The places proposed for an Anatolian Ahhiyawa range from Pamphylia to the Troad, even Thrace.

Let us look at the evidence for a location of Ahhiyawa in Anatolia. One source is the

text known as the Indictment of Madduwattas,¹⁷ because in it a "man of Ahhiyā" is obviously operating on Anatolian soil. Madduwattas (whose name sounds proto-Lyidian, like Alyattes, Sadyattes) apparently was a vassal of the Hittites. His misdeeds, listed in the document, span the reigns of two successive kings who have been identified with a Tudhaliyas and his son Arnuwandas.¹⁸ Previously it was believed that these were Tudhaliyas IV and Arnuwandas III of the thirteenth century B.C., but now the text has been redated on linguistic grounds to the late fifteenth century, where we have Tudhaliyas II and Arnuwandas I.¹⁹ The text states that Madduwattas was attacked by Attarissiyas, "the man of Ahhiyā." The term "man" may refer to a lesser ruler whom the Hittites did not regard as "king," or it may simply be the gentilic, "an Ahhiyawan." In any case this man on one occasion commanded one hundred chariots. Madduwattas was twice saved by the Hittites from defeat by Attarissiyas. Nevertheless he then made common cause with enemies of the Hittites: first with the city of Dalawa,



FIG. 3. The Sipylos monument
Photo: Author

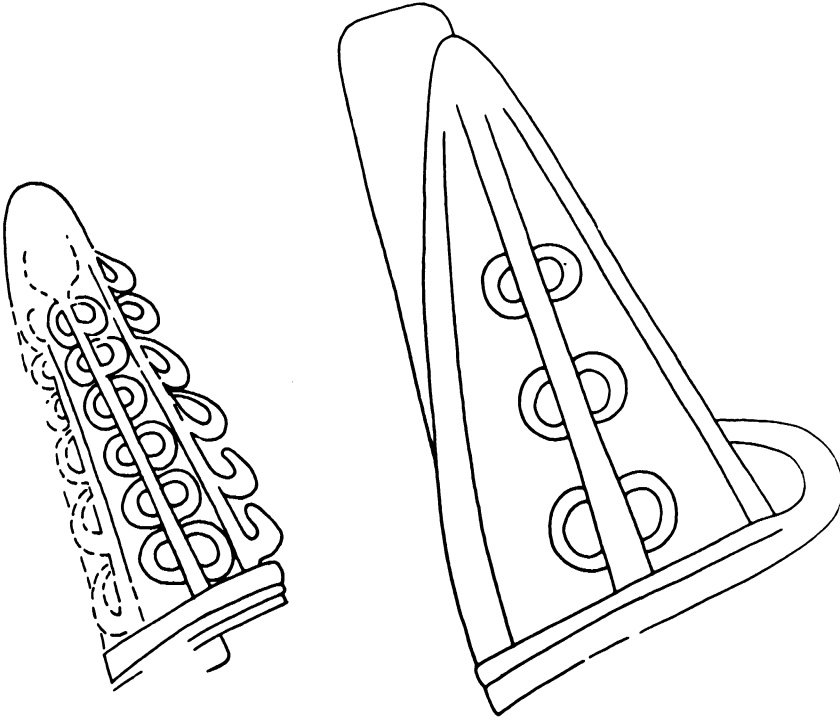


FIG. 4. Tiaras of Hittite gods
After K. Bittel et al., *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya*, pl. 63

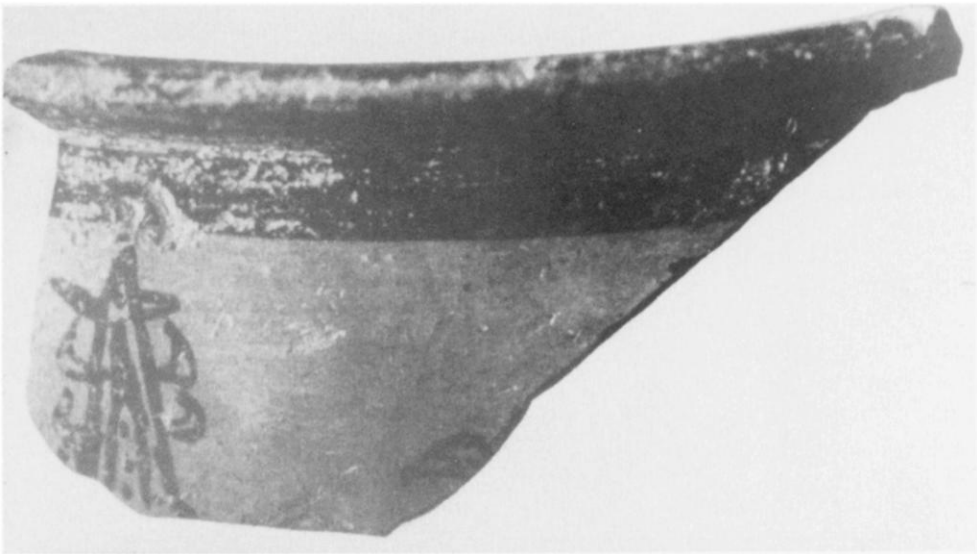


FIG. 5. Mycenaean sherd from Miletus
After C. Weickert, *Ist. Mitt.* 9/10 pl. 72.1

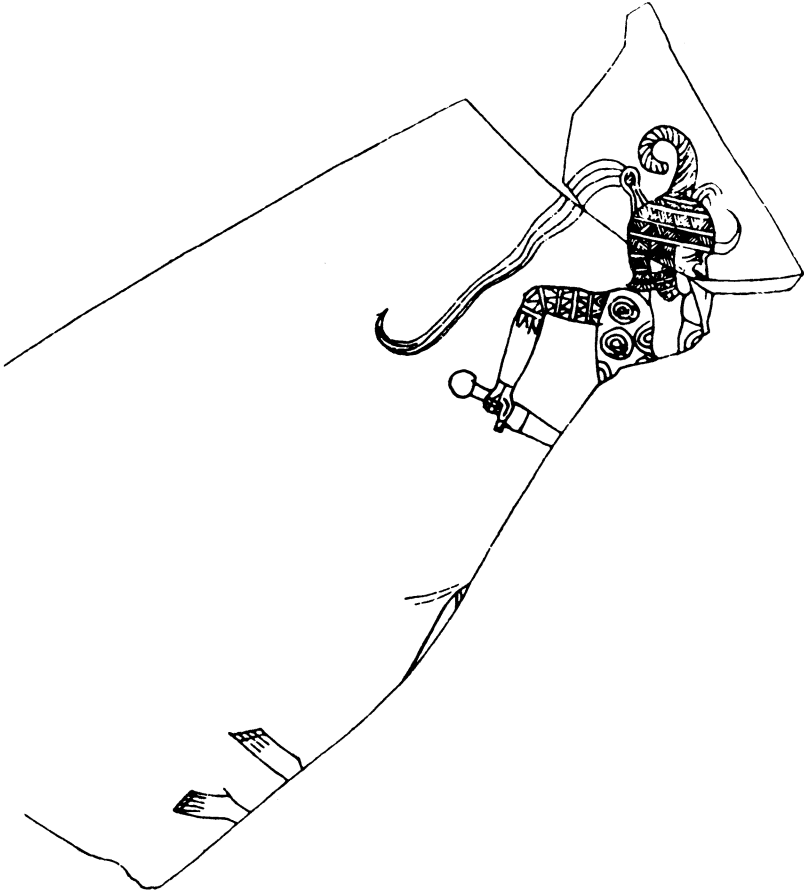


FIG. 6. Drawing on bowl from Boğazköy
After K. Bittel, *Rev. Arch.* 1976: 11



FIG. 7. Cylinder seal found at Thebes
After E. Porada, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28 (1982): 48

TABLE 1

Kings of the Hittite New Kingdom

Tudḫaliyas I
↓
Hattusilis II
↓
Tudḫaliyas II
↓
Arnuwandas I
↓
Tudḫaliyas III
↓
Suppiluliumas I ca. 1352–22
↓
Arnuwandas II
↓
Mursilis II
↓
Muwatallis around 1275
↓
Urḫi-Teshub (Mursilis III)
↓
Hattusilis III
↓
Tudḫaliyas IV
↓
Arnuwandas III
↓
Suppiluliumas II to ca. 1200

that is Lycian Tlawa, Greek Tlô̄s, in Lycia. Using a ruse, he helped the Tlawans smash a Hittite army and then made a formal alliance with Tlawa. Next, he joins the king of Arzawa,²⁰ an old enemy of the Hittites. Later on, Madduwattas makes common cause with his old enemy, Attarissiyas, and at the time of Arnuwandas the two together made raids on Alashiya, that is, Cyprus.²¹ The king reproaches Madduwattas for having attacked the island which he claims as Hittite possession. (How such a claim was possible in the late fifteenth century is hard to explain.) Madduwattas promptly replied that he did not know of it! It seems to me that Attarissiyas (whose name sounds Greek, although it is hardly Atreus!), rather than being the ruler of an Anatolian country Ahhiyā, would be an Akhean chieftain operating out of one of the early Mycenaean settlements on the west coast.

Another text was also adduced in favor of locating Ahhiyawa in Anatolia.²² One sentence in it was translated by both Forrer and Sommer as "the king of Ahhiyawa re-

treated." This was taken as indicating that he was carrying out military operations on Anatolian soil, specifically in the Seḫa River Land in western Asia Minor, and that therefore his own country must have been nearby. Reexamining the text I found that the verb in question often means "to take refuge," for instance: "The population fled and took refuge in hard-to-climb mountains." In a prayer we read: "The bird takes refuge in his nest, and is saved. I took refuge with the Stormgod, so, save me (my god)!" Note that in the last example the object of the verb is a god; here one may say "to put one's trust in, to rely on." Thus I interpret the historical fragment to mean: "[Tarḫunaradus] started hostilities [against me] and relied on the king of Ahhiyawa." One could obviously "rely on the king of Ahhiyawa" regardless of where that country was situated.²³

Summing up, we may say that so far we have found no proof for localizing Ahhiyawa either in Anatolia or outside of it. We shall come back to that question, but there are other aspects of the Ahhiyawa problem to discuss.

The most important document for the relations of Hatti with Ahhiyawa is the so-called Tawagalawa letter.²⁴ It covered three tablets of which only the third (ca. 275 lines) is extant. From internal evidence it is clear that it was written by a Hittite king to a king of Ahhiyawa. The names of the two sovereigns do not occur on this tablet, since the only place where the writer and addressee of a letter are mentioned by name is the very beginning. The letter has been attributed to the kings Mursilis II, Muwatallis, and Hattusilis III. Of these, Hattusilis is the most likely.²⁵

The main subject of this third tablet is the behavior of a certain Piyamaradus, whom the Hittite king accuses of having made raids and planning more attacks on Hittite territory. His name is "Hittite" (in the wider sense), but he is apparently a protégé of the king of Ahhiyawa. In the first sections of

the tablet, however, a certain Tawagalawas is mentioned. His name is certainly not Hittite; it has been taken for Greek and explained as Etewoklêwēs (Eteocles).²⁶ Tawagalawas is the brother of the king of Ahhiyawa. I was able to dispel Sommer's objections to this interpretation on the basis of texts published after his time.²⁷ The Hittite king speaks of a charioteer, who is a relative of the queen, and who "has been stepping on the chariot with me since my youth, and also with your brother Tawagalawas" (against Sommer's "your brother and Tawagalawas").

At the beginning of our third tablet we read that the people of Lukka, threatened by an unidentified enemy, turned first to Tawagalawas, then to the Hittite king for help. While the latter was approaching, he received a message from a man who wanted to be taken on as vassal. It was thought that this man was Tawagalawas, but the text is not clear. I. Singer recently argued convincingly that he rather was Piyamaradus.²⁸ Although the Hittite king sent a high official to escort him into his presence, this man then refused to come and demanded to be given the kingship on the spot. A little later in the text the Hittite king says that he had complained to the king of Ahhiyawa about the raids of Piyamaradus, and that the king of Ahhiyawa replied that he had instructed a certain Atpas to hand Piyamaradus over to him. Atpas seems to be an Ahhiyawan official in Millawanda, because now the Hittite king goes to that city in order not only to receive that extradition, but also, "so that my brother's subjects may hear what I have to say to Piyamaradus." From this we learn that there were Ahhiyawans living in Millawanda. When the king arrived there, however, Piyamaradus had left—by boat.

Obviously the name *Millawanda* or *Milawata* is close to *Milātos*, that is, Miletus. The equation, proposed long ago, was doubted as not provable. It has gained in probability by the discovery of the Minoan and My-

cenean fortified settlement on the site and is now widely accepted. Outside the Tawagalawa letter Millawanda is once mentioned in connection with Arzawa and Ahhiyawa in the Annals of Mursilis II, unfortunately in a badly damaged passage. The other mention of the town is in a letter which can now be dated to Tudḫaliyas IV. It is addressed to an unnamed vassal who is not, as previously assumed, the ruler of Milawata (as the name is written here). A join found by H. A. Hoffner²⁹ shows that the writer and addressee together did not "[set] the boundaries of Milawata" (as previously restored) but rather "annexed territory of Milawata." The added piece also shows that the writer, Tudḫaliyas IV, planned to re-install the deposed ruler of Wilusa, who had apparently taken refuge with the addressee.

Wilusa is best known from a treaty that Muwatallis concluded with its king Alaksandus.³⁰ The combination Alaksandus of Wilusa reminded many people of Alexandros of (W)Ilios, and a list of Western countries in a fifteenth-century text puts Wilusiya together with Tarwisa at the northern end of the list. The name Tarwisa has been claimed for Troy. That both Wilusiya and Tarwisa are called "countries" and listed side by side may perhaps be blamed on the ignorance of the Hittite scribe. Wilusa is mentioned also in the Tawagalawa letter in reference to an earlier time, when apparently the kings of Hatti and Ahhiyawa fought over that city but then made peace. If the writer of the letter is indeed Hattusilis, then this clash occurred long after the installation of Alaksandus! I shall not go into further speculation at this point.³¹

Back to the Tawagalawa letter—it has been observed that its tone in general is rather polite and cautious. The Hittite king explains why he had to go to Millawanda, and at one point excuses himself for some offending words attributed to him. In light of this, let us look at one crucial passage.

The Hittite king was apparently peeved

by a message from the king of Ahhiyawa, which curtly said (referring to Piyamaradus): "Take this man, but do not le[ad] him [away]!" To this he replies: "If one of my grandees(?) or a "brother" of mine had told me, I would have listened to his words." Sommer translated the next sentence: "But now My Brother wrote to me like a Great King, my equal: the word of my equal I hear *not!*" Such impolite language hardly fits the tone of the letter. The three terms "My Brother," "Great King" and "my equal" are best understood as simple apposition, and the last clause as rhetorical question. I translate: "But now My Brother, the Great King,

my equal, has written me; shall I not listen to the word of my equal?" Recently I was pleased to learn that the Polish Hittitologist Rudolf Ranoszek gave the same interpretation as early as 1938.³² I think one should draw the necessary conclusion from it. The Great King of Ahhiyawa, equal in rank to the kings of the other great powers of the time, cannot have been the ruler of some country in Anatolia, where there is no room for another great power beside Hatti. Nor would one expect him on one of the islands. I think the conclusion can only be that he ruled over mainland Greece as well as the islands and the settlements in Anatolia.

NOTES

1. E. Forrer, "Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (MDOG)* 63 (1924): 1–22; "Die Griechen in den Boghazköi-Texten," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (OLZ)* 27 (1924): 113–118.
2. J. Friedrich, "Werden in den hethitischen Keilschrifttexten die Griechen erwähnt?", *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1.1 (1927): 87–107; A. Götze, rev. of E. Forrer, *Forschungen* 1.2 (1929): *OLZ* 33 (1930): 285–292.
3. F. Sommer, *Die Ahhijavā-Urkunden (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abt. N.F.6, 1932; reprint Hildesheim 1975), hereafter AU.*
4. F. Schachermeyr, *Hethiter und Achäer (Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* 9.1–2, 1935).
5. F. Schachermeyr, *Die ägäische Frühzeit*, vol. 5: *Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 387, 1982).
6. G. L. Huxley, *Achaeans and Hittites* (Oxford 1960).
7. G. Steiner, "Die Ahhijawa-Frage heute," *Saeculum* 15 (1964): 365–392. Based thereon: W. Röllig, art. "Griechen" in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 3 (1971): 643–644. S. Košak, "The Hittites and the Greeks," *Linguistica* 20 (Ljubljana 1980): 35–48, while admitting contacts, rejects the equation of the names.
8. K. Bittel, "Karabel," *MDOG* 98 (1967): 5–23, esp. 16–23 with fig. 17. There are more recent such maps, but to my mind this is the clearest.
9. For the relief see also Bittel, *Les Hittites* (Paris 1976) = *Die Hethiter* (Munich 1976), fig. 206; E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (1962), pl. 102 and color pl. XXII. For the inscription see *MDOG* 98: 9–14 with figs. 4–15.
10. Bittel, *Les Hittites*, figs. 204–205; Akurgal *The Art*, color pl. XXIII.
11. H. Th. Bossert, "Das hethitische Felsrelief bei Hanyeri (Gezbeli)," *Orientalia n.s.* (hereafter *Or.*) 23 (1954): 129–147 and pls. XXIV–XXIX; on the identity of the name there with that on Sipylus *ibid.* 144–146. For Hanyeri cf. Bittel *Les Hittites*, fig. 201. The other eastern relief is at Imankulu, *ibid.* fig. 203; for the reading of the prince's name see Güterbock, "Hieroglyphische Miszellen," *Studia Mediterranea Piero Meriggi Dicata* (1979): 235–245, esp. 237f., 242f.
12. H. G. Güterbock and R. L. Alexander, "The Second Inscription on Mt. Sipylus," *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983): 29–32.
13. Two of the samples collected by K. Bittel in *Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya* (1975) pl. 63.
14. C. Weickert, "Die Ausgrabung beim Athena-Tempel in Milet 1957: III. Der Westabschnitt," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 9–10 (1960): 63–66, esp. 65, pl. 72, 1.
15. K. Bittel, "Tonschale mit Ritzzeichnung aus Bogazköy," *Revue archéologique n. s.* 1976: 9–14 and figs. 1–3. Cf. now Dessa Rittig, *Or.* 52 (1983): 156–160, fig. 3; Rittig considers the drawing Anatolian.
16. E. Porada, "The Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes in Boeotia," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28 (1981): 1–70, esp. 46–49 (no. 25) and 68–70 ("Historical Hypotheses"); H. G. Güterbock, "The Hieroglyphic Inscription on the Hittite Cylinder, No. 25," *ibid.* 71–72. Our fig. 7 is rearranged from the drawing on p. 48 according to the photograph on p. 47.
17. A. Götze, *Madduwattāš (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft [MVAeG]* 32.1, 1927 [1928]), reprint Darmstadt 1968.
18. By Götze, *ibid.* 157–159, on the basis of a similar text, now *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (KUB)* 23.21.
19. H. Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung und Datierung des Madduwattā-Textes (Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten [StBoT]* 11, 1969). See our Table 1 for the sequence of Hittite kings. The early part of the table is based

- on O. R. Gurney, in *Studia Mediterranea* Piero Meriggi *Dicata* (1979): 213–223, esp. his table p. 221.
20. At that time a powerful kingdom in West Anatolia. It was conquered by Mursilis II, in whose time its capital was Apasa, probably = Ephesus. Cf. the detailed study by Susanne Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa: Untersuchungen zu seiner Geschichte nach den hethitischen Quellen* (Texte der Hethiter 8, 1977).
 21. The equation of Alashiya with Cyprus has been contested, but I see no reason for giving it up. The text mentioning a naval victory of Suppiluliumas II (H. G. Güterbock, "The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus Reconsidered," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26 [1967]: 73–81, esp. 78) clearly shows that Alashiya is an island.
 22. *KUB* 23.13, *AU* 314f.; J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire* (1959): 120f.; H. G. Güterbock, *AJA* 87 (1983): 137f. with n.26. The repetition of "with the weapon" in lines 2 and 3 requires two different subjects. Therefore I read and restore: "The grandfather of Your Majesty did not defeat [us] by the force of arms. [Wh]en [the father of your Majesty] defeated the Arzawa countries, [he did not defeat] us by the force of arms." The conqueror of Arzawa was Mursilis II. If he is called here father of the ruling king, this leaves only Muwatallis or Hattusilis III as author. Of the two, the latter is more likely because this kind of historical narrative is known from him rather than from the former. Cf. I. Singer, *Anatolian Studies* 33 (1983), kindly made available to me by the author. Singer, p. 207 n.11 quotes D. E. Easton of Liverpool for the same restoration.
 23. While my article for *AJA* was in the press I learned that Easton had found the same interpretation of this passage in a paper read at the Fifth International Colloquium on Aegean Prehistory in Sheffield in 1980 but not published. Cf. Singer (n.22) p. 207, n.11.
 24. *KUB* 14.3; *AU* 2–19 with commentary pp. 20–194.
 25. For this dating see now I. Singer, in *Anat.St.* 33 (1983): 209f. Dr. Singer mentioned his reasons to me orally in Jerusalem in 1982. Recently Heinhold-Krahmer, *Or.* 52: 95–97, arrived at the same conclusion, and so did M. Popko in a paper submitted in 1983 to the *Altorientalische Forschungen*, of which he kindly sent me a copy.
 26. I still prefer this explanation to that as Teukros advocated by E. Vermeule, *AJA* 87 (1983): 142.
 27. Details in *AJA* 87: 136b.
 28. In *Anat.St.* 33 (1983): 211. Heinhold-Krahmer apparently has the same idea: cf. her reference, *Or.* 52: 82 with n.5, to the forthcoming part II of her "Untersuchungen zu Piyamaradu."
 29. H. A. Hoffner, "The Milawata Letter Augmented and Reinterpreted," paper read at the 28th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Vienna, July 1981, published *Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft* 19 (1982): 130–137.
 30. J. Friedrich, *Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache* 2 (*MVAeG* 34.1, 1930): 42–102, esp. 43–45 about the name. For a discussion of the history of Wiluša see Heinhold-Krahmer, *Arzawa* (n.20) 157–178, also Singer (n.22) 215f.
 31. In *AJA* 87 I left out Alaksandus of Wilusa because the question of his identity has no direct bearing upon the problem of Ahhiyawa.
 32. R. Ranoszek, review of *AU* in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 56 (1938): 38–39, quoted by idem, *Archiv Orientalní* 18.4 (1950) 242; by Ph. H. J. Houwinkten Cate, in R. A. Crossland and A. Birchall, eds., *Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean* (1974) 151, by Easton (n.23), and by Heinhold-Krahmer, *Or.* 52: 96 with n.84.



Marginal Notes on Recent Hittitological Publications

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MARGINAL NOTES ON RECENT HITTITOLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

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I

RECENTLY, I was amazed to find, in three publications, the correct transliteration ^{LÚ}ALAN.ZÚ combined with the obsolete translation “Statuenanbeter” (“statue worshiper”).¹ This interpretation was originally proposed, in 1931, by A. Goetze. He thought that the sign KA×UD, which is the Boğazköy form of the logogram for “tooth,” might, in the combination with ALAM (ALAN), stand for KA×ŠU = *karābu*.² For a time the interpretation as ALAM.KA×KÁR, “statue worshiper,” was accepted, *faute de mieux*, by most scholars,³ although with a question mark. The correct reading was found by B. Landsberger on the basis of variants in vocabularies writing ALAN.ZÚ for *aluzinnu* instead of the normal ALAN.ZU.⁴ Since KA×UD is the normal Boğazköy shape of KA with the reading zú = *šinnu* “tooth,” it is obvious that the composite Hittite logogram is the Boğazköy form of ALAN.ZÚ, with a simple phonetic substitution of one homophone for another. It was therefore a surprise to find Landsberger’s reading ALAN.ZÚ combined with Goetze’s translation “statue worshiper.”

Obviously, this return to the old translation was prompted by an article by E. Badali entitled “^{LÚ}ALAM.ZU_x: adoratore di statue o clown?”⁵ Before discussing the essence of the article let me comment on two minor points.

First, Badali is right in saying that since the sign KA×UD is not identical with simple KA = zú, one should distinguish it by writing ZU_x. I agree, and the *CHD* is using this transliteration.⁶

Second, I do not know whether the *aluzinnu* is a clown, a jester, an actor, or whatever else. We all know that the most frequent, but by no means only, of his

¹ E. Badali, “Una festa in onore di Zababa (CTH 612),” *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico* 2 (1985): 57 ff., l. 14; M. Popko and P. Taracha, “Der 28. und 29. Tag des hethitischen AN.TAḪ.ŠUM-Festes,” *AoF* 15 (1988): 88 and 92, l. 3; J. Friedrich and A. Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*, 2d ed. (HW²), vol. 2 (Heidelberg, 1988), p. 18.

² A. Götz, “Die Entsprechung der neuassyrischen Zeichen PÍŠ und KA+ŠU in der Boghazköi-Schrift,” *ZA* 40 (1931): 65 ff., esp. 70–73. He thought he had evidence for KA×KÁR in the same meaning as KA×ŠU.

³ S. Alp, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtennamen im hethitischen Festzeremoniell* (Leipzig, 1940), p. 66; J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch (HW)* (Heidelberg, 1952–54), p. 264.

⁴ See my article, “Lexicographical Notes II: 4 ^{LÚ}ALAN.KA×UD = ^{LÚ}ALAN.ZÚ = *aluzinnu*,” *RHA* 74 (1964): 95–97. I did not “propose” the reading and interpretation but only made known Landsberger’s correct explanation. Proto-Lu 581 is now in *MSL* 12, p. 54 with variant, p. 72.

⁵ Badali, “^{LÚ}ALAM.ZU_x: Adoratore di statue o clown?,” *Bibbia e Oriente* 139 (1984): 45–53.

⁶ On the other hand, the Boğazköy form of EZEN is really EZEN×ŠE, and early Hittitologists wrote thus until it was agreed that since everybody knew that shape we might just as well omit the ×SE. By the same token, ZÚ, as Popko and Kammenhuber (n. 1 above) write, instead of ZÚ×UD is also acceptable.

functions in the cult festivals is to speak (*memai*), sometimes to recite Hattic formulas;⁷ so one could call him “reciter.” E. Forrer’s “Vorbeter” was probably based on the same observation.⁸ In the following lines, I shall leave the word untranslated and sometimes abbreviate it “A.” The essential point is that the wrong reading KA×KÁR cannot serve as a basis for determining the meaning.

E. Badali’s argument rests on his interpretation of the passage *KBo* 20.33 obv. 15 f. (p. 47):⁹

[*hu*]itār šaminuanzi pērin šaminuanzi

[LÚ].MEŠALAN.ZU šaminuanzi kuršaš Ê-irza DINGIR.MEŠ uenzi

Actually the logogram is written here with the sign ZU₁; so far, this is the only occurrence known of the standard Babylonian form in a Hittite text.¹⁰

The author takes the verb *šaminu-* as “incensare” and translates as follows:

vengono incensate (le statue di) animali, vengono incensate (le statue di) ucelli; i LÚ.MEŠALAM.-ZU_x(!) incensano, gli dèi escono dalla casa del *kurša-* (p. 50).

An English rendering of the sense of the Italian, but closer to the Hittite construction with the verb in the active and the third person plural for the general subject, would be:

They provide the animal (statues) with incense, they provide the bird (statue) with incense, the A.’s burn incense, the gods leave the house of the *kurša-*.

On the basis of this translation the author argues that incense burning is an act of worship, and since the A does it here for the images of animals and a bird, he is actually worshipping the statues!

My first point of criticism is that the verb *šamenu-*, for which I once found the meaning “to burn (as incense),” takes the material as direct object and the deity in the dative or with “in front of.” It is not used in the sense of “to provide a deity (acc.) with incense burning.”

The second point is that it is awkward, in three parallel, short clauses consisting of the same verb with three different nouns, to take two of the nouns as an object and the third as a subject. Since *pērin* is accusative, the nouns in the three parallel clauses must all be accusatives: “They *šaminu* the animal (figures), they *šaminu* the bird (figure), they *šaminu* the A’s,” leaving the verb for the present untranslated.

The passage quoted is from the “outline tablet” of the KI.LAM Festival. In the Old Hittite version of the full text of the festival the corresponding section is as follows:¹¹

[ISTU Ê^d]Inar šuppešduwareš uenzi *huitār šemenzi* (var. *šamenzi*) *pēriš uizzi*

Out of the temple of Inar come the š.’s, the animal (figures) *šamen*, the *pēri* (figure) comes.

⁷ See F. Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri, professioni e dignità nell’Anatolia ittita* (Rome, 1982), pp. 275–89 and S. de Martino, “Il LÚALAN.ZU come ‘mimo’ e come ‘attore’ nei testi ittiti,” *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 24 (1984): 131–48.

⁸ E. Forrer, “Quelle und Brunnen,” *Glotta* 26 (1938): 186, quoted by Alp, *Untersuchungen*, p. 66.

⁹ I. Singer, *The Hittite KI.LAM Festival*, pt. 2, StBoT, vol. 28 (Wiesbaden, 1984), p. 89, text 3.a, an “outline tablet.”

¹⁰ Just here the author should have omitted the index x.

¹¹ Text I.h ii 15–16 (p. 34).

This is followed by the statement that, in contrast, on the second day there are no animals and no bird.

In the First Tablet of the festival, a New Hittite manuscript, a similar scene is described as follows:¹²

*nuššan kuitman LUGAL-uš Ékatapuzni ešzi kuitman -ma hūitār humanda uttanašš-a BĒLŪMEŠ
PANI LUGAL šameyanzi LŪ.MEŠALAN.ZU_x-ma tarwiškanzi palwiškanzi ḥazziškanzi-ya*

While the king is seated in the gate building and while all the animal (figures) and the “masters of the word” *šameya* before the king, the A.’s continually dance, clap hands, and play (musical instruments).

Whatever the meaning of the verbs and the relation of the stems *šame(ya)-* and *šamen-* to each other may be, the comparison of the three passages makes it clear that *šamenu-* is the causative of either or both of them. People can *šamenu* the animal figures and the bird figure, the animal figures and some persons can *šameya* before the king, and the animal figures can *šamen*, while the bird figure comes. The alternation with “come” in the last version shows that *samen-*, *same(ya)-* are also verbs of motion. Singer’s translation “to pass in review, parade” and the causative thereof is adequate.¹³ The passage in the First Tablet, furthermore, shows that the A.’s are engaged in activities also known from other festivals rather than in “burning incense”! Whether the use of *šamenu-* in the meaning “to burn something as incense” and that of *šamen-* in the laws, where it means “to be forced to renounce, to forfeit,” can ultimately be combined with the usage in the KILAM Festival or whether one has to posit different homonymous verbs cannot yet be decided.¹⁴

I hope to have shown that the passage adduced by Badali cannot be used to prove that the A “worships statues.” It seems necessary to stress again that “statue worshiper” and *aluzinnu* are not two proposals of equal value from which one can choose, but that the reading ALAN.ZU_x = Akkadian *aluzinnu* is the only correct interpretation of the logogram. If we cannot find a good translation for *aluzinnu*, we may follow the CAD and leave the term untranslated. Or we can use such noncommittal translations as “performer” or “reciter.” But let us rebury the “statue worshiper”!

II

KA×UD for zú is not the only Hittite innovation of this kind. As all Hittitologists know, there is also KA×U for ka = *pû* “mouth” and KA×GAG for kir₄ = *appu* “nose.” The inscribed signs were obviously chosen as optical help: babbar “white” for the teeth, u “hole” for the mouth, and gag “peg” for the nose. The first two of these are also attested in Amarna.¹⁵ This was one of the reasons why the late K. K.

¹² Text I.a iii 7–15 (p. 12).

¹³ Singer, *The Hittite KILAM Festival*, pt. 1, StBoT, vol. 27 (Wiesbaden, 1983), p. 95, n. 21.

¹⁴ N. Oettinger, “*(s)men- ‘gering sein’ verschwinden, in *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 35 (1976): 97–103, for the formal side. On the semantic side, one might try to find a basic meaning in the verb “to pass” in the laws, “to pass by, pass up, forgo,” and where *šamenu-* seems to mean “to

burn as incense”: “to cause to pass,” “cause to go up in smoke.” But I am aware of the danger of anglicisms and therefore offer these thoughts only tentatively and as a footnote.

¹⁵ O. Schroeder, *Die Tontafeln von El-Amarna*, Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, vol. 12 (Leipzig, 1915), p. 76, column “Ägypten,” attested in his no. 198 = Knudtzon 14, a text written in Egypt.

Riemschneider thought that the Egyptian scribes learned the cuneiform script from their Hittite colleagues.¹⁶

The skepticism about KA×GAG expressed by K. Peckeruhn in her dissertation¹⁷ is unnecessary.¹⁸

III

In addition, Miss Peckeruhn's method of transliterating Hittite texts calls for a comment. The first principle in transliterating cuneiform has always been that a reader familiar with the system should know at first glance which cuneiform signs are meant. For that purpose the values most common throughout the whole system were chosen, even readings that pose problems in Hittite such as the signs containing *š* and *z*. Forrer's sign-list is still standard.¹⁹ The other Hittitologists introduced one arbitrary convention: in all cases where a sign is ambiguous concerning the voicing of stops, they opted for the voiceless; for example, *pí* for *bi*, *pát* for *bad*, etc. Everybody knows that this is only a convention and is irrelevant for phonology. Those signs, however, which in Akkadian begin with a voiced stop and those with a voiceless, are always rendered with only that value; for example, *da* and *ta*. What the arbitrary rendering of *all* stops by the voiced form, proposed and applied by Peckeruhn, should be good for is hard to see. Such renderings as *ga*₁₄ (for *ka*) or *gi*₅ (for *ki*) make immediate recognitions virtually impossible, and the whole system is irrelevant for phonology; how it is supposed to be "phonologisch möglichst genau" (p. 4) is impossible to understand. It is to be hoped that Miss Peckeruhn will not find imitators.

IV

One more recent innovation calls for comment: the proposal to read LÚ ME ŠE-DI for LÚ MEŠEDI.²⁰ Miss Hoffmann translates this "Hundert der Lebenskraft." In his review of her book,²¹ G. Beckman correctly characterized this as a "misconstrual of the semantic field of *šēdu*" and pointed out that *ME* as an Akkadogram for "hundred" in Hittite texts is always preceded by a numeral. R. Beal, in his unpublished dissertation,²² goes to great lengths to disprove every single point made by Hoffmann. On the other hand, T. R. Bryce²³ considers her interpretation "plausible"! In view of this, it must be stated unequivocally that her translation is totally impossible.

My derivation of *MEŠEDI* as coming from Akkadian *mašaddu*, *mešeddu* "wagon pole" was generally rejected (although it was accepted by the *CAD*). The question of

¹⁶ In an unpublished lecture.

¹⁷ Kerstin Peckeruhn, "Die Handschrift A der hethitischen Gesetze" (Ph.D. diss., University of Würzburg, 1988), pp. 149 f., n. 10.

¹⁸ She overlooked the reference to *KUB* 10.63 ii 21 given (by Götze) in *ŠL* II/4, p. 1121 N(achtrag) 169. I do not know what a *SAL.KIR*₄ might be.

¹⁹ E. Forrer, *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, Vol. 1, *Die Keilschrift von Boghazköi*, WDOG 41 (1922; Osnabrück, 1969).

²⁰ Inge Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus*, THeth. 11 (Heidelberg, 1984), pp. 116–19 and passim. The

rendering of the sign *ME*, taken here to be the numeral 100, in Roman capitals is in accordance with *CAD* s.v. *meat*. Others have taken it to be an Akkadogram and have italicized it.

²¹ G. Beckman, review of Hoffmann, *Der Erlass Telipinus*, *JAOS* 106 (1986): 572.

²² R. Beal, "The Organization of the Hittite Military" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1986), pp. 268 f., n. 818.

²³ T. R. Bryce, review of Hoffmann, *BiOr* 43 (1986): 752.

whether the term for a bodyguard can be derived from the fact of his walking near the head of the royal chariot can now be laid to rest, since M. Civil²⁴ has shown that in some places *mašaddu/mešeddu* is a kind of spear (he uses the term “lance” in French). As H. A. Hoffner has pointed out in a note on Civil’s note, “man of the spear” is a good definition for a bodyguard.²⁵

The instruction for the *MEŠEDI*, however, mentions also the LÚ GÍŠŠUKUR (and special kinds of “spear men”),²⁶ contrasted with the *MEŠEDI*. A possible explanation might be that two different kinds of weapons are meant by the two terms. For a discussion of various kinds of spear-like weapons see the *CHD*, s.v. (GÍŠ)māri-.

²⁴ M. Civil in “Notes brèves,” *RA* 81 (1987): 187 f.

²⁵ H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *ibid.*, pp. 188 f.

²⁶ Pecchioli Daddi, *Mestieri*, pp. 198–200.

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Bemerkungen über die im Gebäude A auf Büyükkale gefundenen Tontafeln

Von Hans G. Güterbock (Chicago)

Kurt Bittel zum Gedächtnis

Vorbemerkungen

Vor einigen Jahren sagte mir Kurt Bittel, er wolle die Frage, ob die Tontafeln im Gebäude A auf Büyükkale in Boğazköy in primärer oder sekundärer Lage gefunden worden seien, noch einmal diskutieren, und bat mich, die Frage auch vom Gesichtspunkt des Philologen zu behandeln. Andere Verpflichtungen ließen mich diese Aufgabe zunächst verschieben, aber eine Mahnung Bittels, im Frühjahr 1990, veranlaßte mich, diesen Artikel zu schreiben. Mein Manuskript erreichte Bittel im Sommer 1990, als er schon leidend war. Bei meinem Besuch im September 1990 zeigte er mir einen Teil seiner Vorarbeiten, aber die Anstrengung ging über seine Kräfte.

H. Otten kündigte beim 30. Rencontre Assyriologique (1983) "eine umfassende Edition und Bearbeitung" der Tafelkataloge an (S. 186). Die folgenden Ausführungen, die sich auf das allgemein zugängliche Material stützen, sollen dieses Werk nicht vorwegnehmen, sondern das vorlegen, was ich zu Bittels Plan beitragen konnte. Sie berühren auch einige Punkte, über die ich meine eigenen Gedanken habe. Bei der Revision des Manuskriptes konnte ich das neuerschienene Heft *KBo XXXIV* benutzen.

Was kann der Philologe zur Beantwortung der Frage beitragen, ob die im Gebäude A gefundenen Tontafeln ursprünglich dort aufbewahrt waren? Er denkt natürlich an die sogenannten Etiketten und Kataloge aus diesem Bauwerk.

Die acht "Etiketten" hat H. Ehelolf in *KUB XXX* (posthum 1939 erschienen) Nr. 69-76, zusammen mit einem Etikett aus den alten Beständen, veröffentlicht. Wir berichteten darüber in *MDOG* 72, 1933, 38-41. Dazu kommt noch *ABoT* 52. Wie Tafelanschlüsse gezeigt haben, handelt es sich bei den in *ABoT* veröffentlichten Tafeln größtenteils um solche, die in den frühen dreißiger Jahren aus der Grabung entwendet worden waren, dann aber doch den Weg zum Museum fanden. Wie wir noch sehen werden, bestätigt bei *ABoT* 52 der Inhalt diese Annahme.

Die Etiketten sind kleine, flüchtig in der Hand geformte Tafeln; ihre Form kann als Rechteck mit abgerundeten Ecken oder in anderen Fällen als Ellipse beschrieben werden. Sie sind der Länge nach beschriftet, im Prinzip einseitig, obwohl die Schrift manchmal auf die Rückseite übergreift. Mit ihrem stereotypen Wortlaut "Tafeln des ..." müssen sie irgendwie zur Kennzeichnung von Tontafelgruppen gedient haben. Aber wie sie in der Praxis ange-

bracht waren, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis. Sie sind nicht durchbohrt, konnten also nicht aufgehängt werden. Sie konnten auf einem Regal – wenn Tontafeln so aufbewahrt wurden – entweder vor den Tafeln flach liegen oder an sie angelegt sein. Oder waren sie etwa der Verwaltung dienende Notizzettel?

In einigen Fällen sind Tafeln des auf einem Etikett genannten Inhalts in der Tat im Gebäude A gefunden worden. *ABoT* 52 nennt die Serie "Wenn ein Weinstock". Das ist der Titel der zweiten Serie der Hethitischen Gesetze. Diese Serie (so, nicht zweite Tafel, wie gewöhnlich genannt) ist in Eintafel- und Zweitafel-exemplaren überliefert (vgl. Verf., *JCS* 16, 1962, S. 2). Die Tafelnummer auf dem Etikett sieht aus wie *DUB.3.KAM* "Dritte Tafel" oder "Drei Tafeln". Dreitafel-exemplare der Gesetze sind nicht bekannt, weder für die Erste Serie noch für die Zweite. "Drei Tafeln" könnte dazu passen, daß im Gebäude A mindestens drei Exemplare der Zweiten Serie gefunden wurden: (1) das von Friedrich 'q' genannte, in sieben Stücken verstreut gefundene Exemplar (Kopie der zusammengesetzten Tafel in *JCS* 16, S. 18-21); sowie die von Friedrich unter 'o' zusammengestellten Bruchstücke, die aber (nach ebd. S. 17) eher zu drei verschiedenen Exemplaren gehören, nämlich (2) $o_1+o_2+o_3$; (3) o_4+o_5 , besser 'v';

(4) o_6+o_7 , besser 'w'.

Von diesen sind (1), (2) und (4) Exemplare mit nur einer Tafel; von (3) ist zu wenig erhalten, um eine Entscheidung zu treffen. Das Etikett könnte also gut besagen, daß drei Einzeltafeln der Zweiten Serie vorhanden waren. (Von der Ersten Serie "Wenn ein Mann" stammt nur ein Fragment aus dem Gebäude A, Raum 5: KUB XXX 19, Friedrichs Exemplar P.)

Was die Fundorte der einzelnen Bruchstücke betrifft, so wurden q_2 , q_3 und q_4 in Raum 5 gefunden, q_7 in Raum 4, q_5 in Raum 6, während für q_1 und q_6 die Angabe nur Raum 2 bis 4 lautet. Mit anderen Worten, es liegt eine erhebliche Streuung von Raum 5 nach beiden Seiten vor. Das paßt zu der in der Ausgrabung gemachten Beobachtung, daß Raum 5 die größte Zahl und die höchste Anhäufung von Tontafeln enthielt (s. die Skizze MDOG 72, S. 50, Abb. 22). Nun zu den in KUB XXX veröffentlichten Etiketten aus Gebäude A (ich zitiere sie nach den Nummern in KUB XXX). Nr. 75 "Tafeln der Mannestaten des Muršili" stammt von Raum 5.

Beide Fassungen der Annalen dieses Königs sind im Gebäude A vertreten. Zu den Zehnjahranalen gehören *KBo* XVI 1-4. Die sieben Fragmente, die zusammen Nr. 1 bilden, verteilen sich über die Räume 4-6. Zu ihnen gehört auch ein Anschlußstück aus *ABoT*. Nr. 2 ist aus Raum 5. *KBo* XVI 3 stammt vom Nordenende von Büyükkale, Nr. 4 aus der Unterstadt.

Von den Bruchstücken der ausführlichen Annalen stammen aus Gebäude A folgende: Nr. 8, zusammengesetzt aus fünf Stücken, von denen drei aus den Räumen 4 und 5 stammen; Nr. 9 und 10 aus Raum 5, Nr. 11 aus Raum 4. Das Etikett unterscheidet nicht zwischen den zwei Fassungen, vermutlich waren die Annalen beider Fassungen gemeint.

E. Laroche hat in seinem "Catalogue des Textes Hittites" (CTH), S. 40f. unter Nr. 283 die "étiquettes" aufgeführt. Unter diesen stammen aus dem Gebäude A die ersten sechs, die in KUB XXX veröffentlicht sind. Dazu kommt seine Nr. 9 = *KBo* XIV 71 (vgl. MDOG 93, 1962, 76). Keiner der auf diesen sieben Täfelchen genannten Titel läßt sich bis jetzt mit einem bekannten Text identifizieren, geschweige denn mit einem Stück aus Gebäude A.

Die von Laroche bereits mit bekannten Texten identifizierten Etiketten hat er jeweils unter dem entsprechenden Text aufgeführt und unter Nr. 283 nur mit ihrer Katalognummer

erwähnt. Von diesen wurden CTH 61, die Annalen des Muršili, und 292, die Zweite Serie der Gesetze, schon besprochen. Die unter CTH 607 und 619 gebuchten Etiketten stammen nicht aus Gebäude A, sind also für unsere Frage irrelevant; außerdem sind sie nur mit Eintragungen für bestimmte Tage in der Übersichtstafel des *andaḥšum*-Festes verglichen, für die die eigentlichen Beschreibungen noch nicht bekannt sind. Unter CTH 714 sind außer dem Etikett auch zwei Festrituale für die Ištar von Ninive aufgeführt, aber beide kommen aus der Ausgrabung H. Wincklers.

Das unter CTH 390 genannte KUB XXX 48 ist ein besonderer Fall. Diese kleine Tafel aus Raum 5 unterscheidet sich von den Etiketten. Es handelt sich um eine kleine, aber regulär geformte Tafel im Querformat, auf beiden Seiten beschriftet. Sie enthält den vollen Wortlaut der Unterschriften der vier auf der Sammeltafel KUB VII 1 + *KBo* III 8 vereinten Beschwörungrituale, und zwar in der Reihenfolge der Texte auf der Sammeltafel, während auf dieser die Unterschrift des letzten Rituals zuerst steht. In einem der sogenannten Kataloge findet sich aber eine Eintragung (KUB XXX 49 IVff., CTH S. 166), die die Titel der vier Rituale in der gleichen Folge nennt wie die Sammeltafel. Von einem solchen genauen Duplikat zu KUB VII 1 ist unter den Tontafelfragmenten aus dem Gebäude A bisher keine Spur aufgetaucht. Auf das Täfelchen KUB XXX 48 mit seiner abweichenden Anordnung der Titel kann sich die Eintragung im Katalog nicht beziehen. Welchem Zweck die kleine Tafel gedient haben mag, bleibt unklar.

Die sogenannten Kataloge hat Laroche an zwei Stellen behandelt: unter den Nummern CTH 276-282, gruppiert nach den Formulierungen der Eingänge, DUB.x.KAM "x-te Tafel" oder "x Tafeln" x *TUPPU* "x Tafeln" usw. Von diesen Formulierungen sind fast alle unter den Katalogen aus Gebäude A vertreten, Laroches Typus x DUB *UMMA*/*mān*, CTH 278, bisher ausschließlich in diesem Gebäude (KUB XXX 52). Zu diesem Text, CTH S. 172 Nr. 8, siehe H. Ottens Beitrag zum 30. Rencontre 1983. Umgekehrt ist nur der Typus 281 mit DUB.x.KAM in einer getrennten Spalte im Gebäude A nicht vertreten. Auf S. 154-192 gibt er 22 Kataloge in Umschrift und Übersetzung. Soweit es sich dabei um die Kataloge aus den Grabungen seit 1931 handelt, sind sie nach Fundorten angeordnet, beginnend mit denjenigen aus dem

Gebäude A.

An Stellen, wo eine Eintragung mit einem erhaltenen Text verglichen werden konnte, ist die jeweilige CTH-Nummer angegeben.

Viele Kataloge sind aus mehreren Bruchstücken zusammengesetzt. Um lange Ketten von Textnummern zu vermeiden, zitieren wir im folgenden nach Laroche's Numerierung der Kataloge.

Bei diesen Texten handelt es sich nicht um Kataloge im eigentlichen Sinne. In vielen von ihnen sind Texte ganz verschiedenen Inhalts aufgeführt (Beispiele schon in Verf., MDOG 73, 1935, 32ff.), obwohl es auch Ausnahmen gibt, wo Texte einheitlichen Charakters zusammen stehen. Außerdem findet man häufig die Angabe, daß eine Tafel fehlt: "haben wir nicht gefunden" oder einfach "fehlt". Es sei hier ausdrücklich betont, daß der Ausdruck *šara UL artari* nicht wörtlich "(die Tafel) steht nicht aufrecht" übersetzt werden sollte, wie man leider oft liest. Erstens kann eine Boğazköy-Tafel gar nicht aufrecht stehen, weil ihre Ränder zu schmal und abgerundet sind. Sie kann höchstens an andere Tafeln angelehnt sein, die ihrerseits auf einem Regal angelehnt sind. Zweitens ist es für die Verwaltung irrelevant, ob eine Tafel angelehnt ist oder flach liegt. Drittens und vor allem zeigt die Stelle *IBoT* I 36 I 12, daß die Phrase eine übertragene Bedeutung hat. (So schon L. Jakob-Rost, MIO XI, 1966, 175.) Es handelt sich dort nicht darum, ob zwölf Leibwächter aufrecht stehen, sondern darum, ob die im vorhergehenden Satz vorgeschriebene Zwölfzahl zur Verfügung steht. Wenn nicht, treten andere Beamte an die Stelle der Fehlenden. Es ist möglich, daß mit den verschiedenen Ausdrücken verschiedene Sachverhalte bezeichnet wurden: "ist nicht verfügbar", weil gerade irgendwo in Benutzung; "haben wir noch nicht gefunden", kann aber hoffentlich noch auftauchen; "fehlt" leider wirklich. In Nr. 6, Z. 8 und 10 findet sich der Ausdruck "eine halbe Tafel", einmal mit dem Zusatz *labiru* "alt". Das sieht so aus, als ob man gelegentlich auch nur zur Hälfte erhaltene Bruchstücke aufgehoben hätte. Oder sind die zwei halben Tafeln zwei auf einer Sammeltafel vereinte Texte?

Das macht eher den Eindruck von Aufnahmen des Vorhandenen als von systematischen Katalogen. Laroche überschreibt dieses Kapitel treffend "Débris de fichier", und für das *Chicago Hittite Dictionary* hat H. A. Hoffner den Ausdruck "shelf list" eingeführt, der wohl am

ehesten mit "Bestandaufnahme" wiederzugeben ist. Zur Bestandaufnahme paßt auch die von Laroche an letzter Stelle (S. 191f.) ausgeschriebene Liste KUB XXX 64 mit ihren Aufzählungen DUB.1.KAM *UL QATI*, DUB.2.KAM *QATI* etc. Vier Tafeln mit dem Vermerk *UL QATI* werden genannt, danach kommt DUB.5. KAM *QATI*. Hier hat sich der kontrollierende Beamte davon überzeugt, daß alle Tafeln des Werkes vorhanden sind, sowohl diejenigen, mit denen das Werk noch nicht abgeschlossen ist, als auch die letzte. Nebenbei ist dies ein gutes Paradigma für die Bedeutung von *UL QATI*: "Das Werk ist nicht abgeschlossen", d. h. weitere Tafeln folgen.

Wie gesagt, hat Laroche schon die aus dem Gebäude A stammenden Listen an den Anfang seiner Bearbeitung gestellt. Im einzelnen läßt sich die Fundlage der Fragmente wie folgt bestimmen:

Nr. 1 = KUB XXX 60 aus zwei Bruchstücken der Kampagne 1931, d. h. aus den Räumen 2 und 3 oder aus dem Südende von 4. *KBo* XIV 70 im Privatbesitz dürfte auch aus einer der Grabungen 1931-33 entwendet sein.

Nr. 2 = KUB XXX 57+59: das erste aus Raum 5, das zweite wieder aus Raum 2-4 Süd.

Nr. 3, in zwei Exemplaren. Hier ist Laroche ein Mißverständnis unterlaufen (H. Otten, *BiOr* 29, 1972, 44). A = KUB XXX 51+45: die zwei Stücke sind im Gebiet der Gebäude B bzw. C gefunden worden, müssen aber als Streufunde aus Gebäude A gelten. H(arvard) S(emitic) M(useum) 3644 (JCS 19, 1965, 33) ist ohne bekannten Fundort.

Von B stammt aus Raum 5 KUB XXX 44, 58 aus Raum 2-4 Süd. *KBo* XIV 68 kommt aus der Umgebung des Gebäudes A, und *KBo* VII 74 wurde 1952 gekauft. Es gab also in dem Gebäude A zwei (in ihren erhaltenen Teilen) gleichlautende Bestandaufnahmen.

Nr. 4 = KUB XXX 42 aus Raum 2-4 Süd.

Nr. 5 ist eine dreikolumnige Tafel: KUB XXX 49+50+53+216/b+1963/c, die ersten drei aus Raum 5.

Nr. 6 = KUB XXX 62+1506/c, beide Stücke aus Raum 5. Dabei fällt auf, daß KUB XXX 62 die Fundnummer 807/c hat, also eine Nummer, die denjenigen der meisten Etiketten benachbart ist.

Nr. 7 = KUB XXX 65+67 + *KBo* XIV 69+34/i (55/q ist mit *KBo* XIV 69 identisch). Von diesen wurden 65 in zwei Stücken in Raum 6, Nr. 67 in Raum 5 gefunden. *KBo* XIV 69 ist

ein Streufund aus aa/14.

Nr. 8 = KUB XXX 52 kommt aus Raum 6.

Nr. 9 = KUB XXX 68 außerhalb von Raum 6, Nr. 10 = KUB XXX 55 und Nr. 11 = KUB XXX 46 ebenda.

Nr. 12 = KUB XXX 43 Planquadrat 5/12, könnte aus dem Gebäude A stammen.

Nr. 13 = KUB XXX 66: Gebäude C, desgleichen.

Die übrigen von Laroche bearbeiteten Listen stammen von anderen Fundorten oder aus den alten Grabungen. Es ergibt sich also, daß zur Zeit der Zerstörung etwa ein Dutzend solcher Bestandaufnahmen im Gebäude A vorhanden waren, davon eine (Nr. 3) in doppelter Ausführung.

Wir wenden uns nun der Frage zu, welche der Texte, deren Titel in den Bestandaufnahmen des Gebäudes A genannt sind, hier gefunden wurden. Wir folgen dabei im ganzen der Reihenfolge und Numerierung von Laroche.

Nr. 1 (S. 154) Kol. I 24: "Beschwörung des Telepinu" bezieht sich natürlich auf die bekannten Texte, die den Mythos dieses Gottes enthalten. Von allen drei Fassungen sind Exemplare im Gebäude A gefunden worden. Z. 27: "Beschwörung des Sonnengottes": Der bekannte Mythos vom Verschwinden des Sonnengottes (CTH 323) enthält am Ende eine kurze Beschwörung, könnte also zu der gleichen Textgattung gerechnet worden sein, aber die erhaltenen Tafeln stammen aus den alten Grabungen, und der Aufbau des Textes weicht von dem Schema der anderen Vertreter des Typus (CTH 324-335) stark ab. Man könnte allenfalls an das große Sonnengebet KUB XXXI 127 (CTH 372) denken, das im zweiten Teil ein Bittgebet an den Gott enthält, das als *mugawar* gelten könnte; aber der hymnische erste Teil paßt nicht dazu. Dieses große Gebet stammt aus dem Gebäude A.

Nr. 2 (S. 156) linke Kol. 1: "Wettergott der Harapšili": der bekannte Text des eben erwähnten Typus (CTH 327); die Exemplare B und C sind aus Gebäude A.

Nr. 3 Kol. I 3-4: "Wenn man den Wettergott beschwört", Ritual mit Mythos des gleichen Typs wie unter Nr. 1 für den Wettergott, CTH 325; die Exemplare B und C sind aus Gebäude A. Weitere Fragmente von Texten dieses Typus sind jetzt in *KBo* XXXIV unter Nr. 21-37 veröffentlicht. Unter diesen ist Nr. 24 Teil einer mittelhethitischen Niederschrift der ersten Fassung des Telepinu-Mythos. Man beachte,

daß die drei Eintragungen über Texte desselben Typs auf drei verschiedene Bestandslisten verteilt sind, ein weiteres Indiz dafür, daß es sich nicht um systematische Kataloge handelt.

B II 5-7 (S. 159/161): Ritual der drei *purapši*-Priester Ammiḫatna, Tulpiya und Mati. Dieselben drei Verfasser erscheinen auch in der Eintragung Nr. 4 IV 19-20 (S. 163). Erhalten ist eine aus vielen Stücken wiederhergestellte Tafel, *KBo* XXIII 1, deren Teile aus den Räumen 4 und 5 des Gebäudes A stammen (so wie auch diejenigen in *ABOT*). Sie enthält zwei Rituale, die dem gleichen Zweck dienen, einen Tempel von einer kultischen Verunreinigung zu befreien. Die Formulierung dieses Themas zeigt Abweichungen zwischen dem ersten und zweiten Ritual von *KBo* XXIII 1, und die Eintragung in Nr. 3 weicht von beiden ab; dagegen stimmt die Formulierung in Nr. 4 genau mit dem Titel des ersten Rituals überein. *KBo* XXIII 1 hat zwei Teilunterschriften, in denen der jeweilige Textteil als IM.GÍD.DA bezeichnet wird. Auch die Eintragung in Nr. 4 sagt "Ein Imgídida". Es ist bekannt, daß dieser Fachausdruck solche Einzeltexte in einer Sammeltafel bezeichnen kann; Laroche's Wiedergabe als "un texte" basiert darauf. Es ist aber wichtig, daß der Titel in Nr. 4 gerade der des ersten Rituals ist, der nur aus dem Teil-Kolophon zu entnehmen ist. Es ist äußerst unwahrscheinlich, daß jemand einen solchen Zwischentitel aus einer Sammeltafel in seine Bestandaufnahme übernommen hätte. Ich nehme daher an, daß wirklich ein selbständiges Manuskript nur dieses einen Textes vorlag. Ein Beispiel für ein Einzelmanuskript eines sonst als Teil einer Sammeltafel bekannten Rituals ist KUB IX 32 verglichen mit ebenda 31 (CTH 394), wobei der Einzeltext auf einer einkolumnigen Tafel steht. Eine solche ist schmaler als eine zweikolumnige, wirkt dadurch länglich ohne wirklich länger zu sein, was die Bezeichnung als "längliche Tafel" (so R. Borger, *Ass.-Bab. Zeichenliste* Nr. 371) verständlich macht. Ich möchte annehmen, daß es sich bei allen mit dem Terminus Imgídida beginnenden Eintragungen um solche einkolumnige Einzeltafeln handelt. (In Nr. 3 ist der Fachausdruck nicht erhalten.)

Nr. 4 (S. 161-164) Kol. I 5: "32 Tafeln des *purulli*-Festes", vgl. unten Nr. 9 Kol. I (S. 162) 15: "Zeichen der Sonne"; dazu weiter unten bei Nr. 10.

Nr. 7 II 3 (S. 169): "Wie man die Muttergöttin durch eine (magische) Straße herbeizieht":

damit kann KUB XXXII 127 (CTH 484, 2) aus Raum 4 gemeint sein. II 13: Wieder Beschwörung des Wettergottes der *Ḫarapšili* wie schon oben bei Nr. 2.

Nr. 8 (S. 172): Laroche bemerkt mit Recht, daß viele auf der Vorderseite aufgeführte Titel den Eindruck machen, Anfänge von Texten des Alten Reichs zu sein, daß aber keiner von ihnen bekannt ist. Wie oben schon bemerkt, hat H. Otten diesen Text beim 30. Rencontre ausführlich besprochen. Mit Hilfe von (auch 1992 noch) unveröffentlichten Bruchstücken hat er den Text wesentlich ergänzt und nach dem Duktus als mittelhethitische Niederschrift eines vielleicht noch älteren Katalogs bestimmt. Tafeln in älterer Schrift sind unter den hier besprochenen Texten vertreten: das Exemplar q der Zweiten Serie der Gesetze (siehe oben zu *ABoT* 52) und ein Exemplar der ersten Fassung des Telepinu-Mythus (siehe oben zu Nr. 3 Kol. I). Auch von den "Althethitischen Ritualtexten", die in *KBo* XXV veröffentlicht und von E. Neu in *StBoT* 25-26 bearbeitet worden sind, stammen viele aus Gebäude A, vergleiche jetzt H. Otten, *KBo* XXXIV, Inhaltsangabe zu Nr. 1-19. Auch unter den Tafeln des KI.LAM-Festes befinden sich ältere, siehe sogleich.

Nr. 9 (S. 173f.): Die Eintragungen Vs. 3, 4 und 5-7 beziehen sich auf das ESEN.KI.LAM. I. Singer unterscheidet in seiner Monographie "The Hittite KI.LAM Festival" (*StBoT* 27 und 28) mehrere Tafelseries. Die erste, nach Tafelnummern zählende, hat die Unterschrift "Wenn der König sich in der Pfeilerhalle (oder: auf dem Markt?) dreimal niedersetzt". Diese Unterschrift liegt offenbar in Z. 3 vor, obwohl dort anstelle von KI.LAM-*ni* vielmehr KI.UD-*ni* (KISLAḪ-*ni*) steht. Im Laufe des Festes empfängt der König die Produkte des Landes; das könnte statt in der Halle auch auf der Tenne (dem Dreschplatz) geschehen. Es liegt aber näher, dem häufigen KI.LAM-*ni* den Vorzug über das einmalige KISLAḪ-*ni* zu geben, das letztere also als Schreibfehler anzusehen. In diese Serie ordnet Singer auch die althethitische Tafel ein (Text I. h, *StBoT* 28, S. 32ff., Skizze in *StBoT* 27, S. 69). Die Unterschrift mit der Tafelnummer ist nicht erhalten. Nur das Exemplar A ist in alter Schrift geschrieben. Daß *ABoT* 5 (wonach der Text gern zitiert wird) aus dem Gebäude A stammt, zeigen die angefügten Fragmente, die sämtlich dort gefunden wurden (vgl. *KBo* XXV S. VI Nr. 12). Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß auch die von An-

kara an das Museum Izmir überwiesenen Fragmente ähnlicher Herkunft sind.

Der Titel "Regelmäßiges KI.LAM-Fest" von Z. 4 erscheint in den Unterschriften von Singers zweiter Serie, die nach Tagen geordnet ist (und Tafeln für die einzelnen Tage zählt). Für die Eintragung Z. 5-7 habe ich keine Entsprechung in einem Kolophon gefunden; die dort genannten Funktionäre, die *zintuḫi*-Sängerinnen und der rezitierende "Herr der Worte" werden in den Texten genannt.

Die meisten und besterhaltenen Exemplare der Festbeschreibungen dieses Festes kommen aus dem Gebäude K oder aus den alten Grabungen. Aber unter den vielen Duplikaten, teils kleinen Bruchstücken, finden sich auch solche, die aus Gebäude A stammen. Einzelnachweise würden zu weit führen.

Rs. 2 (S. 173): Wieder "Das große *purulli*-Fest" (Tafelnummer abgebrochen), von dem ein anderer Katalog schon 32 Tafeln verzeichnet (Nr. 4 I 5, S. 162). Darauf folgen passender Weise weitere auf den Kult von Nerik bezügliche Titel. Keiner dieser Texte ist unter den Fragmenten aus Gebäude A bisher erkannt worden.

Nr. 10 (S. 174f.): Hier sind mehrere Omenseerien verzeichnet; dazu kommt die Eintragung Nr. 4 I 15 "Eine Tafel: Vorzeichen der Sonne. (Text) vollständig". Von Sonnenomina sind in Boğazköy sowohl akkadische wie hethitische Exemplare gefunden worden, zusammengestellt als CTH 534. Während die besterhaltenen Tafeln aus den alten Grabungen stammen, sind doch von beiden Fassungen auch Fragmente im Gebäude A gefunden worden: fast alle der in KUB XXXVII publizierten akkadischen und der in KUB XXXIV veröffentlichten hethitischen Fragmente stammen von dort. Nr. 10 hat im erhaltenen Teil nur ganz ungewöhnliche Sonnenomina (Z. 12 und 14). Auf Mondomina enthält Nr. 10 III 5 den kurzen Hinweis "Eine Tafel: Wenn der Mond ein Vorzeichen gibt". Eine einzelne Tafel mit dieser Unterschrift ist nicht bekannt, und unter den in CTH 533 registrierten "signes de la lune" befindet sich kein Stück aus Gebäude A. Unter CTH 532 führt Laroche die Mondfinsternis-Omina auf, die alle dreizehn Monate umfassen und sich über mehrere Tafeln erstrecken. Von diesen gibt es eine Anzahl von Fragmenten aus dem Gebäude A, aber die Eintragung Nr. 10, 7 (wo wohl [*aki*] ergänzt werden darf): "Wenn der Mond, in welchem Monat auch immer, [stirbt]", d. h. sich

verfinstert, ist anders formuliert und kann auch als Einzeltafel unmöglich die ganze Serie repräsentieren. Sowohl die Mondfinsternis-Omina wie auch die Omina aus der Form der Mondhörner (CTH 533, 3) gehören zu der babylonischen Serie "Als Anu und Enlil ...".

Von einer hethitischen Übersetzung der Anfangszeilen ist im Gebäude A ein kleines Bruchstück gefunden worden (CTH 531). Man sollte erwarten, daß auch andere Teile der Serie, wenn nicht die ganze, hier vorhanden waren; bisher fanden sich nur Stücke der Mondfinsternistexte. Nr. 10, 15: "Wenn der Mond sich am vierten Tage des Neujahrs verdunkelt" ist zu speziell für die ganze Serie und ein solcher Titel ist nicht bekannt.

Die oben besprochenen Fälle sind die einzigen Beispiele dafür, daß Texte, die in den "Katalogen" des Gebäudes A erwähnt sind, auch wirklich in dem gleichen Gebäude gefunden wurden. Laroche hat in seiner Bearbeitung außer diesen noch weitere Titel mit bekannten Texten identifiziert, aber diese Texte sind bisher nur in Exemplaren von anderen Fundstellen bekannt. Es ist natürlich denkbar, daß manche von ihnen auch im Archiv A vorhanden waren, aber entweder verloren oder unter den kleinen Bruchstücken bisher nicht bekannt geworden sind. Über diesen letzten Punkt ist baldige Klärung zu erwarten, weil, wie man hört, in Mainz eine systematische Aufarbeitung der Tafeln aus den frühen dreißiger Jahren geplant ist.

Ein roher Überschlagn über die von Laroche transkribierten "Kataloge" ergab etwa 120 les-

bare oder ergänzbare Eintragungen, wobei die Wahl dessen, was sich zu zählen lohnte, notgedrungen etwas willkürlich ausfiel. Von der zu erwartenden Zeilenzahl von zehn vierkolumnigen Tafeln ist das nur ein kleiner Bruchteil; was diese Bestandaufnahmen noch weiter enthalten haben, können wir nicht wissen. Da die Listen, wie wir gesehen haben, nicht systematische Kataloge, sondern eher Bestandaufnahmen sind, wird man annehmen, daß sie sich auf die Bestände in dem einen Gebäude beziehen; aber die Möglichkeit, daß man im Gebäude A auch Listen über die Bestände anderer "Bibliotheken" gehabt hätte, ist nicht auszuschließen.

Es ist aber daran zu erinnern, daß unter den Eintragungen aller dieser Listen, einschließlich der in den alten Grabungen gefundenen, die Zahl der nicht identifizierten Titel weit überwiegt. Das bestätigt, was wir immer empfunden haben, daß von dem hethitischen Schrifttum nur ein Bruchteil auf uns gekommen ist.

Gegenüber diesem traurigen Gesamtbild sind die oben gemachten Identifikationen doch wohl nicht ganz bedeutungslos. Die Chancen für solche Entsprechungen sind jedenfalls höher, wenn die Listen und die Texte ursprünglich im gleichen Gebäude lagen, als wenn dies nicht der Fall gewesen wäre. Auch der Umstand, daß die besterhaltenen Tafeln in Raum 5 gefunden wurden, verstärkt den Eindruck, daß sie ursprünglich hier aufbewahrt waren. Dieser Befund, der auf den bisher veröffentlichten Texten aus dem Gebäude A beruht, deckt sich mit dem Eindruck, den Bittel und ich 1933 bei der Grabung gewonnen hatten.

Ist das hethitische Wort für „Frau“ gefunden?

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Ist das hethitische Wort für „Frau“ gefunden?

In Band 103 (1990) dieser Zeitschrift, S.208–217 hat E. Neu vorgeschlagen, in dem nur einmal belegten Wort *ku-in-na-[aš]-ša-an* (KUB XII 60 I 24) das hethitische Wort für „Frau“ zu erblicken, was er schon in seinem Vortrag beim Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftlichen Colloquium 2, 1990, S.114 Anm.19 angedeutet hat. Die Form wird als Akk. Sg. *kuinnan* mit dem enklitischen Possessivpronomen *-šan* erklärt. Ein solcher Fund wäre natürlich von allergrößter Bedeutung, aber leider muß ich als Philologe erhebliche Bedenken anmelden.

Das Wort ist belegt in einer mythologischen Erzählung, die davon handelt, daß einstmals der Meergott den Sonnengott gefangen und bei sich versteckt habe. In der dadurch für die Welt eintretenden Not schickt der Wettergott seinen Sohn Telepinu zum Meer, um den Sonnengott zurückzuholen. Das Meer ist aber darüber so erschrocken, daß es nicht nur den Sonnengott herausgibt, sondern auch dem Telepinu seine eigene Tochter zur Frau gibt. Daraufhin bringt Telepinu den Sonnengott und seine Braut zu seinem Vater, dem Wettergott. Jetzt schickt aber das Meer eine Botschaft an den Wettergott, die besagt: „Was gibst Du mir dafür?“ Mit anderen Worten, das Meer will den üblichen Brautpreis haben. Der Wettergott zögert erst noch und fragt die Muttergöttin, ob er wirklich etwas zahlen müsse, und sie antwortet ihm: „Gib es ihm! Du hast ja seine Tochter als Schwiegertochter angenommen.“ Unmittelbar darauf heißt es (Z. 24–25):

(24) [n]u-uš-ši *ku-in-na-[aš]-ša-an LI-IM pa-a-[iṣ] . . .*

(25) [1 L]I-IM GUD.HIA 1 LI-IM UDU.HIA *pa-iṣ nu[. . .]*

Z. 25 ist klar. „Er gab (ihm) tausend Rinder, tausend Schafe.“ Das ist offenbar, was der Wettergott dem Meere als Brautpreis zahlt. Was Z. 24 betrifft, so glaubt Neu, die Muttergöttin habe dem Wettergott geraten, vom Meere eine Gegengabe zu verlangen. Das kann ich dem Wortlaut nicht entnehmen. Er schlägt eine abweichende Ergänzung vor: die Ergänzung *pa-a-[iṣ]* lehnt er ab mit der Begründung, daß ein Schreiber wohl kaum dasselbe Wort hier *pa-a-[iṣ]*, in Z. 25 aber *pa-iṣ* geschrieben haben würde. Dieser Einwand läßt sich leicht durch den Hinweis auf KUB XXIX 1 II 37–38 entkräften, ebenfalls

eine jh. Abschrift eines alten Textes, wo derselbe Wechsel vorliegt. Die Wahl der Schreibung ist offenbar durch den verfügbaren Platz bestimmt. Neu möchte in *pa-a*-[...] den Anfang eines Nomens sehen. Danach ergänzt er *wekta* oder *wewakkiš* und übersetzt: „Und von ihm (dem Meere) [forderte er] seine (d.h. des Telepinu) Frau (zusammen mit) tausend P.“ Darauf in Z. 25: „Er gab ihm eintausend Rinder, eintausend Schafe.“ Hier gibt also der Wettergott dem Meere offenbar den verlangten Brautpreis. In diesem Zusammenhang ist nicht einzusehen, wie der Wettergott vom Meergott die Frau des Telepinu hätte fordern können. Telepinu hatte sie ja zu ihm gebracht. In der erwähnten Anmerkung 19 zu dem Bochumer Colloquium erwägt Neu eine andere Deutung von *kuinnaššan*: als einen Ausdruck für „Zahlung, Mitgift, (Braut-)Preis“. Das wäre: „[Er verlangte] von ihm eine Mitgift (nämlich) tausend P.“

Diese Übersetzung wäre vorzuziehen, weil sie die Forderung nach der Frau vermeidet. An dieser Stelle, zwischen der Ermahnung zu zahlen und der Zahlung selbst, ist aber eine Forderung des Wettergottes höchst unwahrscheinlich. Er hat ja schon den Sonnengott erhalten! Unter Beibehaltung der Ergänzung *paiš* könnte man übersetzen: „Er gab ihm den Brautpreis als Tausend“ (nämlich tausend Rinder und tausend Schafe). Dagegen wäre nur einzuwenden, daß das Hethitische für Brautpreis schon das Wort *kušata* hat (zu *LIM* ohne Eins s. sogleich).

Ich selbst behalte die Ergänzung *paiš* bei und denke an eine andere Deutung von *kuinnaššan*: Akk. Sg. gen. comm. von *kuiša* „quisque“ „jeder“ mit dem enklitischen Possessivum *-šan*. Das gen. comm. erkläre ich damit, daß das Pronomen sich auf die Rinder und Schafe bezieht, die ja zur belebten Klasse gehören.

Die Stelle würde heißen: „Er gab ihm jedes davon als Tausend: er gab [ihm(?)] eintausend Rinder, eintausend Schafe.“ Zu beachten ist, daß hier *LIM* ohne die Ziffer Eins geschrieben ist, also kaum als Zahl zu einer Gegenstandsbezeichnung gehören dürfte. Neu erwähnt R. Stefanini als Befürworter einer ähnlichen Deutung von *kuinnaššan*, lehnt sie aber ab, weil eine Verbindung des Distributivpronomens mit dem Possessivum sonst nicht belegt ist. Ich muß zugeben, daß diese Feststellung zutrifft; auch unsere Sammlung enthält kein Beispiel dafür. Trotzdem halte ich es nicht für unmöglich, daß eine solche Kombination einmal vorliegen könnte, und möchte meine Deutung aufrechterhalten. Auch H. A. Hoffner faßt die Stelle so auf (Hittite Myths, SBL Writings from the Ancient World Series, volume 2, 1990, S. 26).

Ich glaube gezeigt zu haben, daß die Übersetzung „seine Frau“ an dieser Stelle nicht in die Erzählung paßt. Wichtiger aber ist, daß eine Verbindung von MUNUS „Frau“ mit einem Possessivum begrifflich unmöglich ist. Das zur Rede stehende hethitische Wort ist ja das, welches sich in den Texten hinter dem Ideogramm MUNUS verbirgt. MUNUS ist aber nur „Frau“ im physiologischen Sinne, als Mensch weiblichen Geschlechts. Es kann nicht für „Ehefrau“ stehen, wie deutsch „meine Frau“ und frz. „ma femme“. Wo immer eine Frau in Beziehung zu einer anderen Person steht als „Gattin des X“ oder „seine Tochter“, steht immer das spezifische Verwandtschaftswort. Auch in den hethitischen Texten kommt MUNUS niemals mit folgendem Genitiv oder Possessivum vor. Das ist der entscheidende Grund, warum *kuinnaššan* nicht „seine Frau“ (femina) heißen kann.

Die Rekonstruktion des hethitischen Wortes für „Frau“ als *gwin* o.ä., der der erste Teil von Neus Artikel gewidmet ist, wird davon nicht berührt. Aber die in unserem Text vorkommende Form *kuinnaššan* kann nicht als sprachwirklicher Beleg dafür zitiert werden.

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Observations on the Tarsus Seal of Puduḥepa, Queen of Hatti

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BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

Observations on the Tarsus Seal of Puduḥepa, Queen of Ḫatti

A reading of the cuneiform legend on a royal seal from Tarsus is proposed.

In 1937 Hetty Goldman published a bulla found at Tarsus bearing the impression of a royal seal.¹ It shows the name of the queen under the winged disk, between antithetic signs for “Great Queen,” written with the four hieroglyphs *pu-tu-ḫa-pa*, as Gelb found by comparison with the rock inscription of Fraktin. Of the cuneiform legend only part of one ring is impressed on the bulla with the signs *ḫé-bat* DUMU.SAL. In the final publication² I. J. Gelb restored this as [*Pu-du*]-*ḫé-bat* DUMU.SAL, a restoration suggested by his reading of the hieroglyphic name.

In my 1940 publication of the royal seals³ I remarked that the name of the queen is always written with *pa*, never with *bat*, and mentioned the possibility that the two signs represented the name of the goddess Ḫebat. The first statement has to be modified. Philo Houwink ten Cate reminded me of two occurrences of the spelling *ḫé-bat* in two Akkadian letters from Egypt.⁴ According to Edel these letters belong to the later years of the reign of Ramses II. Recently Harry Hoffner brought to my attention one of the newly found seals published by Heinrich Otten.⁵ According to the hieroglyphic name

in the center, the seal belongs to Tudḫaliya IV, whose name in the outer cuneiform ring is lost. The inner ring offers: *ḫé-bat* SAL.LUGAL GAL SAL.L[UGAL KUR *Ḫa-at-ti*]. Of the sign in question only a Winkelhaken is preserved, which can only be the end of BAD. The common seal of Puduḥepa and her son may be assigned a date similar to that of the two Ramses letters mentioned. The fact remains, however, that in her inscriptions and on most of her seals from Boğazköy and Ras Shamra the name of Puduḥepa is spelled with *pa*, as are such names as Taduḥepa, Danuḥepa and Giluḥepa. Another reason not to restore the name of the queen on the Tarsus seal is the word DUMU.SAL “daughter” immediately following the signs in question. In the examples known to me where queens give a filiation the word “daughter” follows the full title.⁶

My suggestion that the signs *ḫé-bat* are the name of the goddess has been confirmed by seals of Puduḥepa recently published by Otten.⁷ These seals offer in two identical rings the following legend mutually restored from the various bullae:

^{NA}4KIŠIB *ḫé-bat* SAL.LUGAL GAL SAL.LUGAL KUR *Ḫa-at-ti*
na-ra-am ^D*ḫé-bat*.

Seal of Puduḥepa, Great Queen, Queen of the land of Ḫatti, beloved of Ḫebat.

From this evidence we may conclude that the signs *ḫé-bat* on the Tarsus seal are the end of the same formula, which is the last epithet of the queen, and that

¹ Hetty Goldman, “Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, 1936,” *AJA* 41 (1937): 281, with fig. 40, with notes by A. Goetze, “Remarks on the Epigraphic Material Found at Tarsus in 1936,” *ibid.*, 287, and I. J. Gelb, “Queen Pudu-Ḫepa,” *ibid.*, 289–91.

² Hetty Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1956), 2: 248, no. 15 with figs. 401.15 and 405.15.

³ Hans Gustav Güterbock, *Siegel aus Boğazköy*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers [E. F. Weidner], 1940) (= SBo I), 29f.

⁴ KUB III 66 obv. 4 and KUB III 68 obv. 3, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*, ed. Elmar Edel, *Abhandlungen der rheinisch-westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. 77 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994), 1: 170–75, nos. 72 and 73.

⁵ Heinrich Otten, *Zu einigen Neufunden hethitischer Königsiegel*, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und socialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*,

Jahrgang 1993, no. 13 (Mainz: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), 37–39 with fig. 33.

⁶ One is Ašmunikal, KBo V 7 (= SBo I, no. 60). The other is the daughter of the king of Babylon, for which see SBo I, no. 36, and now Heinrich Otten, *Die hethitischen Königsiegel der frühen Grossreichszeit*, *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der geistes- und socialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jahrgang 1995, no. 7 (Mainz: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), 13ff.

⁷ Heinrich Otten, “Ein Siegel Tudḫaliyas IV. und sein dynastischer Hintergrund,” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 43 (1993 [1994]): 110–12.

they form the end of this ring, which then begins with DUMU.SAL, and must be the inner ring. The name and title of the queen must then have stood in the lost outer ring.

The word "daughter" demands a genitive. Puduḥepa never mentions her father either in inscriptions or on seals, although his name, Pentipšarri, is known from the Apology of Ḥattušili.⁸ However she is called "Daughter of Kizzuwatna" in the Egyptian description of her seal on the treaty tablet⁹ and in the rock inscription of Fraktin.¹⁰ Here I read the line following the picture and name of Puduḥepa to the right: *ka-zu-wa-na* COUNTRY DAUGHTER DEITY *á-za-mi* "Daughter of the land of Kizzuwatna, loved by the Gods." I adopt the reading of the geographic name proposed by Laroche. *azami* is the Luwian participle of the verb "to love." The logogram DEITY may stand for "god," "goddess," or "gods." Instead of "Loved by the Gods," one can easily translate "Beloved of the Goddess."

It is tempting to restore the inner ring of the Tarsus seal also to read "Daughter of Kizzuwatna." Since I am unable to do so, because of my visual handicap, I asked Harry Hoffner to determine whether this restoration would fit the space available on the bulla. He actually penciled the cuneiform signs KUR *ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na na-ra-am* DINGIR into the drawing in my copy of the Tarsus publication (see above, note 2). He found that this restoration fitted the space very well. He also reminded me

of the fact that Puduḥepa calls herself "Daughter of the city of Kummanni" in the introduction of her Vow,¹¹ but the name Kummanni would not fill the space on the seal. I therefore propose to restore and read the cuneiform leg-end of the Tarsus seal as follows:

(outer ring, restored after the seals published by Otten)

[^{NA}4KIŠIB ^t*Pu-du-ḥé-pa* SAL.LUGAL GAL SAL.LUGAL KUR *Ḥa-at-ti*]

(inner ring)

DUMU.SAL [KUR *Ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na na-ra-am* ^D*Ḥé-bat*

"[Seal of Puduḥepa, Great Queen, queen of the Land of Ḥatti] Daughter [of the Land of Kizzuwatna, Beloved of] Ḥebat."

If this restoration is correct one may well ask whether it is by chance that a bulla stamped with the seal thus inscribed has been found at Tarsus in the land of Kizzuwatna.¹²

I wish to express my thanks to Philo Houwink ten Cate and Harry Hoffner for their valuable contributions, to Oğuz Soysal for references, and to my wife, Frances, for her help in composing the manuscript.¹³

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⁸ Heinrich Otten, *Die Apologie Hattusilis III: Das Bild der Überlieferung*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, vol. 24 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981), 16–17 iii 1.

⁹ John A. Wilson, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. James B. Pritchard, second edition (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1955), 201. The text is in SBo I, p. 30, cited after Johannes Friedrich, "Das Siegel des hethitischen Königs Ḥattušili III. nach der ägyptischen Fassung seines Vertrages mit Ramses II.," *Artibus Asiae* 6 (1937): 180.

¹⁰ Hans Gustav Güterbock, "Die Hieroglypheninschrift von Fraktin," in *Festschrift für Lubor Matouš*, ed. B. Hruška and G. Komoróczy (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Ökori Történeti tanszékek, 1978), 1: 127–36.

¹¹ Heinrich Otten and Vladimír Souček, *Das Gelübde der Königin Puduḥepa an die Göttin Lelwani*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965), 16–17, line 1.

¹² For other seals of Puduḥepa, see Heinrich Otten, "Das Siegel B229 von Ḥattušili III.-Puduḥepa," in *Studio Historiae Ardens: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H. J. Houwink ten Cate*, ed. Theo P. J. van den Hout and Johann de Roos (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1995), 245–53. The Tarsus seal is not listed there.

¹³ The editor wishes to thank Dr. Gary Beckman for his substantial assistance in editing the footnotes to this communication.